

DUMBARTON OAKS TEXTS

II

NICHOLAS I  
PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE  
LETTERS

CORPUS FONTIUM  
HISTORIAE BYZANTINAE

CONSILIO SOCIETATIS INTERNATIONALIS  
STUDIIS BYZANTINIS PROVEHENDIS DESTINATAE  
EDITUM

VOLUMEN VI

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NICOLAI I  
CONSTANTINOPOLITANI PATRIARCHAE  
EPISTOLAE

EDIDERUNT  
R. J. H. JENKINS — L. G. WESTERINK

ANGLICE VERTIT  
R. J. H. JENKINS

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NICHOLAS I  
PATRIARCH  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE  
LETTERS

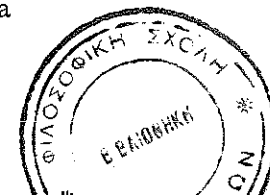
GREEK TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

*by*  
R. J. H. JENKINS  
and  
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ΣΠΟΥΔΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
ΜΕΣΑΙΩΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

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## FOREWORD

During the brief period when the late Professor Romilly J. H. Jenkins served as Director of Studies at Dumbarton Oaks he found the time to complete his translation of the letters of the Patriarch Nicholas I, with the intention of publishing them with a critical edition of their Greek text. His untimely death in 1969 seemed at first prematurely to terminate the entire undertaking. However, it was soon discovered that Prof. Jenkins had in fact finished the translation and had advanced other parts of his work to the point where his collaborator, Professor L. G. Westerink of the State University of New York at Buffalo, could complete them, and, with the addition of his own contributions—editorial work, revisions to the Greek, the translation and editing of Letters 164–90, Summaries of and brief notes on each Letter, the Introduction, the Indices, etc.—bring the work to publication.

Dumbarton Oaks feels, therefore, especially privileged to be able to publish this posthumous addition to Prof. Jenkins' corpus of distinguished scholarly contributions to the field of Byzantine study and research.

That this edition of the letters of the Patriarch Nicholas I should be the second volume in the Dumbarton Oaks Texts Series seems particularly appropriate, for it was Prof. Jenkins who, collaborating then with Professor Gy. Moravcsik, inaugurated the Series in 1967 with the publication of the new, revised edition of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*. Indeed, Dumbarton Oaks can look back upon a fifteen-year association with Prof. Jenkins, since it was in 1954 that it published the first of his many contributions to its *Papers*. It is with satisfaction in this association and in the opportunity—with the indispensable cooperation of Prof. Westerink—to bring his latest scholarly effort to fruition that Dumbarton Oaks publishes herewith the *Letters of Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople*.

Dumbarton Oaks  
Washington, D. C.  
1973

William R. Tyler  
Director

## PREFACE

The late Professor R. J. H. Jenkins had already established the Text of numbers 1-163 of the Letters of Nicholas I Mysticus and had completed their Translation when in January 1968 he asked me to revise the Greek and write the Introduction. Some changes in the Text and in the punctuation resulting from this, as well as corresponding adaptations of the Translation, had been agreed upon before his death in September 1969. Subsequent alterations are only minor and strictly editorial, with the exception of 40 and 96, for which I have adopted a different interpretation. Letters 164-90, and the Summaries and Indices, are entirely my responsibility.

The Summaries (with tentative dates and attempts at identification of addressees) are a poor, but the only available, substitute for the projected Commentary, for which no material has been found among Jenkins' papers.

Grateful acknowledgment is due to those who helped to prepare this edition: to Mrs. Alice-Mary Talbot, for retyping the Greek text; to Mr. Michael Share and Mr. Robert Brown, for assistance in composing the indices; and to Miss Julia Warner, who with wonted patience and attention to detail saw the entire volume through the press.

L. G. W.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword .....	v
Preface .....	vii
Introduction	
I. Life of Nicholas .....	xv
II. Chronology of the Letters .....	xxviii
III. Manuscripts .....	xxxi
IV. Editions .....	xxxv
V. Present Edition .....	xxxvii
List of Signs .....	xxxix
Text and Translation .....	I
List of References .....	524
Summaries .....	525
Indices	
I. Proper Names .....	593
II. Terms .....	599
III. Vocabulary .....	613
IV. Citations .....	622
V. Incipits .....	627

DUMBARTON OAKS TEXTS

II

NICHOLAS I  
PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE  
LETTERS

# INTRODUCTION

## I. LIFE OF NICHOLAS

The short biographical notice which the plan of this collection permits can be little more than a framework for the chronology of the Letters, without any attempt to deal with major issues.<sup>1</sup>

Nicholas was born in 852; his Italian origin is well attested by several independent sources.<sup>2</sup> The relative in Italy to whom *Ep. 54* is addressed had resided there at least from the beginning of 907 to the time of writing (921), and this long period of time, spanning four different reigns, makes it highly unlikely that he should have been there temporarily on state business. His social position was important enough for Nicholas to urge him to use his influence at the papal court. Consequently, when the *Vita Euthymii*<sup>3</sup> describes Nicholas as an *oikogenès* of Photius, this can only mean a relative and member of the family, not a homebred slave, as in classical Greek. His brother John rose to the rank of patrician and became Droungarios of the Watch (*Ep. 170*)—a promotion which, of course, may have had something to do with Nicholas' influence as *mystikos*. Arethas' insinuation as to Nicholas' obscure origins<sup>4</sup> must remain unexplained.

Little more can be done with the statement that he was a "brother by adoption" of Leo VI.<sup>5</sup> The further information that they were students

<sup>1</sup> J. Gay, "Le patriarche Nicolas Mystique et son rôle politique," *Mélanges Ch. Diehl*, I (Paris, 1930), 91—101. V. Grumel, *Les registres du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I,2 (1936), 133—221. R. J. H. Jenkins, *Studies on Byzantine History in the 9th and 10th Centuries* (London, 1970), III, V—VIII, XI, XV—XIX, XXII. P. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii* (Brussels, 1970); *idem*, "Le synode à Constantinople de 886 à 912 et le rôle de Nicolas le Mystique dans l'affaire de la tétragamie," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 19 (1970), 59—101. Io. Chr. Konstandinides, *Νικόλαος Α', ὁ Μυστικός* (Athens, 1967). S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign* (Cambridge, 1963).

<sup>2</sup> Ephraim, 10050; *Life of Peter of Argos*, ed. Chr. Papaikononou (Athens, 1908), chap. 8; Fr. Fischer, *De patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum catalogis*, *Commentationes philologae Ienenses*, III (Leipzig, 1884).

<sup>3</sup> 11.15 (Karlin-Hayter).

<sup>4</sup> *Scripta minora* II (1972), 124.5—6; 125.20.

<sup>5</sup> *Vita Euthymii* 11.30—31; 71.6. It may mean that both were godsons of Photius; for Nicholas, see *Eps.* 2.18 and 139.49; for Leo, Photius, *Ep.* I, 16 (PG, 102, col. 765C, 3—4).

together<sup>6</sup> is also a little puzzling because of the difference in age; as Leo was fourteen years younger, such a situation can have arisen only when he was approaching twenty, in the last years of Basil's life. There is no positive evidence that their common teacher was Photius.

In 887, when Zaoutzes brought about the deposition of Photius and persecuted his relatives and friends, Nicholas fled to the monastery of St. Tryphon near Chalcedon and was tonsured. Later, Leo tried to make up for this by making him his personal secretary or *mystikos*,<sup>7</sup> a function which had no official character and could therefore be combined with his status as a monk. Next to nothing is known of this period, except (perhaps) one incident: the John, Droungarios of the Watch, who was dismissed after the attempt on Leo in 897,<sup>8</sup> may have been Nicholas' brother. This does not mean that Nicholas was compromised in any way, the less so as the reason for the measure seems to have been inefficiency rather than the suspicion of complicity.

On March 1, 901, after the death of the Patriarch Antony Kauleas, Nicholas was raised to that "much-envied see" of Constantinople.

Most of the information we have on the first years of Nicholas' patriarchate comes from the official court orator, the deacon Arethas, who dutifully proclaimed to the world that all was well between the Emperor and his Patriarch. The chronicles mention him only once during these years: after the loss of Taormina in 902, when Eustathius Argyrus and Caramalus had been condemned to death for high treason on account of this, it was the Patriarch who obtained a pardon for them.<sup>9</sup> The author of the *Vita Euthymii*, in a curiously piecemeal account,<sup>10</sup> makes Nicholas a suspect in the attempt on Leo's life in the church of St. Mocius (May 11, 903). In the narrative itself, Leo is furious at having been deserted by Nicholas and his clergy in the hour of danger; so far, the charge is simply one of cowardice. Then, three years later, in the course of the tetragamy conflict, Leo reveals to "some of the chamberlains" that he has suspected the Patriarch all the time of being a party to the conspiracy. Finally, after eight more years, Euthymius (then ex-patriarch) reminds Nicholas how he went to the palace at Nicholas' request to clear him of the charge of high treason, apparently soon after the event.

Nicholas' complicity in the revolt and desertion of Andronicus Ducas is stated as a fact both in the *Vita Euthymii* and in the chronicles, though they disagree as regards the time, the *Vita* dating Andronicus' flight to

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* and 85.16—17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 11.25—32.

<sup>8</sup> Theoph. Cont. 361.5—10.

<sup>9</sup> Georg. Cont. 861.1—6.

<sup>10</sup> 67.21—23; 75.2—6; 137.33—139.6.

Baghdad to 905 (before the baptism of Constantine), the chronicles to 907 (after Nicholas' deposition, which is supposed to have been its motive).<sup>11</sup>

The Patriarch's guilt becomes a key element in the story of the tetragamy affair as told in the *Vita Euthymii*. Besides Nicholas' own brief report in *Ep.* 32, which is thoroughly falsified by his claim of having consistently opposed the fourth marriage from the very beginning, this is the only coherent account of the events.

According to the *Vita*, four notes received by Andronicus at Cabala were handed to Leo after his desertion to the Arabs, one of them in the style and in the handwriting of Nicholas (quoted in full, 69.25—71.1), in which he addressed Andronicus as future emperor and warned him against Leo's promises and the machinations of Samonas. Though Leo did not immediately confront the Patriarch with this information, it was passed on to him by others, and from that moment onward Nicholas went out of his way to fulfill, or even forestall, the Emperor's wishes. On January 6, 906, in spite of the opposition of some of the metropolitans, led by Epiphanius of Laodicea, he baptized young Constantine, declaring during the ceremony that by his orders seven priests had for seven days prayed in front of the altar of St. Sophia for the birth of a son. Obviously it was widely felt that this much could be conceded for dynastic reasons, for the syncellus Euthymius, the acknowledged leader of the rigorist party in the Church, consented to act as godfather.

Meanwhile the understanding was, as Nicholas says in his letter to Pope Anastasius (*Ep.* 32.45—51), that the connection with Zoe would be discontinued, instead of which Leo had her escorted to the palace with imperial honors a few days later. Probably after Easter 906 (April 13), they were married by the presbyter Thomas, and Zoe was crowned empress by Leo; the Patriarch then refused Leo admittance to the church, allowing him only to enter the sacristy (*metatorion*). These last facts are provided by the chronicles.<sup>12</sup>

Nicholas professed himself willing and competent to grant a dispensation, first on the foundation day of the new church (May 1), then on the feast of the Transfiguration (August 6), but Leo refused, saying that he preferred to wait for the arrival of the delegates from Rome. For some time the Patriarch insisted, then suddenly reversed his policy because (according to the *Vita*) an indiscreet chamberlain betrayed to him that as soon as the dispensation had been granted, he would be deposed for his share in the St. Mocius plot and the revolt of Andronicus. The metropolitans were now made to sign an undertaking that none would acquiesce in dispensation (unless with the Patriarch's consent, Nicholas himself adds in a later document<sup>13</sup>). Contrary to the Patriarch's repeated promises, Leo was once more

<sup>11</sup> Theoph. Cont. 372.17—18.

<sup>12</sup> Ps.-Symeon 709.3—8; Georg. Cont. 865.8—13.

<sup>13</sup> Arethas, *Scripta minora* II, 117.1—5.

refused admission to the Church on Christmas Day, and again on Epiphany 907, Nicholas declaring himself unable to grant dispensation so long as there was no unanimity among the metropolitans, and in particular Arethas (now metropolitan of Caesarea) had not come to terms. After a heated discussion during dinner at the palace, that same day, Nicholas convoked the metropolitans and made them renew their pledge not to yield or to abandon their sees if put under pressure. He himself was the first to sign a statement to this effect.

At a palace dinner on St. Tryphon's day (February 2) 907, Leo announced the imminent arrival of the delegates of the Eastern patriarchates and of Rome and requested the Patriarch and the metropolitans to admit him as a penitent to the church of Blachernae the following day (Presentation, February 3). All refused and were banished from the city until the synod should meet. Nicholas was escorted to his own monastery in Galacrenae. Three days later (February 5) Leo recalled those willing to accept his penance and the next day revealed to them Nicholas' complicity in the plot of Ducas; on February 7 he sent a message to Nicholas demanding his resignation, but the Patriarch answered that he was too ill to write. When upon this Leo sent the protovestiarius Samonas to threaten Nicholas with a trial for high treason, the Patriarch handed a written resignation, first to the metropolitans who accompanied Samonas, then, as they refused to accept it, to Samonas himself. In this document<sup>14</sup> Nicholas declares with deliberate ambiguity that he resigns his see without resigning the priesthood. He followed it up with a second version stating more precisely that he would continue to exercise the functions of the archpriesthood.<sup>15</sup>

A third version, addressed to the metropolitans and containing no reservation of any kind,<sup>16</sup> was eventually used to make Euthymius change his mind after his initial refusal to accept the see. He then modified his position in so far as to make his acceptance contingent upon a synodical deposition of Nicholas and the approval of the dispensation by the other patriarchal sees. A few days later the Roman and Eastern representatives arrived, and when the majority of the Constantinopolitan hierarchy joined them in granting dispensation (subject to a penance), Euthymius yielded to pressure, especially from the Roman delegates. His conciliatory attitude toward his opponents (for whom he obtained permission to return from exile) won many of them over to his side.

Thus far the account of the *Vita Euthymii*. It is well written, dramatic, and frankly partial. In itself this does not mean that the facts are deliberately misrepresented, but there are some questionable points which advise caution. The least serious is the dating of the revolt of Ducas, in which the chronicles

<sup>14</sup> *Vita Euthymii* 93.21—29. The official text circulated in 912 (Arethas II, 118.25—119.3, and separately in Monac. gr. 277 and elsewhere) is this first version rewritten and amplified in the sense of the second.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 93.21—29.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 99.16—30.

may be at fault; the apparent support for their version in the Arabic sources admits of a different explanation. Next, there is Nicholas' note to Ducas, which looks like a crude forgery; the alleged resemblance in style does not exist, and it is hardly credible that a man as intelligent as Nicholas should have compromised himself so blatantly. On the other hand, the fact that some of the evidence is planted does not necessarily imply that the accused is innocent, and the *Vita* may be correct at least to the extent that such a document existed and was used against the Patriarch. Thirdly, it is extremely difficult to discredit Nicholas' statement (*Ep.* 32.129—53) that the representatives of Rome had arrived before St. Tryphon's day. There Nicholas is defending himself against the charge that he refused to meet the delegates; if he had already been under arrest at the time, this would of course have been an unanswerable plea, and he had no reason to prefer a falsehood which, besides weakening his case, would immediately be recognized as such in Rome. The author of the *Vita*, on his part, had as little motive as had Nicholas to reverse the events, but he may have erred in having the arrival of the Romans and of the Eastern delegates announced simultaneously.<sup>17</sup> The last and most damaging item is Nicetas' letter to Arethas,<sup>18</sup> an eyewitness report from the patriarchal palace, which, on Christmas Day 906, shows Nicholas still desperately at work to overcome the resistance of the opposition under Arethas and his henchman Nicetas. It proves that the account of the Patriarch's *volte-face* before Christmas is at best an over-simplification.

Nicholas spent the five years and three months of Euthymius' patriarchate in the Galacrenae monastery.<sup>19</sup> Apart from his own description of his miserable fate<sup>20</sup> (presumably during the first few weeks), nothing is known about him during this period. Nor do we have any direct information as to the situation in the Church. It must be assumed that some of the bishops refused to recognize Euthymius, so that there was a formal schism as early as 907; otherwise Nicholas' sweeping action against the Euthymians in 912 would have left him without any episcopate at all. However, if the situation at the top of the hierarchy (to be discussed presently) is representative, the loyal ones can have been only a small minority.

Nicholas was restored to his see in May 912, either by Leo on his deathbed, as he himself claimed,<sup>21</sup> or by Alexander immediately upon his succession, as the *Vita Euthymii* and the chroniclers say. He demanded the abdication of Euthymius and his metropolitans; when they refused he gave the

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 87.9—13.

<sup>18</sup> Arethas, *Scripta minora* II, 168.1—174.7.

<sup>19</sup> Theoph. Cont. 377.20—21.

<sup>20</sup> *Ep.* 32.164—76.

<sup>21</sup> *Ep.* 32.496—503; his claim is supported by the rather suspicious-looking document published by N. Oikonomides in *B Z*, 56 (1963), 46—52.



order for the arrest of five metropolitans, Demetrius of Heraclea, Gregory of Nicomedia, Gabriel of Ancyra, Hilarion of Hierapolis, and Peter of Sardes (who escaped). They were the highest in rank of the "apostates," i.e., of those who had signed the pact with Nicholas and abandoned him: Heraclea was the third see, Ancyra the fourth, Sardes the sixth, Nicomedia the seventh<sup>22</sup> (Arethas, the protothronos, never signed; Ephesus, the second see, and Cyzicus, the fifth, were held by appointees of Euthymius<sup>23</sup>). It is not clear why Hilarion, in spite of his low rank (forty-first), was singled out to join them; in *Ep. 113* Nicholas does not mention him with the others. Nicholas, sitting in judgment alone, had a statement read which he had prepared beforehand;<sup>24</sup> since immediately afterward he refers to the metropolitans as "those deposed," it must have been the act of deposition preserved among Arethas' writings.<sup>25</sup> Next, a tribunal presided over jointly by Nicholas and Alexander deposed Euthymius, after which Nicholas took formal possession of the cathedral by a solemn rite of purification.

The next Sunday a synod of the Nicholaan bishops was held, in which besides Euthymius himself all those who had elected him, communicated with him, or been appointed by him, were anathematized and deposed; this despite the protests and warnings of the more moderate among Nicholas' own party, who foresaw where this blind onslaught must lead. A counter-synod under Arethas refused to acknowledge Nicholas and his rulings, and the schism was complete. Though Nicholas afterward, disavowing the summary deposition of all the Euthymian bishops, maintained that he had deposed only four (*Ep. 113*), there must have been many more who under pressure resigned their sees or quietly withdrew. The *Vita Euthymii*<sup>26</sup> reports numerous depositions of bishops and metropolitans, and Arethas<sup>27</sup> says that there was a spate of new appointments, recruited according to him from the lowest rabble of the city. Among them were Gregory of Ephesus (*Ep. 89*), who became Nicholas' best friend, Photius of Heraclea (*Ep. 132*), Ignatius of Cyzicus (*Ep. 137*), and Antony of Sardes, who replaced the absconding Peter (*Eps. 180, 181*). Though Alexander seems to have used some consideration toward Arethas<sup>28</sup> (the likeliest motive is Arethas' success in thwarting Leo), it did not extend to his partisans; at the time of Alexander's death a Nicholaan hierarchy was well established throughout the Empire.

Of the rare letters that can be dated to this period, by far the most important is that to Pope Anastasius III (*Ep. 32*) in which Nicholas, after

<sup>22</sup> H. Gelzer, *Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae episcopatum* (Munich, 1901), 550.

<sup>23</sup> *Ep. 89.12; 137.*

<sup>24</sup> *Vita Euthymii* 117.5—6.

<sup>25</sup> *Scripta minora* II, 115—21.

<sup>26</sup> 129.4—7; 135.20—24.

<sup>27</sup> *Scripta minora* I, 176.18—28.

<sup>28</sup> *Vita Euthymii* 127.3—4; Arethas himself (*op. cit.* II, 132.6—7) says that he was deposed by Nicholas and Alexander.

announcing his return to his see, gives his account of the events (making himself a consistent opponent of the notion of dispensation without separation), then proposes to reestablish relations on the condition that Rome join in the ban on fourth marriages. Its arrogant tone and uncompromising demands made it useless as an attempt at reconciliation, and no official notice was taken of it; contact was taken up again only after the Union, in 920. There is further a short letter notifying a group of missionaries of this fact (*Ep. 79*). If, as is probable, they are the Abbot Euthymius and his companions, working in Alania, it follows that they were sent there already during the first patriarchate (or before); the promise of their impending return was made good by the appointment of an archbishop, Peter, in 914. It is possible that the episode of the Bulgarian refugee in St. Sophia (*Eps. 3, 4*) must be dated also to the reign of Alexander.

Also soon after Alexander's accession, Nicholas found himself in the awkward position of having to cooperate in the marriage of the Emperor and his mistress and the forced tonsuration of the legitimate augusta and her mother.<sup>29</sup> An extenuating circumstance was perhaps that Alexander had long been separated from his wife, well before Nicholas' time, by Leo's orders,<sup>30</sup> so that, technically, she may already have been a nun since *ca.* 900.

Alexander died on June 6, 913, after an illness of two days during which he appointed a Regency Council under Nicholas, with Stephen the magistros, John Eladas, one Euthymius, and three of his personal favorites. According to some accounts,<sup>31</sup> Nicholas, while still unaware of this arrangement, wrote to Constantine Ducas, the son of Andronicus, urging him to come to Constantinople and seize power before anyone else could. Upon his arrival in the city, Constantine found a totally changed situation; his coup miscarried and he was killed; cruel reprisals against his supporters followed.

For the next eight months (June 913—February 914) Nicholas was in fact the head of the Empire and behaved, on the whole, as if he were so also by right. He negotiated in his own name with the Caliph on the condition of the Cypriotes (*Ep. 1*) and with the Emir of Crete on the exchange of prisoners (*Ep. 2*). He took personal initiatives in military matters, sending Nicholas Picingli to Italy as Governor of Longibardia to lead the Christian alliance against the Muslims (*Ep. 144*, and probably 44 and 80). As a result, he soon became the most unpopular man in the Empire.<sup>32</sup>

The principal event of his short rule was the Bulgarian war, a consequence of Alexander's refusal to continue payment of the customary tribute. Not heeding the Patriarch's protests, entreaties, and warnings (*Eps. 5—7*), Symeon appeared before the walls of Constantinople in August 913 and started a siege, but soon despaired of the enterprise and proposed a peaceful

<sup>29</sup> *Vita Euthymii* 127.32—129.4.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 55.21—24.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 131.3—9; Theoph. Cont. 381.18—382.2.

<sup>32</sup> *Vita Euthymii* 133.17—20.

settlement. His two sons were received inside the city by the young Emperor Constantine and members of the Regency Council. Nicholas went out to meet the Czar and performed a coronation ceremony, whose exact purport is not clear; apparently a marriage was arranged between the Emperor and one of Symeon's daughters (*Ep.* 16.73—75). After this the Bulgarian army withdrew, though only temporarily.

The struggle within the Church must have continued in the meantime, and some of the letters referring to it may belong to this period, but none can be dated to it with certainty. *Ep.* 146 records an attempt by the protosecretis Constantine Malelias to restore the Euthymian archbishop of Neapolis to his see "after the Emperor's death"; obviously, however, circumstances were more favorable to such an action when Nicholas had lost his power.

His downfall was brought about by the augusta, Zoe, who had returned to the palace when Alexander was dying, to be removed by Nicholas' orders immediately afterward. He made the senators as well as the metropolitans sign an undertaking never again to recognize her as empress, but was compelled to allow her to return to the palace at the wish of the Emperor (then seven years old). Nicholas tried to prevent further claims on her part by having her tonsured and renamed Sister Anna.<sup>33</sup> In February, 914 she took action and expelled Nicholas from the palace; he took refuge in his cathedral, which he had not seen for eight months, and spent there twenty-two anxious days, while Zoe refused to release him and tried to bring about the restoration of Euthymius. It was almost certainly at this time that the two highest members of the Nicholaän hierarchy, Gregory of Ephesus and Photius of Heraclea, were arrested and deported (*Ep.* 132), soon to be set free again. What saved Nicholas and his party was Euthymius' steadfast refusal, despite the insistence of his bishops and clergy, to assume the burden of the patriarchate once more. Under these circumstances, Zoe had no choice but to maintain Nicholas in his office in order to escape the disaster of a third patriarch and a third party. Thus, he was eventually permitted to leave, after signing a written promise to proclaim her augusta in St. Sophia (a step which Euthymius had never consented to take) and never to enter the palace again unsummoned.<sup>34</sup>

From February 914 until the end of 918 Zoe ruled with a cabinet of court eunuchs led by the parakimomenos Constantine and the Gongylus brothers. In the initial stage, the government was openly hostile to the Patriarch, whom it could not discard. It is to this period that most of Nicholas' desperate entreaties to his colleagues and friends for company and support, his complaints of being deserted by all, must belong.<sup>35</sup> The plea of

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* 133.3—14; Theoph. Cont. 386.1—3.

<sup>34</sup> *Vita Euthymii* 137.2—16.

<sup>35</sup> *Eps.* 39.11—14; 133.47—50; 186.

illness is used so often by his correspondents in these days<sup>36</sup> that, in spite of the fatherly concern expressed in Nicholas' answers, one is inclined to feel skeptical. There were moments when his situation was so precarious that the mere writing of a letter seemed a risk<sup>37</sup> (a fact perhaps not entirely surprising, in view of his long-standing reputation for political intrigue); he could not even venture to publish a pamphlet stating his position in the tetragamy question.<sup>38</sup> Physical violence against the Nicholaän clergy was encouraged, or at least connived at, by the authorities.<sup>39</sup> Metropolitans visiting the capital found themselves under pressure to defect to the Euthymians.<sup>40</sup>

It was a very much humbled Nicholas who, under these circumstances, found it expedient to make overtures to Euthymius, who, since his refusal, was no longer a threat. An exchange of letters led to a personal meeting, the meeting to a reconciliation between the Patriarchs, which helped to pave the way for the eventual reconciliation between the churches.

Relations between the patriarchate and the palace gradually became less strained, partly perhaps through the almost daily contact imposed by the routine of court and church ceremony, partly owing to the common catastrophe of the Bulgarian war. Here, the interests of the Church and the State were not too far apart, the government's aim being a military victory or else an acceptable compromise, the patriarchate's an acceptable compromise or else a military defeat of the Bulgarians, if necessary to make them adhere, in one form or another, to the Constantinopolitan Church. So, when, about 916, the great Byzantine counteroffensive was in preparation, we find the Patriarch presenting himself at the palace uninvited to plead for moderation—though there may be reasonable doubt as to whether he was as sincerely concerned for peace as he depicts himself in the report he gave to Symeon later, under much changed circumstances, after the battle of Achelous (*Ep.* 9.66—196). His objections to joining forces with the pagan Pechenegs and Turks against a nation of fellow-Christians are confirmed to a certain extent by *Ep.* 183; yet, in fact, he supported the alliance with the Pechenegs by imposing a purely nominal penance to straighten out the scandal (or possible scandal) of a pagan sacrificial rite that had been necessary for its conclusion (*Eps.* 66, 67).

On the other hand, the war also caused new friction between the State and the Church, mainly of a financial character. An attempt by Constantine the chamberlain to appropriate Church property on behalf of the depleted treasury provoked an indignant, though probably ineffectual

<sup>36</sup> Tryphon, *Ep.* 33; Gregory, *Ep.* 41; Gregory or Photius, *Ep.* 42; Ignatius, *Ep.* 50; Antony, *Ep.* 142.

<sup>37</sup> *Ep.* 133.50—53.

<sup>38</sup> Arethas, *Scripta minora* I, 127.22—128.2.

<sup>39</sup> *Ep.* 128; cf. also 34, which may reflect a later stage.

<sup>40</sup> *Ep.* 151.

protest from Nicholas.<sup>41</sup> There were other conflicts of a more incidental nature: complaints of requisition of land, produce, and ships by military commanders,<sup>42</sup> and remonstrations about the draft exemption of clergy not being respected.<sup>43</sup>

After the crushing defeat of the imperial army at Achelous (August 20, 917), from which the Zoe administration never recovered, Nicholas' position became proportionally stronger. He undertook a new peace offensive, acting for himself rather than for the eunuch government, which he made responsible for the unfortunate campaign (*Eps.* 9—13). When the last of these letters were written, the days of Zoe's government were numbered; it seems that Constantine the parakimomenos had already been arrested by Romanus, and Nicholas had returned to the palace for a final short spell of power as regent, together with Stephen the magistros (winter 918/19). It lasted only a few months, as long as the struggle for the crown between Leo Phocas and Romanus Lecapenus was undecided. On March 24, 919, Romanus sent word that he had resolved to enter the palace to protect the Emperor against the usurpation of Phocas. When Nicholas refused to admit him, he landed at Bucoleon the following morning. Stephen left voluntarily, Nicholas stayed until Nicetas the patrician, father-in-law of Christopher Lecapenus, came in and forced him to go.

One of Romanus' first concerns, even during the tumultuous first year after his coup d'état, when one conspiracy followed another, was to restore peace in the Church. Apart from the political troubles caused by the schism, his motive may have been a genuine conviction that the disasters of the Regency were a sign of God's displeasure. He used this argument trying to persuade Nicholas to be more flexible; the next day the Patriarch wrote him a long letter, in which he took the more pragmatic view and pointed out on the ground of historical evidence that military success and failure depended not on theological, but on military causes (*Ep.* 75).

Personal feelings and party sentiment in the Church still ran high. When on August 5, 917, Euthymius died, the Nicholaan party (rather, it appears, than Nicholas himself) refused him burial in the monastery of Psamathia. Later (date unknown: 918?) his remains were by imperial order transferred to the city, and that day, in an official eulogy whose keynote was venomous hatred, Arethas confidently predicted the imminent removal of Nicholas.<sup>44</sup> As for the tetragamy question itself, in the course of the fight the relative positions of the parties had been almost completely reversed, and in the pamphlet warfare that continued for years after Leo's death the combatants unashamedly ransacked the writings of their adversaries for

<sup>41</sup> *Ep.* 133; cf. also 53, 61, and 72.

<sup>42</sup> *Eps.* 35—36; 164—66.

<sup>43</sup> *Eps.* 37, 150, 164.

<sup>44</sup> *Scripta minora* I, 89.7—12; 92.9—18.

arguments in support of a view that had now become their own. The crucial issue, meanwhile, was that of the validity of the appointments. If Nicholas could force himself to swallow his pride and welcome impenitent sinners back into the Church, there remained the problem of his supporters and nominees, whom he did not want to betray. This dilemma is very much in evidence in a number of letters written about this time.<sup>45</sup>

Against these odds, Romanus' success is all the more admirable, and little short of a miracle. The strongest incitement which he could hold out to the Patriarch was the hope of returning to an influential position at court, and it may have played an important part in overcoming his initial resistance; in the following year (920) we find him firmly established as Romanus' helper and advisor. Arethas later claimed to have been, with Romanus, the real author of the union.<sup>46</sup> However this may be, though the official instrument of the reconciliation—the *Tome of Union*<sup>47</sup>—reads as if it were drawn up by Nicholas himself, in substance it is on the whole in favor of the Euthymian position: while fourth marriages are to be banned from now onward (a point never contested by either of the parties), it is spelled out that dispensation was granted to Leo with divine approval, and the more specific anathemas are directed against those of the anti-dispensation group who should refuse to acquiesce in this ruling. The real problem, that of the occupation of the sees, is not even mentioned, but we know that practical provisions were made by a joint synod,<sup>48</sup> presumably the one that solemnly proclaimed the union on July 9, 920.

In principle, of course, the return of the Euthymian hierarchy to the Church could mean only their return to their former sees (at least for those who had refused to resign them); this is also mentioned explicitly in the prophecy with which Euthymius consoled his impatient bishops: "you will be received back into the Church and recover your sees."<sup>49</sup> It is illustrated, in *Ep.* 109, by the case of a suffragan bishop in the metropolitan diocese of Laodicea, who, possibly as late as 924/25, expressed the wish to return to the Church; it is taken for granted that this means automatic restoration, the incumbent appointed under Nicholas simply has to retire until there will be a suitable vacancy for him. Though this is the only example on record, the solution must have been the same in many other cases, metropolitans and archbishops not excluded. Whatever the arrangements were, they were obviously neither complete nor watertight. Immediately after the union Nicholas wrote to Gregory of Ephesus establishing (for the local clergy) an order of precedence in which the Euthymian appointees ranked

<sup>45</sup> *Eps.* 75, 100, 126, 136 (and 157A?).

<sup>46</sup> *Scripta minora* I, 229.30—230.3.

<sup>47</sup> G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων* (Athens, 1852—59), V, 4—9.

<sup>48</sup> *Ep.* 94.20—22.

<sup>49</sup> *Vita Euthymii* 135.28—29.

lowest (*Ep. 89*). Shortly afterward he had to send a circular to the "heads of the churches" (metropolitans and archbishops, presumably) to remind them of the rules for ordination, which were not kept (*Ep. 94.18—28*).

Nobody, least of all the Patriarch himself, harbored the illusion that the peace was final. The *Tomus* itself was to a large extent written with a view to remaining dissidents. After the union Nicholas made a halfhearted offer to resign, if it was felt that he was an obstacle in the way of further pacification (*Ep. 90*). Even while announcing the joyful news to Symeon of Bulgaria (*Ep. 14.29—47*) and to Pope John (*Ep. 56.15—21*) he made it clear that the union was not complete; in a later letter to the Pope<sup>50</sup> the wording seems to indicate that some of his own party had left the Church, an eventuality which he had already foreseen.<sup>51</sup> In the hope that recognition of Nicholas by Rome would help to suppress the last resistance, Romanus and Nicholas joined forces in an effort to restore relations. Since it was now clear beyond any doubt that Nicholas was the only legitimate patriarch, the Roman Church had little choice in the matter and even went through the formality of condemning fourth marriages. The arrival of the papal delegates Theophylactus and Carus, reported in *Ep. 28*, has been dated by Grumel between June 922 and June 923 on the ground of Euthymius' prophecy of final peace in the tenth year of Constantine VII.<sup>52</sup> Even if this somewhat precarious clue is discarded, the date cannot be far wrong, as the letter in question was written in any case after *Ep. 24* (late 921, or more probably late 922) and a considerable time before *Eps. 29* and *30* (late 923, or more probably late 924). The event cannot have failed to have had some effect on the situation within the Constantinopolitan Church, but the schism continued; an appendix to the *Tome of Union*<sup>53</sup> records that the last dissidents surrendered only toward the end of the century, under the Patriarch Sisinnius.

The peace in the Church also marked a new period of political activity for the Patriarch. Immediately after the union he resumed his correspondence with Symeon of Bulgaria, which had been interrupted by the events of March 919. This missive (*Ep. 19*) was followed by a dozen others spread over five years; the Patriarch's services were all the more valuable because Symeon as a matter of principle refused to have any dealings with the usurper Romanus. Rather than answer Symeon's letters to the Senate, which would have been tantamount to admitting his contention, Romanus tried to carry on negotiations through Nicholas. His usefulness did not end there. The gold of the churches was now made available to the common-

wealth in need with Nicholas' full cooperation<sup>54</sup> — in contrast with his stern refusal to Constantine the chamberlain some five years earlier. This gold levy must probably be dated to the second half of 920, before Romanus' coronation. To the same period belong two short notes addressed to Romanus caesar; one, *Ep. 95A*, offering advice in a matter of the chancery budget (which had been, in a way, Nicholas' own province, twenty years before); the other, *Ep. 95*, on fleet operations (in which one would have thought that Romanus would be more competent). For more obvious reasons, he was consulted on questions where secular and ecclesiastical interests met: liability of monasteries to taxation (*Ep. 96*), a conflict between Romanus, then already emperor, and the oconomus of St. Sophia (*Ep. 86*). There is an impressive list of letters to princes and rulers testifying to his vitality and restless activity: the dossier of the Longibardian revolt (*Eps. 82—85, 103*, and perhaps *101, 101A*); letters to the Curopalate of Iberia (*Ep. 91*), to the Caliph, on the treatment of Saracen prisoners of war (*Ep. 102*, dated July 922); to the King of Armenia, on the ordination of a new catholicus (*Ep. 139*); to George of Abasgia, on the Bulgarian war (*Ep. 162*).

In November 924 (923?) Symeon, during his last attack on Constantinople, consented to receive a delegation consisting of Nicholas, Michael Stypiotes, and John the mystikos. They arranged a personal interview between Symeon and Romanus, at which Nicholas was also present. Even though the meeting did not end the war, at least it ushered in its terminal phase. The Emperor's speech, which according to the chroniclers impressed Symeon deeply,<sup>55</sup> contains all the familiar commonplaces from Nicholas' letters in almost identical terms; very probably he wrote the text for it. The occasion was not in every respect a happy one, however, for Symeon accused the Patriarch of collaboration with the eunuch government and of insincerity in his pacifism. One would have expected Nicholas to be insensitive, by this time, to these insults and sarcasms which he had borne patiently for over ten years; but his desperate attempt, in *Ep. 31*, to justify himself, shows that the reproaches still rankled several months later.

He realized, as he wrote it, that it was to be the last of the "Letters to the Bulgarian." The illness mentioned (or alluded to) in several letters,<sup>56</sup> and from which he recovered at least temporarily, may have been fatal after all. While there is no positive evidence as to its date, the absence of any reference to it in the datable correspondence of the busy years 920 to 923 lends a certain plausibility to this assumption. He died on May 15, 925, and was buried in his own monastery of Galacrenae.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Ep. 53.78—79*, written in 921.

<sup>51</sup> *Ep. 136.17—19*.

<sup>52</sup> *Vita Euthymii* 135.29—32.

<sup>53</sup> 9.6—16 (Rhalles-Potles).

<sup>54</sup> *Eps. 92* and *94*.

<sup>55</sup> Theoph. Cont. 408.6—409.9.

<sup>56</sup> *Eps. 57, 104, 107, 109, 110, 153*.

<sup>57</sup> Theoph. Cont. 410.8—11.

## II. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LETTERS

The groundwork for the chronology of Nicholas' correspondence was laid by V. Grumel, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I, 2 (1936), 133—221. There are substantial additions to be made to this: Grumel omits twenty-two numbers of the Patmos collection, among which are items of paramount importance, such as *Eps. 49, 132, and 146*; further, twenty new letters were published since by Darrouzès. Some points must be revised because later research has revealed new facts (as in the case of the dynasty of Abasgia since Toumanoff's new chronology); in particular, the question of the correspondence of the first patriarchate needs reexamination.

In the *Regestes*, sixteen letters are listed under the first patriarchate (as against eighty under the second); but it has been pointed out, quite correctly, that it would be difficult to find a single letter that can be shown with certainty to belong to that period.<sup>58</sup> In view of the great number that can be assigned at first sight to the Regency or to the reign of Romanus, on the ground either of the address or of the contents, this is strange. It is true that Nicholas had reason to suppress some of his earlier letters, but many more must have been harmless and even among the ones relating to the tetragamy there must have been those which he could have turned to his advantage without any editing. A brief review of Grumel's sixteen letters will show that in the majority of cases there are definite grounds to date them to the second patriarchate; in none are there compelling reasons for an earlier dating.

*Ep. 2*, to the Emir of Crete, is dated 904 because the prisoners of war whose release Nicholas wants to obtain could well be the captives from Thessalonica, many of whom are known to have been sold in Crete; but then there was plenty of warfare and there were plenty of raids in the following years. The really decisive point is that Nicholas is trying to establish friendly relations with a foreign prince and to negotiate with him on military business without so much as mentioning the Emperor on whose behalf he is supposed to act. This attitude is characteristic of his short period of personal rule (913/14).

*Eps. 3 and 4* deal with the case of a Bulgarian fugitive who had taken refuge in St. Sophia and was extradited to Symeon. The letters are the first of the Bulgarian file and the episode must have taken place before the beginning of hostilities in the summer of 914 and probably before there was an open threat of war (since none is mentioned). Still, this excludes neither the reign of Alexander, even after the conflict over the tribute, nor the early days of the Regency; the willingness to humor Symeon might be explained as an attempt to alleviate an already existing tension.

<sup>58</sup> Karlin-Hayter, "Le synode," 98 note 70.

*Eps. 39, 41, 42, and 48* (to Gregory of Ephesus) have already been restored by P. Karlin-Hayter<sup>59</sup> to the second patriarchate on conclusive grounds: first, Nicholas' plea that he can do nothing to remedy the situation of the church of Ephesus because of the desperate state of things in the capital, does not fit the events of 906/7, which did not affect the local churches; second, the metropolitan of Cyzicus mentioned at *Ep. 39.8—13* can be hardly anyone else than Ignatius, who was appointed by Nicholas after his return in 912. Besides, the wording of *Ep. 89* (implying that the pre-Euthymian clergy of Ephesus was not ordained by Gregory) seems to indicate that Gregory himself was also appointed by Nicholas at the beginning of the second patriarchate to replace the Euthymian John. However this may be, the deportation of Gregory and Photius of Heraclea, to which *Ep. 132* refers, must have taken place during the Regency, since the see of Heraclea was held by Demetrius at least from 902 until May 912, when Nicholas deposed him; it has nothing to do with the arrest of the metropolitans by Leo in February 907.<sup>60</sup>

The entire Alanian dossier, partly addressed to the first archbishop Peter, partly to the princes of Abasgia, requesting assistance for him (*Eps. 46, 51, 52, 118, 133—35*), must be shifted from the first patriarchate to the second for two reasons. In the first place, according to C. Toumanoff's chronology of the rulers of Abasgia,<sup>61</sup> the recipient of *Ep. 46* can only be George II, who succeeded his father Constantine III in or about 916. Secondly, Nicholas' description of his own predicament in *Ep. 133* cannot possibly refer to the crisis of late 906 to February 907. If he was already "dwelling in hell, as far as human aid is concerned," when Peter came to take leave of him, Peter's complaints about being forgotten (necessarily written a considerable time later) could have reached him only long after his abdication. Yet, at the time of writing, though avoided by his friends and distrusted by the government, he is evidently still patriarch. The mission of Peter must therefore be dated to early 914.

Grumel attributes the two letters to David Camulianus (*Eps. 69, 70*) to the joint reign of Leo and Alexander because of the plural used to refer to the Emperors. However, Nicholas actually avoids speaking of "the Emperors" and uses instead two vague abstract formulas, apparently because one of the rulers (Zoe, or Romanus before his coronation) was not an emperor in full standing. The likeliest date is not long before Camulianus' disgrace and punishment (May 919/September 920).

*Ep. 40*, which Jenkins<sup>62</sup> related to the tetragamy and dated to the beginning of 907 (partly also on account of its place between 39 and 41, 42,

<sup>59</sup> "Datation de quatre lettres de Nicolas le Mystique," *Byzantion*, 39 (1969), 492—96.

<sup>60</sup> As assumed by Grumel, *Regestes*, 150, and by Karlin-Hayter, "Quatre lettres," 494, "Le synode," 71 note 28.

<sup>61</sup> "Chronology of the Kings of Abasgia," *Le Muséon*, 69 (1956), 73—90.

<sup>62</sup> *Studies on Byzantine History*, IX, 232—35.

on which see above) has no obvious connection with the fourth marriage; it can be explained more naturally on the assumption that the discontented "he" is not Leo, but the addressee, Malacenus, himself.

Finally, a friendly mention of Arethas as a "Brother and fellow Archbishop" in *Ep. 161*, though slightly surprising, is after all not inconceivable in Nicholas' last years.

To sum up: the only letters which, other things being equal, could be placed in the first patriarchate with a certain probability, are *Eps. 3, 4, and 161*. As it is, the evidence is not nearly strong enough to make an exception for these few items. It is safe to proceed on the assumption that all the letters belong to the years 912/25 and that the correspondence of the first patriarchate was either destroyed by Nicholas before his arrest, or seized by the authorities after it.

The period under consideration is thus reduced to no more than thirteen years; in most cases it can be narrowed further to either the six years of the Regency (June 913/March 919) or the six years under Romanus (March 919/May 925). Letters written under Alexander are rare.

The order of the letters in the manuscripts,<sup>63</sup> while by no means chronological, is not entirely haphazard; there are some long sequences falling within the same periods. From this point of view, the collection of *Patmos 176 (P)* can be divided as follows:

(A) *Eps. 1—32*, long official documents: letters to the Caliph and the Emir (913/14), the Bulgarian dossier (912 ?/25, in chronological order), letter to Pope Anastasius (912);

(B) *Eps. 33—52*: all datable to the Regency (no clue for *Ep. 43* only);

(C) *Eps. 53—81*: miscellaneous;

(D) *Eps. 82—111*: all the datable items after March 919 (no evidence for eight);

(E) *Eps. 112—35*: all the datable items Regency, except *Ep. 126*, which seems to have been written later in 919 (seven undatable); fourteen of these, differently arranged, plus three more of the same period, make up the small Vienna collection (*Phil. gr. 342 = V*);

(F) *Eps. 136—63*: miscellaneous, many undatable.

Within the sequences (B), (D), and (E) there is a strong presumption that letters which contain no evidence at all belong nevertheless to the same periods. In the Summaries dates based on this are enclosed in pointed brackets.

The collection of *Patmos 706 (Q)*, consisting of *Eps. 164—82, 34, 142, 149, 116, 115, 51, 52, 183*, contains nothing that is datable after March 919. Two letters were probably written under Alexander (*Eps. 180, 181*),

<sup>63</sup> Full descriptions, see *infra*, pp. xxxi—xxxv.

four under Alexander or the Regency, eleven under the Regency, and eleven are without any clue as to date. Despite this fairly large proportion of neutral material, it is probable that the entire collection is pre-Romanus. Only the last eight are found also in *Patmos 178*; there is no visible connection between the two manuscripts.

Most of the seven short notes in *Angelicus gr. 13* were written under the stress of violent emotion. If they all belong to the same period, this is 914/18 rather than 906/7, because of the attacks on a local church (Ephesus?) referred to in *Ep. 190*.

### III. MANUSCRIPTS

There is only one independent MS containing the collected letters of Nicholas, *Patmos 178* (166 letters). Stray items are found in three different epistolographical collections: *Vienna, Phil. gr. 342* (17 letters), *Patmos 706* (27 letters), and *Angelicus gr. 13* (7 letters). Twenty-eight of these (47 II and 164—90) are not included in the *Patmos* corpus; they are almost without exception very short.

P=*Patmos 178*. X/XI cent., vellum, 281 leaves. I. Sakkelion, Πατριμακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη (Athens, 1890), 98—99.

1—68<sup>v</sup>: Leo magistros, *Epitome* (extracts in Sakkelion 97—98 and *Patrologia Graeca*, 106.1017—22);

68<sup>v</sup>—69<sup>v</sup>: Nicetas the Paphlagonian, *Letter to Arsenius* (Arethas, *Scripta minora* II, 175—77);

70<sup>r</sup>—244<sup>r</sup>: Nicholas, *Letters* 1—46; 47 I; end of 47 II; 48—95; 95A; 96—101; 101A; 102—57; 157A; 158—63;

244<sup>r</sup>—268<sup>r</sup>: Photius, 46 *Letters* (collation by Sakkelion, Ἀθηναῖον, IX, 290—94);

268<sup>r</sup>—281<sup>v</sup>: Leo magistros, *Correspondence* (G. Kolias, *Léon Choerophactès* [Athens, 1939]=*Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, Beiheft 31).

The copyist was conscientious, but no scholar; for instance, a good many mistakes are due to a wrong choice in interpreting the compendia for -ην/-ειν and -ης/-εις. His spelling is, on the whole, good. The anomalies that occur most frequently, such as -σ- for -σσ- before a consonant (e.g., προσχεῖν) and -ει- for -ι- in forms of ἰδεῖν (e.g., συνείδοι) were standard in that period.

After completion the text was revised by somebody else, presumably, as usual, the man who commissioned the MS and was its first owner. He did not consult the original (the other MSS usually fail to corroborate his corrections) and, while correcting a number of obvious mistakes, added some new ones of his own. A good specimen of his haphazard critical methods (which were, of course, quite common) is found at 118.15.



The writings collected in P are all of the late ninth and early tenth centuries; the MS itself was written within a century of most of the authors included. Soon after that, interest must have waned; at least, so far as we know, no copies of any of these texts were made until the end of the sixteenth century (1582/85), when Luigi Lollino, archbishop of Belluno, included the letters of Nicholas in his unique collection of transcripts of Patmos MSS, then practically unattainable. His copy is:

Vat. = *Vaticanus gr. 1780*, part II (=fols. 83—255), paper, late XVI cent. P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci 1745—1962*, I (Rome, 1970), 120—22.

This part of the MS (originally a separate volume) contains only a complete transcript of *Patmos 178*, 70<sup>r</sup>—244<sup>r</sup>, by the hand of Mercati's scribe A, who took care of the major part of Lollino's project,<sup>64</sup> and who is identified by Msgr. Canart<sup>65</sup> as (probably) Nicephorus, chartophylax of Patmos. Though his copy is far from precise, many of his corrections (mostly minor ones) are acceptable, as the apparatus of this edition will show.

V = *Vienna Phil. gr. 342*. XI cent., vellum, V + 219 leaves. Sp. Lambros, 'Ο Βιενναῖος κώδιξ *Phil. 342*, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 19 (1925), 12—29. H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I (Vienna, 1961), 435—37.

A topsy-turvy collection of letters, mostly of the tenth century, but with a sprinkling of earlier ones. Authors' names are seldom provided, so that identification is sometimes difficult. There are two sequences of letters of Nicholas:

12<sup>v</sup>—20<sup>v</sup>: 129; 113; 1 (with a lacuna due to the loss of two leaves after fol. 15); 112; 130—32. The first letter has the heading λέοντι συλέου νικολαος π(α)τριάρχ(ης). On fols. 21<sup>r</sup>—48<sup>v</sup>, there follow ten letters published under Nicholas' name in Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 21 (1927), 3—29 (by K. Dyonouiotos from Lambros' posthumous papers); but in spite of the Τοῦ αὐτοῦ marking Nos. 1 and 4—8, none of them belongs to Nicholas: 1 and 2 are by Nicetas the Paphlagonian,<sup>66</sup> 3—8 by Theodore of Nicea (39, 2, 40, 41, 1, 42 Darrouzès);<sup>67</sup> 9 is attributed by the MS to an unknown protonotary, and 10 to a protasecretis (Symeon 87 Darrouzès).

80<sup>r</sup>—91<sup>v</sup>: 128; 127; 126; 125; 47 II; 134; 133; 40; 115; 120. No author is indicated; the preceding letters are by Theodore of Cyzicus.

Though all these letters, except the first part of 47 II, are found also in P, it is clear that V is independent, not only of the Patmos MS itself, but also of the redaction that it represents. Instead of two disparate halves, V offers a complete and coherent text of 47; further, in letters 125, 126,

<sup>64</sup> G. Mercati, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d'Italia, e di Patmo*, Studi e Testi, 68 (Rome, 1935), 117—48 (146—47).

<sup>65</sup> P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci 1745—1962*, I (Rome, 1970), 94.

<sup>66</sup> Jenkins, *Studies*, VIII, 231—32; Arethas, *Scripta minora* II (1971), 149—53.

<sup>67</sup> J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du X<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1960), 50, 305.

and 128—30, it has preserved the farewell formulas which the redactor (rather than a copyist) of the Patmos corpus thought he could drop. On the other hand, since V includes no letters that are not also in P, it must derive from the same material, i.e., from the same file in the patriarchal archives. This explains also why V sometimes presents the same sequence of letters in the opposite order; either of the two editors, as Jenkins suggested, may have reversed the order of the sheets in the process of transcription.<sup>68</sup>

Q = *Patmos 706*. XII cent., paper, 366 leaves. Sakkelion, Πατριμακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 274—75. J. Darrouzès, "Un recueil épistolaire byzantin: le manuscrit de Patmos 706," *Revue des études byzantines*, 14 (1956), 87—121.

The MS contains letters of the fourth, sixth, and tenth centuries, collected with much more regard for their documentary value than was the case for the Vienna MS. The chaotic state of the collection is due to the carelessness of the binder and the loss of some leaves; it has now been set right (at least as regards the former) by the patient research of Darrouzès. The letters of Nicholas present a problem quite independent of this confusion, for they form part of a collection that is clearly marked, both at the beginning and at the end, as belonging entirely to Symeon, the magistros and logothete:

166<sup>v</sup>—198<sup>v</sup>, 200<sup>r-v</sup>, 199<sup>r</sup>: Ἐπιστολαὶ συμεῶν μαγίστρου καὶ λογοθέτου τοῦ δρόμου. Symeon 1—24, Nicholas 164—82 (= Symeon 25—44); Nicholas 34, 142, 149, 118, 115 (= Symeon 45—49); Symeon 50—61; Nicholas 51, 52 (= Symeon 62, 63); Symeon 64, 65; Nicholas 183 (= Symeon 66); Symeon 81. Τέλος τῶν πᾶ' ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ λογοθέτου.

Darrouzès identified the seven letters that Q has in common with P (Symeon 45—49, 62, and 63) as belonging to Nicholas and assigned to him twenty-eight more (six of which he questions himself), on grounds of content, style, and forms of address used; viz. Symeon 3?, 11?, 25—44, 50, 56?, 57?, 59?, 61?, and 66. Of these, 25—44 and 66 appear in the present edition under numbers 164—83; some of the remaining seven (No. 50 and the six queried ones) may not be by Symeon, but I do not believe that they belong to Nicholas either.

In letter 3, the addressee (a bishop, apparently) is referred to as τοῦ φιλάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη, a common enough title, but Darrouzès rightly doubts if Nicholas could have used it for his own metropolitans and bishops. As a matter of fact, he reserves the word strictly for the emperor, and against this, the concluding formula, which resembles those used by Nicholas but is certainly not exclusively his, does not count for much.

Nos. 11 and 61, as Darrouzès points out, seem to be by the same man, a prelate, but beyond this there is very little that indicates Nicholas; on the contrary, the writer appears to be outside the capital (in Greece, probably) and has received news about his correspondent through his letter to

<sup>68</sup> Cf. also Jenkins, *Studies*, VIII, 235.

the bishop of Scyros. Finally, the author is much stricter than Nicholas in the observance of the rhythmical law which requires an even number of unstressed syllables between the last two accents preceding a pause. This last argument also holds for 57 and 59.

Symeon 50 is by an ecclesiastical dignitary writing to a strategos to obtain exemption from military service for a poor widow's son. The profusion of pompous titles (2 τὴν τοῦ θεαρέστου κυροῦ ὑπεροχὴν, 5 τῆς περιβλέπτου ὑμῶν ὑπεροχῆς, 13 τῆς ὑμετέρας περιβλέπτου μεγαλονοίας, 22 ἡ θεοφροῦρητος ὑμῶν μεγαλόνοια, 25–26 ἡ θεοφροῦρητος ὑμῶν ὑπεροχὴ) and the bizarre, affected style (see especially lines 13–21) forbid its ascription to Nicholas, who had more dignity and more restraint.

Letters 56 and 60 of Symeon are linked together by marked parallels in thought and phraseology (cf. in particular 56.12–19 with 60.8–15); 56 and 59 have in common the expression συνέσει καὶ φρονήσει (κατα)κοσμούμενος. The positive reasons for attributing 56 or 59 to Nicholas are extremely slight (the Biblical phrase "Man of God" and the fairly common appeal to the correspondent's sound judgment), while on the other hand both 59 and 60 use the predicate "Brother," which Nicholas reserves for equals (the Pope, a patriarch, the archbishop of Bulgaria) and for special occasions (the dissident metropolitans of letters 90 and 136; his personal friend Gregory of Ephesus, 42.3 *et al.*; the protothronos, 161.7); otherwise, his metropolitans and bishops are consistently addressed as "Sons."

As regards No. 57, there is not sufficient ground to ascribe it to Nicholas. The writer may be either a clergyman or a layman; the phrase τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀδελφότητος is not a *terme de chancellerie patriarcale*, but a simple collective ("your community").

There are several possible explanations for the presence among Symeon's letters of those of Nicholas and, apparently, others. Since the collection of Q is so well protected against interpolation by its title, its subscription, and the recorded number of eighty-one letters, the probability is that they were found among Symeon's posthumous papers and included by a careless editor. Darrouzès<sup>69</sup> has proposed the hypothesis that Symeon as a young man could have worked in the patriarchal chancery during Nicholas' last years; however, letters 180 and 181 (Symeon 42 and 43) relate to the appointment of Antony, metropolitan of Sardes, which must have taken place as early as 912.

A = *Angelicus gr. 13 (C.4.14)*. XI cent., vellum, 180 leaves. A. Piccolomini, "Index codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Angelicae," *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 4 (1896), 39–42 (= C. Samberger, *Catalogi codicum Graecorum qui in minoribus bibliothecis italicis asservantur*, II [Leipzig, 1968], 53–56).

Letters of the Cappadocians and Photius; Theodore of Nicea, Symeon magistros, and Nicholas; Synesius and Isidorus.

<sup>69</sup> *Epistoliers*, 34.

163<sup>v</sup>–165<sup>r</sup>: ἐπιστολαὶ νικολάου π(α)τριάρχου κωνσταντ(ι)νου πόλε(ως). *Letters* 184–90. Though this small group, characterized by epigrammatic brevity, differs somewhat from most of the other letters and rather reminds of similar short notes in Photius, there is no reason to doubt its authenticity; apparently the choice was made with this particular quality in mind.

The whole MS was copied for Hurtado de Mendoza about the middle of the sixteenth century; the transcript is now:

*Escorial T.II.3*. XVI cent., paper, I + 92 leaves. P. A. Revilla, *Catálogo de los Codices Griegos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial*, I (Madrid, 1936), 459–63. The letters of Nicholas are on fols. 81<sup>v</sup>–82<sup>v</sup>.

#### IV. EDITIONS

1. The Patmos corpus was published in full for the first time from *Vat. gr. 1780* by A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, X, 2 (Rome, 1844), 161–440.

Reprinted, with a useless translation, in J. P. Migne, PG, 111 (Paris, 1863), 27–392.

A few letters were re-edited separately on the basis of Patmos 178: I. Sakkalion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 279–88 (Ep. 32); R. J. H. Jenkins, *Studies*, VIII, 231–41 (Eps. 40, 49, and 144, with translation and commentary).

Bulgarian translations:

V. N. Zlatarski, "Pismata na carigradskaja patriarch Nikolaja Mistika do bulgarskija car Simeona," *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija, nauka i knižnina*, 10 (1894), 327–428 (Eps. 3, 5–8); 11 (1894), 3–54 (Eps. 9–11, 14–17); 12 (1895), 121–211 (Eps. 18–31).

—, *Istorija na bulgarskata dŕžava prez srĕdnitĕ vĕkove*, I, 2 (Sofia, 1927), 822–30 (Ep. 9).

A. Beševliev, *Izvestija na istoričeskoto društvo v Sofija*, 13 (1933), 176–77 (Ep. 66, with Migne text).

I. Dujčev, "Pismata na Nikolaj Mistik," *Prometej*, 3 (1939), fasc. 4, pp. 26–28, fasc. 5, pp. 23–27 (Eps. 4, 12, and 13).

*Izvori za bulgarskata istorija*, VIII (Sofia, 1961), 185–297 (Eps. 3–31 in the above translations, revised, with Migne text).

French translation:

A. A. Vasiliev and M. Canard, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II, 1 (Brussels, 1968), 400–09 (Eps. 2 and 1).

Russian translations:

V. I. Grigorovič, *Sobranie sočinenij* (Odessa, 1916), 7–11 (Eps. 68 and 106); 58–97 (Eps. 23–26); with Migne text.



A. A. Vasiliev, *Vizantijska i Araby*, II, B (Petrograd, 1902), 197—205 (Eps. 1 and 2).

Long before Mai's publication, however, there had been a rather puzzling *editio princeps* of eight letters in Latin (one also in Greek) by Baronius, who had received the material from Lollino: C. Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, X (Rome, 1602), a. 912: Ep. 32; a. 916: Ep. 53; a. 917: Eps. 28 (with Greek text), 139, 102, 49, 144, 145.

They were of course reprinted in the numerous editions of the *Annales* that followed, but the Latin text appeared also (in the same order, but without any doubt directly from Lollino's own papers) in a volume of Lollino's correspondence: Aloysii Lollini . . . , *Epistolae miscellaneae* (Belluno, 1642), 80—94; preceded (79—80) by a letter of Baronius and followed (94—95) by Lollino's answer.

In his letter Baronius says that in the list of Lollino's Greek MSS he remembers having seen long ago two hundred letters of the Patriarch Nicholas. As he is now dealing with that period, he requests either a translation, or, since that is no doubt asking too much, a loan of the MS. Lollino answers that he has selected for translation those letters that have some historical interest. He has been struck especially by Nicholas' respect for the Roman see, expressed in his letter to Symeon of Bulgaria, in spite of the "monstrous schism." If Baronius should want to have the Greek originals as well, *ad conciliandum facilius fidem veritati*, he will receive them at the first opportunity.

The texts printed by Baronius differ so considerably from the current redaction that they have usually been thought to represent an independent tradition. This was also Grumel's view,<sup>70</sup> but it has rightly been rejected by Darrouzès<sup>71</sup> and Canart.<sup>72</sup> The two hundred letters, of which Baronius says he has known for a long time, can be no other than those of *Vat. gr. 1780*, which had been in Lollino's possession for more than fifteen years; two hundred is a rough estimate, for at the time the letters were not numbered. Lollino's answer implies that it was from this MS that he made his choice (*selegi, ut e Graecis Latinas facerem*). The possibility that Lollino should have owned a second, presumably large, collection, which he had not listed and preferred not to mention to Baronius, is too remote to deserve serious consideration, especially as the tendentious nature of some of the variants is obvious. The most evident case occurs at 28.6—7, where P and *Vat.* have κινούμενοι . . . παρὰ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πάπα, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ, while Lollino reads κινούμενοι . . . παρὰ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πάπα Ῥώμης, ᾧ ἀπειθεῖν ἀθέμιτον κρίνομεν, and paraphrases *ut . . . Sanctissimi Patris, cui minime parere nefas, gravis apud bonos omnes auctoritas me . . . impellat*. Here, his "translation" of his own Greek text is a good example

<sup>70</sup> *Regestes*, Nos. 635, 651, 657, 659, 675, 712, 717.

<sup>71</sup> "Inventaire des épistoliers byzantins du X<sup>e</sup> siècle," *REByz*, 18 (1960), 127.

<sup>72</sup> By letter.

of his unfortunate tendency toward overstatement *ad conciliandum facilius fidem veritati*. As regards the Greek text itself, the most charitable assumption is perhaps that it was concocted as an emergency measure when Baronius unexpectedly did accept Lollino's offer to send him the originals.

2. A collation of the Vienna letters with the Migne text was published from Lambros' papers in Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 19 (1925), 7—11. Jenkins published the text of 47 II; in *Byzantion*, 35 (1965) (= *Studies*, XIX), 159—66; cf. also J. F. Mitchell, "Further Remarks" in *Byzantion*, 37 (1967), 136—42.

3. The text of Symeon's letters in *Patmos 706*, including those of Nicholas not already in Migne, was edited by Darrouzès, *Epistoliers*, 99—163.

4. The seven short letters of *Angelicus gr. 13* (184—90) were printed by P. Lazari, from a transcript made by L. Allatius, in *Miscellaneorum ex manuscriptis libris bibliothecae Collegii Romani Societatis Iesu*, II (Rome, 1757), 549—53.

## V. PRESENT EDITION

The collations for the present text were done from photographs and microfilms provided by the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. In the case of P, this means that, in spite of the excellent quality of the material, it was often impossible to distinguish with any certainty between minor corrections made by the copyist *in scribendo* (P<sup>i</sup>) on the authority of the original, and those of the revisor (P<sup>c</sup>), which are no better than any other conjecture. In these cases (marked P<sup>x</sup> in the apparatus), since corrections by the scribe are much rarer, the leading principle must be that the corrections are acceptable only if necessary for intrinsic reasons.

Whenever there is a choice between MSS, P variants have been preferred as a rule, not only because it is the most accurate, but because the text of Letters 1—163 is essentially an edition of this MS. However, Q and V have been followed when obviously correct, or more complete.

Where conjectures have been adopted against the *consensus* of PQ (52.5; 6; 42; 58; 68) or PV (128.41; 43; 130.9; 131.11; 44), the assumption is of course that the common archetype, which is almost certainly the official copy in the patriarchate, must have been at fault. Experience proves that such an eventuality is anything but theoretical. Still, conjecture has been resorted to as sparingly as possible, and special care has been taken not to obliterate the characteristics of Nicholas' grammar (use of the moods; omission of the reduplication) and idiom (such as οὐκ οἶδα for οὐκ οἶδα εἰ, and οὐ μόνον for οὐ μόνον οὐ).

The spelling and accentuation have been normalized tacitly, and the punctuation of the MSS has been corrected, also without comment, whenever necessary.

## LIST OF SIGNS

- P = Patmiacus 178, s. X/XI  
P<sup>i</sup> = eius scribe in scribendo aut corrigendo  
P<sup>c</sup> = eius corrector  
P<sup>x</sup> = utrum scribe an corrector incertum  
Vat. = Vaticanus gr. 1780, s. XVI, ex P descriptus  
V = Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 342, s. XI  
Q = Patmiacus 706, s. XII  
A = Angelicus gr. 13 (C.4.14), s. XI
- Da = Darrouzès  
Jk = Jenkins  
La = Lazeri  
Wk = Westerink
- < > = addenda  
[ ] = delenda  
\*\*\* = lacuna statuenda

TEXT and TRANSLATION

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ

1. Τῷ περιδόξῳ καὶ λαμπροτάτῳ ἀμηνᾶ τῆς Κρήτης 28  
καὶ ἡγαπημένῳ φίλῳ

Πᾶσα ἐπίγειος ἐξουσία καὶ ἀρχὴ ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν ἡρτῆται ἀρχῆς A  
καὶ ἐξουσίας, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξουσία ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲ δυνάστης ἐξ οἰκείας  
5 περινοίας ἐπὶ γῆς δυναστείαν κληρονομῶν, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐν ὑψίστοις ἐξουσιαστής  
καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ μόνος δυνάστης κατανεύσῃ τὴν κληρονομίαν. Διὰ τοῦτο  
προσῆκεν, εἰ δυνατόν, πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἀνθρώποις δυναστείαν λαχόντας,  
εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἦν τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνεῖν ἐπιτρέπον καὶ ποιεῖσθαι  
τὴν διὰ λόγων προσομιλίαν, δι' αὐτό γε τοῦτο καθ' ὅτι τῶν ἐξουσιῶν  
10 τὴν δωρεάν παρ' ἐνὸς ἐλάχομεν μὴ διαλιμπάνειν ὅσαι ἡμέραι ποιεῖσθαι  
τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίαν, καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων καὶ δι' ἀποστόλων  
τῶν ἐξυψηρετουόντων τοῖς πράγμασιν· τοσοῦτο δὲ πλέον τοὺς τὰς μεγάλας  
ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας διέποντας, ὅσῳ καὶ μᾶλλον διαφερόντως τετίμηνται,  
καὶ οἷον ἀδελφοί τινες τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφῶν ὑπερέχοντες καὶ προκριθέντες  
15 καὶ τὰς τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχῶν καὶ ἐξουσιῶν διοικήσεις ἐπιτραπέντες. Τί B  
βούλεται ἡμῖν τὸ εἰρημένον; "Ὅτι δύο κυριότητες πάσης τῆς ἐν γῆ  
κυριότητος, ἣ τε τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ ἣ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὑπερανέχουσι  
καὶ διαλάμπουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ δύο μεγάλοι ἐν τῷ στερεώματι φωστήρες,  
καὶ δεῖ κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο μόνον κοινωνικῶς ἔχειν καὶ ἀδελφικῶς, καὶ  
20 μὴ διότι τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ τῷ σεβάσματι κεχωρισμένα,  
παντάπασιν ἀλλοτρίως διακεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποστρεφεῖν ἑαυτοὺς τῆς διὰ τῶν  
γραμμάτων [συνομιλίας] παρὰ μέρος ἐντυχίας.

1: 3-4: Rom. 13.1.

1: P 70r-74r V 14v-18r || 1-2 tit. P: τῷ ἀμηνᾶ κρήτης V || 6 κατανεύσῃ P:  
-σει V || 12 τοσοῦτω Vat. (sed cf. 8.107) || 20 μὴ διότι V: μὴδ' ὅτι P || 22 συνομιλίας punctis  
del. P: om. V (est lectio prior, a Nicolao deinde reiecta)

LETTERS OF NICHOLAS ARCHBISHOP  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE

1. To the most glorious and brilliant Emir of Crete,  
my beloved friend

All earthly authority and rule depend from the rule and authority that are above; and there is no authority among men, nor any potentate who succeeds to his power on earth by his native ability, unless the Author and Ruler and only Potentate in the Highest shall approve his succession. Therefore it is right, if possible, that all of us who have obtained power among men, even though there should be nothing else to promote our mutual contact and converse through words, yet for this very reason—that we have obtained the gift of our authorities from a common Head—is it right that we should not omit day by day to make contact with one another, both by letters and by the emissaries who serve us in our affairs. This is even more incumbent on those who hold mighty rules and authorities, inasmuch as these have been more signally honored, and are (as it were) brothers superior to and preferred above their brethren, and entrusted with the administration of the greatest rules and authorities. What do I mean by this? I mean, there are two lordships, that of the Saracens and that of the Romans, which stand above all lordship on earth, and shine out like the two mighty beacons in the firmament. They ought, for this very reason alone, to be in contact and brotherhood and not, because we differ in our lives and habits and religion, remain alien in all ways to each other, and deprive themselves of correspondence carried on in writing.

Δεῖ μὲν οὖν οὕτω καὶ φρονεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ ποιεῖν, καὶ μηδεμίαν  
 ἄλλη πραγμάτων χρεία πρὸς τοῦτο προὔτρεπετο. | Νῦν δὲ μεθ' ἧς 29  
 25 ἔφημεν εὐλόγου αἰτίας καὶ πράγματα συμβεβηκότα οἷα ὡς γε πειθόμεθα  
 οὐδὲ τῇ σῆ ἀρέσκει μεγαλωσύνη, καὶ πρὸς τὸ γράφειν ἡμᾶς παρώρμησεν  
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀποστολὴν τῶν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν θεόδοτον ὑμῶν ἐξουσίαν ἀπ-  
 εσταλμένων. Ἀλλὰ πρό γε τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξηγήσεως ἐκεῖνό φαμεν,  
 ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶν οἷς ὁ εἰς ἀρχὴν καταστάς δίκαιος ἂν εἴη σπουδῆν  
 30 ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ διαπρέπειν, εἰ γε μὴ τοῦ ἀναξίω τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι [τοῦ]  
 ἔλεγγον διδόναι τούτῳ προκέρκνεται, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ παραδείγμα βίου πρὸς  
 ἀρετὴν ὀρώντος γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις καὶ θαῦμα γλυκὺ τῆς οἰκειᾶς  
 ἀρχῆς καὶ πόθον παρέχειν αὐτοῖς, πρὸς μῖσος μᾶλλον καὶ ὕβριν διερε-  
 θίζει καὶ προκαλεῖται. Τὸ δὲ οἷον κορυφὴ τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἀρετῆς καὶ  
 35 τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν κατορθωμάτων | δικαιοσύνη ἐστὶ, δι' οὗ αὐτός τε ἰσχὺν B  
 περιβάλλεται καὶ τὸ ὑποχείριον ἀσφαλῶς πολιτεύεται καὶ τὸ πολέμιον εἰς  
 ἀντίστασιν οὐ βραδίως καθίσταται. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος  
 ζωῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀποβλέποντα ἐκεῖνον μὲν κοσμεῖ καὶ ὡσπερ ἄνθη τινα  
 ἐξωραΐζει, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ὑπήκοον, εἰ μὴ προαίρεσίς ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῆ ζηλοῦν  
 40 καὶ ἀπομιμεῖσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἀρετὴν, οὐ μέγα τι συμβάλλεται·  
 δικαιοσύνη δὲ κοινὴ τις οὕσα σωτηρία τὸν τε ἄρχοντα δείκνυσιν ἀρχικώ-  
 τερον καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐκεῖνου τεταγμένοις ἀρχὴν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς προμη-  
 θεύεται.

Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ταῦτα εἴρηται, λέγομεν ἤδη καὶ τὰς αἰτίας δι' ἃς εἰς  
 45 τούτους τοὺς λόγους κατέστημεν. | Ἡ τῶν Κυπρίων νῆσος, ᾧ μεγαλο- C  
 δοξότατε τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχηγέ, ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου σπονδῶν εἰρηνικῶν πρὸς  
 αὐτοὺς γεγενημένων ὑπόφοροι τῆς ὑμῶν κατέστησαν ἐξουσίας καὶ μέχρι  
 τοῦ παρόντος ἐν τῇ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀσφαλείᾳ διέζησαν, οὐδενὸς τῶν  
 προπατόρων ὑμῶν, ὅσοι τὸ Σαρακηνῶν ἔθνος ἔλαχον διέπειν, οὔτε λύ-  
 50 σαντος τὰς σπονδὰς οὔτε κακοῦ τινος εἰς πείραν αὐτοὺς καταστήσαντος,  
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ καιροὺς οἱ τῆς ἀρχῆς κληρονόμοι καλῶς καὶ δικαίως φρονοῦντες  
 τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀρέσαντα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν καὶ βεβαιώσαι διησφαλι-  
 σμένα ἐγγράφῳ ἐτίμησάν τε καὶ διεσώσαντο, μηδὲν τι καινοτομήσαντες  
 μηδὲ φρονήσαντες ἕτερον, οὐδ' ὅτι πράξαντες, παρὰ <τὴν> τῶν προγόνων  
 55 προαίρεσιν. Νῦν δὲ τί ἐροῦμεν; Καίτοι ἔδει, ὅσον ὁ χρόνος προέβη καὶ  
 ἡ ἀρ|χαιότης ἐκράτει τῶν συμπεφωνημένων, τοσοῦτον εὐλαβῶς ἔχειν D  
 περὶ τὴν ἀθέτησιν αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως πάντα ἠθέτηται καὶ καταπεπάτηται,  
 καὶ βουλαὶ ἃς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐβουλεύσαντο, καὶ γραφαὶ ἃς οἰκειᾶς

Such should be our mind and conduct even if no other requirement of  
 business were impelling us in this direction. But, as it is, together with the  
 commendable motive of which I have spoken, certain things have happened  
 which are not, I am convinced, approved by your Majesty either; things  
 which have caused me to write myself and to dispatch those who have already  
 been dispatched to your God-given authority. But before I describe them,  
 I will say this: there are many fields in which one who is set up to rule will  
 properly try to excel, unless he chooses to convict himself of his unworthiness  
 for his office, and, instead of setting his subjects an example of a life directed  
 toward virtue, and of arousing in them a pleasant admiration and love of his  
 personal rule, excites and provokes them rather to hatred and insolence. The  
 summit (as it were) of the ruler's virtue, and the crown of his achievements,  
 is Justice, whereby he girds himself with strength, and his subjects dwell in  
 safety, and his enemies are not easily moved to resistance. The other qualities  
 of a ruler's life that tend toward virtue are his adornments, or as flowers to  
 bedeck him; yet for his subjects, unless they have in them a fair desire to  
 emulate and imitate the ruler's virtue, these qualities are of little profit. But  
 Justice is the common salvation: it renders the ruler more worthy of his rule,  
 and provides security for those who are set beneath it.

But now that I have said so much, I speak of the causes which have  
 moved me to write. The island of the Cyprians (O most widely renowned  
 Chief of the Saracens), from the time when the peace treaty was made  
 regarding them and they became tributary to your authority, have lived up  
 till now in the security of the agreements, and none of your forefathers who  
 obtained rule over the Saracen nation has disturbed the truce or done the  
 Cyprians any harm; nay, those who have from time to time succeeded to  
 your rule, honorably and justly regarding what their fathers had decided  
 and ratified with written confirmation, have kept and maintained it, without  
 any violation, and without any intention, let alone action, against their  
 ancestors' resolution. But now, what am I to say? Although the more the  
 time ran on and the older the agreement became, the greater should have  
 been the reluctance to disturb it, nonetheless all has been disturbed and  
 trodden under foot—the decisions made by your fathers, the charters they

23 οὖν P: om. V || 29 εἰς ἀρχὴν P<sup>c</sup>: εἰς ἄρχειν P<sup>1</sup>: ἄρχειν V || 30 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> Jk: τῶι PV || τοῦ<sup>2</sup> del. Jk || 31 τούτῳ V: τοῦτο P || 32 καὶ — 33 αὐτοῖς P: om. V || 38 (ἀποβλέ)ποντα — 100 ὑποβαλοῦσιν] def. V, 2 foliis amissis || 45-46 μεγαλοδοξότατε, v. eraso, P: corr. Vat. || 54 τὴν P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup>

χερσίν ἔγραψαν καὶ σπονδαὶ καὶ ὄρκιοι οὗς τότε πρὸς Κυπρίους Σαρακη-  
 60 νοὶ πίστιν αὐτοῖς παρεχόμενοι ἐποίησαντο· καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀντὶ  
 σπονδῶν, ἀντὶ ὄρκίων, ξίφη καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ σφαγαὶ τοῖς ἀθλίοις ἐπέ-  
 θεντο Κυπρίοις, οὗς ἔπρεπεν, εἰ καὶ ἄλλος τις ταῦτα εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξεργά-  
 ζετο, παρὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βοηθείας τυχεῖν. Τοῦτο γὰρ κοινὸν δίκαιον  
 παρὰ πᾶσιν ὅσοι πόλεις ἢ ἔθνη κέκτηνται ὑποφόρους, τὸ πρὸς τοὺς κατ'  
 65 αὐτῶν ἐπιόντας καὶ πόλεμον συνιστῶντας αὐτοὺς ἀντεπιέναι καὶ ρύε-  
 σθαι τῆς ἐπιθέσεως, ὡς ἐαυτῶν οἰκείους τοὺς ὑποτελεῖς καθεστηκότας.

Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο παρὰ πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι δίκαιον ὑπάρχον, καὶ τοῖς οὐκ  
 εἰδόσι νόμον, ἀντέστραπται παρὰ Σαρακηνοῖς τοῖς νόμῳ πολιτευομένοις, 32  
 καὶ νῆσος μικροῦ ἔτη τριακόσια ἐξ οὗ ὑπόφορος οὖσα ὑμῖν ἐγεγόνει, καὶ  
 70 κατὰ μηδὲν ὀφθεῖσα τῆς ὑπηκόου τάξεως μεταβαλομένη μηδὲ καινοτο-  
 μήσασά τι περὶ τοὺς φόρους μηδὲ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην δουλείαν ὅσην Σαρακη-  
 νοῖς δουλεύειν ἐχρῆν, μηδ' ὅλως τι τῶν ἐγκλησιν ἐπαγόντων αἰτίαν  
 φέρουσα, ἐκ μόνης ἀπονοίας ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπηνρη-  
 μένου πίστιν καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν σέβας νοθεύοντος ἐξηρήμωται καὶ  
 75 ἀπόλωλεν· καὶ οἱ ταύτης οἰκήτορες οἱ μὲν μαχαίρας ἔργον, οἱ δὲ ἀνάστατοι  
 γεγόνασι, τοῦτο μόνον ἔχοντες ἐγκλημα, ὅτι ἐπὶ μακροτάτοις οὕτω  
 χρόνοις ὑπέκειντο εὐγνωμόνως ὑμῖν καὶ οὐδὲν ὄφθησαν τῶν εἰς ὑμετέραν  
 ἐλλείψαντες θεραπείαν, πολλάκις ὑμῶν βαρέως ἐπενεχθέντων αὐτοῖς  
 καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον καὶ τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν συμφώνων. Καίτοι γε B  
 80 εἴπερ καὶ οἶα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα σφαλέντες ἐτύγχανον καὶ ἀπεναντίας ἐφρό-  
 νησάν τι τοῦ ὑμετέρου φρονήματος, οὐδ' οὕτως ἐχρῆν ὄπλοις ἐπιέναι  
 οὐδ' αὐτίκα πρὸς αἵματα χωρεῖν καὶ σφαγὰς (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι Σαρα-  
 κηνῶν ἄξιον, ἀλλ' οὐδέ τινας ἑτέρου ἔθνευ ἀνθρωπίνην πολιτείαν καὶ  
 βίον εἰδότες καὶ σφύζοντες), ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἐγκαλεῖν περὶ τοῦ σφάλματος,  
 85 ἐξελέγχειν ὡς οὐ δίκαια πράττουσιν, παραινεῖν ἑαυτῶν γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ  
 ἐκφέρεσθαι τοῦ προσήκοντος, καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δις καὶ  
 πλέον· καὶ εἰ γε ἀνεπιστρόφως εἶχον καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ μεταμαθεῖν τὸ καλὸν  
 τῆ χειρὸν προσέκειντο γνώμῃ, τότε πᾶσαν ἀπεκδυσαμένους καὶ θεῖαν  
 νέμεσιν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην, ἐπιχειρεῖν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τῶν εἰς τοῦτο συναλα-  
 90 θέντων τιμωρεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνακρούειν. Ἐπράχθη δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν· ἀλλ', C  
 ὅπερ εἶπον, ἀνθρώπους ἀναίτιους, μηδὲν ἡδικηκότας, μηδὲν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 δοξάντων ἡθετηκότας, ἴσα καὶ πολεμίοις διεχειρίσασθε.

Τίς αἰούων ταῦτα ἢ τῶν νῦν ἢ τῶν μετέπειτα ἐσομένων οὐχὶ  
 μεγάλην ἀδικίαν τῶν ταῦτα καταγνώσεται διαπεπραγμένων; Πῶς δὲ οἱ  
 95 προπάτορες ὑμῶν οἱ τὰ σύμφωνα καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους θέμενοι πρὸς Κυπρίους,

wrote with their own hands, and the treaties and oaths which the Saracens  
 of those days made respecting the Cyprians and pledged faith to them; and,  
 instead of peace, instead of treaties, instead of plighted oaths, swords and  
 wars and murders have descended on the miserable Cyprians: whom, had  
 anyone else so afflicted them, it would have been the duty of the Saracens to  
 aid. For this is common justice among all peoples which have made cities and  
 nations their tributaries, that they should themselves resist those who attack  
 and make war upon these tributaries, and rescue them from assault, inasmuch  
 as their tributaries are their own peculiar care.

But this principle, which is justice among all nations, even among those  
 who know no law, has been overturned by the law-abiding Saracens; and an  
 island, which became your tributary nearly three hundred years ago, which  
 has clearly not altered its tributary status in any way, which has violated  
 nothing in payment of taxes or in other service due from it to the Saracens,  
 which can be charged with not a single criminal act, has been, by the mere  
 madness of one who has forsworn the Christian faith and is a disgrace to the  
 Saracen religion, ruined and desolated. Its inhabitants, some put to the  
 sword, others expelled, are open to this accusation only, that during these  
 many long years they remained your grateful subjects, and were never found  
 wanting in anything for your service, though often enough you bore heavily  
 on them, against what was right and against the common justice of the  
 agreements. And yet, even had they, as men may, been in fault, and resolved  
 on some action contrary to your wishes, even so it would not have been right  
 to go against them in arms and proceed at once to bloodshed and slaughter.  
 This was unworthy, I do not say of the Saracens, but of any other nation  
 whatsoever that knows and practices humanity in its life and conduct. You  
 should first have accused them of their fault, convicted them of wrong-doing,  
 exhorted them to amend and to abandon their evil course: and this not once  
 only, but twice or more. Then, if they proved stubborn and, instead of  
 turning to the good, persisted in the worse course, you might, without any  
 fear of vengeance from God or man, have undertaken to punish and repress  
 the folly of those who had conspired in the fault. But nothing of this was done:  
 on the contrary, as I say, you have killed as if they were your enemies men  
 who are innocent, who have committed no fault, who have broken no article  
 of the original agreements.

Who is there among men now living or among future generations who,  
 when he hears of this, will not condemn the great injustice of those respon-  
 sible? How shall your forefathers who made the agreements and oaths re-

εἴ τις ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ πρακτομένων τοῖς ἀποικοιμένοις συν-  
 αἰσθησις, οὐχὶ μεγάλως στενάξαιεν καθ' ὑμῶν καὶ πάσης κατακρίσεως  
 ἐνόχους καταψηφιοῦνται, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐξαμαρτόντας εἰς τὴν τῶν Κυ-  
 100 πρίων νῆσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἐκείνους αὐτούς, καὶ ὡς πατραλοίας πάσαις  
 βίῳ εἰς ἐπανάστασιν καταστῆ, τοῦ πατραλοίας εἶναι τὴν γραφὴν οὐκ  
 ἐκφεύζεται, τῆς δὲ παρούσης ἀπελθόντος ζωῆς ἐὰν τὰ ἐκείνου ἀνατρέψῃ  
 δόξαντα, οὐκ ἔσται πατραλοίας οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνοχος καταδίκης; Τί  
 γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκείνου πρὸς ἐπανάστασιν διαφέρει; Μᾶλλον δὲ εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς  
 105 βούλεται συνιδεῖν, αὐτῆ μερίζων τοῦ ζῶντι ἐπαναστῆναι τῷ πατρὶ ἐπανά-  
 στασις, ὅσῳ καὶ μᾶλλον πλέον ὀφείλεται τοῖς πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν  
 μεταβεβηκόσι ζωὴν ἢ παρὰ τῶν τέκνων τιμὴ καὶ ἡ σὺν εὐλαβείᾳ μνήμη  
 καὶ ἡ τῶν διατεταγμένων συντήρησις. Ὡν (πῶς εἶπω;) ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος  
 ὁ μήτε τὰ Χριστιανῶν στέρεξας καὶ τὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν παρὰ φαῦλον θέ-  
 110 μενος, Δαμιανὸν δὲ φησὶν ὁ λόγος, οὐδὲν λαβῶν ἐπὶ | νοῦν, οὔτε τὰ 33  
 παρόντα οὔτε τὰ ὑστερον ἐπιλογισάμενος, μόνῃ δὲ τῇ ἀπονοίᾳ καὶ τῷ  
 ἀλόγῳ θυμῷ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψας, ἔπραξεν ἔργον ἀνόσιον, τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι  
 στήλην τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κακίας ἐσόμενον, πολυανθρωποτάτην νῆσον, ὅσον ἐπ'  
 αὐτῷ ἦκεν, ἐκ γῆς ἐξαφανίσας, πανωλεθρίᾳ παραδεδομένων τῶν ταύτης  
 115 οἰκητόρων.

Ναί, φησὶν, ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις· «Ἦν αἰτία κινουῦσα πρὸς τοῦτο, καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο κεινημένος τὸ δοκοῦν ἀνόσιον διεπράξατο. Σαρακηνοὺς γὰρ ἐν τῇ  
 νήσῳ λαβῶν Ἡμέριος διεχρήσατο, δέον κατὰ τὰ συμπεφωνημένα σφύζεσθαι  
 120 ἰστάσθαι.» Εἶτα οὐ λογιζῆ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, μετὰ τῆς σῆς ἐγγλήσεως καὶ τοῦ  
 δικαίου λόγου τὸ βούλημα, οὐδ' ἐννοεῖς τίς ἐστὶ δίκαιος τὴν αἰτίαν ἢν  
 προφέρεις ἀναδέχεσθαι καὶ τίσιν ὀργίζεσθαι ἄξιον; Ἔστω δίκαιον τὸ  
 ἐγγλημα ὃ προβάλλῃ, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ χαλεπὰ πεπονθότων Σα|ρακηνῶν B  
 Κύπριοι δώσουσι δίκην (καὶ οὕτω φημί ὅτι μηδὲ τότε ἄξιον διὰ τὴν Ἡμε-  
 125 ρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἁμαρτίαν πάντα κολάζεσθαι, οὐδ' ὄλην τὴν  
 νῆσον τὴν ἐξ ὑμῶν ὀργὴν καὶ τὴν πικρίαν ὑφίστασθαι). ὅμως ὅπερ εἶπον  
 ἔστω, καὶ κολαζέσθωσαν Κύπριοι, διότι καὶ Ἡμέριος Κυπρίους συνοικῶν  
 ἐν τῇ νήσῳ χαλεπὸς ὤφθη Σαρακηνοῖς. Εἰ δὲ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον  
 Ἡμέριος τοῖς Κυπρίοις συντάσσεται, τί δι' ἐκεῖνον κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ  
 130 μὴ δίκαιοι ὄντες ἢ τῆς ἐκείνου κληρονομεῖν κατηγορίας ἢ διὰ τὰ πεπρα-

garding the Cyprians (if there be among the departed any consciousness of  
 what is being done in this life) not inveigh bitterly against you, and judge  
 you liable to every condemnation, not merely as transgressors against the  
 island of the Cyprians but also against their own selves, and heap every curse  
 on you as on parricides? If in this present life a man rises up against his own  
 father, he shall not escape the charge of parricide; and if the father has left  
 this life, and the son revokes his decisions, shall not he too be a parricide,  
 and liable to the same condemnation? How does the one differ from the other  
 in point of rebellion? Nay, if we consider it rightly, the latter rebellion is  
 more heinous than that which is stirred up against a living father, inasmuch  
 as honor and pious memory and respect of their fathers' precepts are the  
 more incumbent on children when those fathers have passed into the life to  
 come. But nothing of this was considered by that man (so to call him) who  
 has rejected the beliefs of the Christians and disgraced the beliefs of the  
 Saracens—Damian, I am told, is his name: he, with no reckoning of the  
 present or of the future, but abandoning himself to sheer insanity and in-  
 sensate rage, has committed a foul crime that will be a monument of his  
 cruelty to every generation, by annihilating, to the best of his power, a most  
 populous island, and by giving up its inhabitants to wholesale destruction!

Yes; but it will be said, "He had a reason for it, that impelled him to  
 commit this apparent crime: for Himerius had captured Saracens in the  
 island and put them to death, whereas, according to the agreement, they  
 ought rather to have been rescued by the Cyprians and restored to their  
 own place." My dear Sir, in making this accusation, do you not consider  
 where justice lies? Do you not realize who is justly answerable for the  
 accusation you bring forward? and with whom you had a right to be  
 angry? Even supposing your accusation is just, and the Cyprians are to pay  
 for the cruelties inflicted on the Saracens (though even so, this is not to  
 say that all are to be punished for the fault of Himerius and his troops, or  
 that the whole island is to be the victim of your rage and resentment), but  
 grant it to be as I said, then let the Cyprians be punished because Himerius,  
 resident with Cyprians in that island, has shown cruelty to Saracens. But if  
 Himerius is in no way associated with the Cyprians, why on his account are  
 those to suffer who cannot in justice be made to inherit his guilt, or be

101–102 οὐκ ἐκφεύζεται P: οὐκφεύζεται V || 105 μερίζων V: μερίζον P || 107 τέκνων P: τεκόντων  
 V || 108 ὄν πῶς V: ὃ ὅπως (-o- ex -ō-) P || 118 ἡμέριος PVc: ἱμέριος V<sup>1</sup> (ubique) || 122  
 προφέρεις P: προσφέρεις V || 125 κολάζεσθαι P: κομίζεσθαι V || 127 κύπριοι P: om. V || ἡμέ-  
 ριος κυπρίοις P: κυπρίοις ἡμέριος V || 129 κινδυνεύουσιν P: -σουσιν V

γμένα τούτω τιμωρίαν ὑπέχειν; Ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατοῦ ἡγεμῶν  
 ὑπάρξας, ὅποι δὴ γῆς ἡδύνατο τοὺς πολεμίους χειρούμενος, τὸν δοκοῦντα  
 μετῆει τρόπον. Κύπριοι δὲ οὔτε πολεμίους ἠγοῦνται ὑμᾶς | οὔτε τι C  
 δεινὸν κατειργάσαντο, οὔτε δὲ πάλιν ἱκανοὶ ἀντεπιέναι πρὸς τὸν Ἡμέ-  
 135 ριον καὶ Σαρακηνούς ἐξαρπάζειν τῆς ἐκείνου χειρός. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχεις εἰ-  
 πεῖν ὡς ἐξὸν τοῦτο ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐποίησαν ἢ ὅτι συνήραντο αὐτῶ καὶ  
 συνηγωνίσαντο εἰς τὴν κατὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κάκωσιν. Τί οὖν διὰ τοῦτο  
 πολεμεῖς Κυπρίοις καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν κενοῖς τὴν ὀργήν; Τί δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 τῶ σὲ λυπήσαντι σπουδάζειν ἃ ἔδρασεν ἀνταποδοῦναι, τοῖς οὐδὲν λυπηρὸν  
 140 ἐργασαμένοις τὰ τῆς σῆς λύπης ἀνταποδίδωας; Ἡ καὶ διότι πρὸς τὴν  
 σὴν εἰσήλασε χώραν Ἡμέριος καὶ τῆς Συρίας πολισματοῦσα τινὰ ἐκπολε-  
 μήσας κεχείρωται, διὰ ταῦτα ὑποκείσονται Κύπριοι τιμωρίας καὶ κατ'  
 αὐτῶν ἀγανακτεῖν εὐλόγως νομίσεις καὶ ὅπλα κινήσεις, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 μάχεσθαι | πρὸς Ἡμέριον κατ' ἐκείνων συστήσεις τὸν πόλεμον; Ἄλλ' D  
 145 οὐκ ἔδοξεν οὕτως οὔτε τοῖς σοῖς πατράσιν οὔτε τοῖς ἐκείνων μέχρι σοῦ δια-  
 δόχοις. Διὰ τί; Ὅτι Κύπριοι μεθόριοι τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν  
 Σαρακηνῶν ἐξουσίας, καὶ οὔτε ὑμῖν ἀνταίρουσι χεῖρας οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἴσης ἀνατέθινται πρὸς δουλείαν τὴν τε ὑμετέραν καὶ τὴν  
 ἡμετέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πλεόν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ δουλεύοντες. Ὡς οὖν ἄδικον  
 150 καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον πολεμεῖν Κυπρίοις διότι κατὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐξεστρά-  
 τευσε χώρας Ἡμέριος, οὕτω παράνομον καὶ πάσης ἄξιον κατηγορίας  
 πολεμεῖν Κυπρίοις διότι κατὰ τὴν νῆσόν τινὰς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν συνέβη  
 ταῖς Ἡμερίου χερσὶ περιπεπτωκέσθαι. Σὺ δὲ μοι δοκεῖς, ὀδῶ τοῦ πρά-  
 γματος προϊόντος, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ | Συρία Χριστιανῶν πόλεμον 36  
 155 ἐπενεγκεῖν διότι Χριστιανοὶ κατ' ὑμῶν ἐκστρατεύονται· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο  
 πράττειν πάσης ἐπέκεινα μαιφονίας ἐστίν, οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν Κυπρίων ἀπλή-  
 λακται τῆς ἴσης μαιφονίας.  
 Ἄλλ' ἐάσθω τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰς ἔλεγχον τοῦ παρανόμου πολέμου  
 λεγόμενα. Σκέψαι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς θείας δίκης, καὶ ὧν συνετώτατος καὶ  
 160 συνιδεῖν ἱκανὸς θεῖα κρίματα κατανόβει μοι καὶ τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 γεγεννημένοις τῶ παρανομωτάτῳ Δαμιανῶ ἀγανάκτησιν. Ὁ τε γὰρ ἐξ  
 ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισμὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦτο διδάσκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐξ οὗ χρόνου  
 σφαγαῖς ἀδίκους τὴν γῆν ἔχρανε τῶν Κυπρίων συσχοῦσα τοῦτον ἀρρωστία  
 καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν δαπανῶσα μαρτύριόν ἐστι τῆς δικαίας παρὰ θεοῦ τιμω-  
 165 ρίας ἀνθ' ὧν παρηνόμησεν· εἰ | βούλει δὲ καὶ ἃ διὰ θαλάττης ἀπήντησε τῶ B

punished for his misdeeds? He, the commander of the Roman army, went  
 his own way wherever he chose, in his victorious campaign against his  
 enemies. But the Cyprians do not regard you as enemies, and did nothing  
 amiss; though, on the other hand, they were not strong enough to oppose  
 Himerius and snatch the Saracens from his hand: for you cannot claim that  
 they could have done so but did not, or that they joined and helped him in  
 molesting the Saracens. Why then on this account do you make war on the  
 Cyprians, and pour out your wrath on them? Why, instead of trying to pay  
 back the man who has wronged you, do you visit your resentment on those  
 who have not? Or again: because Himerius invaded your country and stormed  
 and occupied some small cities of Syria, are Cyprians to be punished for this?  
 and will you believe yourself justified in finding fault with them? and will you  
 invade them and, instead of fighting Himerius, make war upon them? But  
 this was not the fashion of your fathers or of their successors until yourself.  
 And why? Because the Cyprians are on the border between the Roman and  
 Saracen realms, and raise their hands neither against you nor against the  
 Romans, and are subject equally to your taxation and to ours: indeed, they  
 pay more to you. So, just as it would be cruel and wrong to attack the  
 Cyprians because Himerius invaded your country, so it is equally criminal  
 and most damnable to attack Cyprians because in that island some Saracens  
 happened to fall into the hands of Himerius. You might as well, with equal  
 logic, attack Christians in Syria because Christians make an expedition  
 against you; but if to do so would be worse than any murder, the affair of  
 the Cyprians incurs just the same blood-guiltiness.

Let these words of mine suffice for proof of the lawlessness of this  
 assault. But look also at the operations of Divine Justice; and, since you are  
 of high intelligence and capable of understanding the judgments of Heaven,  
 take note, if you please, of Heaven's displeasure at the actions of the most  
 criminal Damian. His disappearance from among men is proof of this; and,  
 moreover, the disease which attacked him and gradually wasted him away  
 from the time when he polluted the land of the Cyprians with unholy slaugh-  
 ter is a token of God's just punishment for his crimes. Pray consider also the

133 ἠγοῦνται P: -ντο V || 137 κατὰ P: om. V || 146 διατί P: διότι V || μεθόριοι P: -ον V ||  
 148-149 τὴν τε ὑμετέραν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν P: τῆς τε ἡμετέρας καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας V || 149  
 ὑμετέρα P: ἡμετέραι V || 153 περιπεπτωκέσθαι P: περιπεπρακέσθαι V || 157 ἴσης P: ἴσης πάσης  
 V || 161 τῶ P: ἐπὶ τῶι V || 163 συσχοῦσα P: σχοῦσα V



ὑμετέρῳ στόλῳ καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν νῆσον ἀπώλεια τῶν πλοίων ὑμῶν, ἣν ἀπολέσαι ὁ βδελυρὸς ἐκεῖνος διανενόηται. Οἶδα ὅτι χωρὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων ταῦτα συνίης καὶ συγγινώσκεις· ἡμῶς δὲ ἐπειπερ οὐδὲν ἦν κωλύον καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπισημανθῆναι, ταῦτα προσείρηται.

170 Τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστὶ τῆς δεδομένης θεόθεν ὑμῖν ἐξουσίας, μὴ μόνον συνιδεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὸ γεγονός παταῖσμα, καὶ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς Κυπρίοις ἀποκαταστήσαι τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς παρεσχημένα δίκαια καὶ τὸ ἀβλαβὲς καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστον, καὶ καταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου σχήματος τῆς εἰρήνης, παρέχοντας ὅσα  
175 νενομίσται ὑποτελεῖν καὶ ὑπουργοῦντας τὴν ἀνωθεν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὑπουργίαν Σαρακηνοῖς, πάσης βαρύτητος καὶ βίας ἐλευθέρους διατελοῦντας τῆς χθὲς καὶ πρώην ἐπιτεθειμένης αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Δαμιανοῦ C σκαϊότητος καὶ ἀπανθρωπίας, ἵνα μήτε τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν ἀθετοῦντες ὀφθεῖητε τὰ καλῶς δόξαντα βουλευμάτα τε καὶ σύμφωνα μήτε ἀντὶ τῆς  
180 πρεπούσης ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης πρὸς τούναντιον εἴητε μεταπίπτοντες.

## 2. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐπάντων ὅσα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁ βίος φέρει καλὰ καὶ δι' ὧν ἀνθρωπίνῃ ζωῇ κέκτηται τὸ ἡδύ, οὐδὲν οὕτω καλὸν οὐδὲ ἡδύτερον τοῖς φρονήσει κεκοσμημένοις ὡς κτήσις φιλίας καὶ ἡ περὶ ταύτην σπουδή. Ἐντεῦθεν ἄλλοι μὲν πρὸς οὓς οὐκ ἔσχον συνήθειαν διὰ φροντίδος ἔθεντο οἶον ἀρχὴν τινα καταβαλέσθαι καὶ φυτεῦσαι φιλίαν· ἕτεροι δὲ πάλαι καὶ ἀνωθεν ἀναβλαστησάσης, εἶτα ὡσπερ ὑπομαρανθείσης τῷ χρόνῳ, δεῖξαι ἀναθάλλουσαν δισποῦδάσαν καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπανήγαγον, ὀρθῶς εἰδότες καὶ συνέσει τελειοτάτῃ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πράγματος κατανοήσαντες  
10 ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πάντων καὶ τιμιώτερον καὶ χαριέστερον τὸ τῆς φιλίας τερπνόν. Ταῦτα προοιμιάζομαι οὐχ ὡς ἀγνοούσης τῆς ὑμῶν εὐγενείας, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς εἰδότα καὶ αὐτὸς εἰδὼς καὶ οἶον κοινὴν συνομιλίαν περὶ τοῦ ἀμφοτέρους ἀναλαβέσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς φιλίας, οὔπερ οὐ νῦν ἀρχόμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κληρὸν ὄντα πατρικὸν ἐπιζητοῦμεν καί, ὃ προέφημεν, ἀναθάλλειν παρασκευάσαι σπουδάζομεν, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως τῷ χρόνῳ κινδυνεύσασαν διαρρηῆναι.  
15

Οὐ λανθάνει γὰρ τὴν ὑμετέραν σύνεσιν ὅτιπερ ὁ ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι θεοῦ μέγιστος καὶ ἀοίδιμος Φώτιος ὁ ἐμὸς ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ πατὴρ 37

167 ὅτι P: ὅτι καὶ V || ἡμετέρων P: ὑμετέρων V || 168 δὲ P: om. V || 172 ἀποκαταστήσαι P: -ήσεις V || 176-177 ἐλευθέρους διατελοῦντας P: ἐλευθεροῦντας V || 177 τῆς P: om. V || 2: P 74r-75v || 4 ταύτην P<sup>c</sup>: -ης (ut vid.) P<sup>1</sup> || 13 ἀμφοτέρους P<sup>c</sup>: -ως P<sup>1</sup>

fate which has overtaken your fleet at sea, and the loss of your ships off that very same island which that vile man proposed to destroy. I know that, without my words, you understand and appreciate these things; but I add them since there is no harm in my driving them home.

For the future, it rests with your God-given Authority, not merely to appreciate, but also to repair the wrong that has been done, and to restore to the humble Cyprians the rights accorded to them in the beginning by your fathers, and the freedom from wrong and molestation; and to leave them in the old state of peace, paying such taxes as have been customary, and giving to the Saracens the service given from old times until now, and continuing exempt from all oppression and violence such as has just been laid on them by the brutality and inhumanity of Damian: so that you may not appear to be violating the resolutions and agreements fairly arrived at by your fathers, nor to be abandoning the honor and glory proper to your justice, and to be falling into the opposite condition.

## 2. To the Same

Of all the blessings which life brings to men, and through which life is made pleasant, none is so blessed, none so pleasing to those who are wise as the acquisition and cultivation of friendship. Hence some men, with respect to those with whom they are unacquainted, take pains (as it were) to inaugurate and implant friendship with them; while others, where a friendship has flowered in olden days but has gradually withered away in course of time, study to revive its blossoming and through their efforts to bring it back to its ancient state: rightly realizing, and with most perfect intelligence understanding the nature of the thing, that of all the incidents of life the sweetness of friendship is the most honorable and the most delightful. This I premise, not as supposing your Nobility to be ignorant of it, but as one who knows it himself to another who knows it equally; and I ask (so to say) for mutual discussion on the resumption by both of us of a friendship which I do not inaugurate, but which is rather my paternal inheritance; and I am eager (as I have said) to make that to blossom afresh which, for whatever reason, has in the passage of time suffered decay.

For your Wisdom is well aware that that greatest among the archpriests of God, the renowned Photius, my Father in the Holy Spirit, was

πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τῆς ὑμῶν εὐγενείας οὕτως συνῆπτο τῇ τοῦ πόθου σχέσει  
 20 ὡς οὐδείς οὐδὲ τῶν ὁμοδόξων καὶ ὁμοφύλων φιλικῶς διετέθειτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς·  
 ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ὢν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολὺς τὰ τε θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἤδει  
 ὅτι κἂν τὸ τοῦ σεβάσματος δίστη διατείχισμα, ἀλλὰ τό γε τῆς φρονήσεως,  
 τῆς ἀγγινοίας, τοῦ τρόπου τὸ εὐσταθές, τὸ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας, τὰ λοιπὰ  
 ὅσα κοσμεῖ καὶ σεμνύνει τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν προσόντα, πόθον ἀναφλέγει  
 25 τοῖς τὰ καλὰ φιλοῦσι τῶν οἷς πρόσεστι τὰ φιλούμενα. Διὰ τοῦτο κάκεινος  
 ἐφίλει τὸν σὸν πατέρα οἷς εἶπον κοσμούμενον, εἰ καὶ μεταξὺ τὸ διαφέρον  
 τῆς πίστεως ἴστατο. Ἐκινήθημεν δὲ οὐ νῦν πρὸς τὴν προαίρεσιν ταύτην,  
 ἀλλὰ πάλαι καὶ πρῶην συνεκινούμεθα καὶ | περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦμεθα, B  
 τοῦτο δὴ ὁ πρόεφην, τὴν ζήτησιν τῆς πατρικῆς ἡμῶν φιλίας.

30 Παρέστηκε δὲ νῦν ὑπόθεσις τὸν σκοπὸν ἡμῶν πληροῦσα, ἣν ὡς  
 ἀληθῶς ἔδει τοῦ τοιοῦτου πράγματος ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι· ἡ δὲ ἐστὶν ὡς ὄρας  
 συμπάθεια πρὸς τὸ ὁμοφύες, φιλανθρωπία, ἔλεος, ἡμερότης, καὶ τί ἄλλο  
 ἢ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἀγαθότητος μίμησις; Ὅς διὰ πολλὴν χρηστότητα  
 καὶ ἄπειρον ἔλεος καὶ οὐκ ὄντας ὑπέστησεν καὶ ὑποστάντας ἐκ πηλοῦ  
 35 οἷα πατὴρ ἐφαπλῶν τὴν κηδεμονίαν τὰ σπλάγχνα περιέπει, τὴν ζωὴν  
 συνέχει, πάντα χορηγεῖ οἷς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἔχει τὴν διαμονήν. Τοιαύτη  
 τις ἡ παρούσα ὑπόθεσις, τούτων ὧν εἶπον καὶ αὐτὴ φέρουσα τὴν ἀπό-  
 λαυσιν· ἡ γὰρ τῶν δεσμίων ἐλευθερία, ἡ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνάκλησις, C  
 ἡ τῆς δουλείας ἀπολύτρωσις, ἡ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ἡ πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς,  
 40 ἡ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐπάνοδος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ταῦτα ἔχει, τὴν διαμονὴν  
 τοῦ γένους, τὴν συνοχὴν τῆς φιλίας, τὴν γλυκεῖαν τῆς ζωῆς μέθεξιν.

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἔφημεν, ἤδη καὶ ὡς φίλοι καὶ ὑπὲρ φίλου δόξης  
 φροντίζοντες τὴν συμβουλὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἔργον τῆς  
 τῶν δεσμίων ἐλευθερίας παραίνεσιν συνεισάγομεν, καὶ πρόθυμόν σε πρὸς  
 45 τοῦτο τυγχάνοντα ποιεῖν σπουδάζομεν προθυμότερον, ἵνα ἐπὶ τῶν σῶν  
 ἡμερῶν τοιαύτης εἰς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους γεγεννημένης φιλανθρωπίας  
 αὐτός τε κλέος ἀείμνηστον ἔξης καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς φίλοι τοῦ φιλουμένου τῆς  
 δόξης συναπολαύωμεν. Πολλοί, φίλων ἔμοι ἄριστε, τοῦ βίου περιστάσεις αἰ  
 συνέχουσι καὶ στενοχωροῦσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ βαρβαρίας ἀπεργάζονται D  
 50 ἀλγυθόνας· οὐδεμία δὲ πρὸς αἰχμαλωσίαν συγκρίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐάν τις  
 εἴπη, κἂν τε πενίαν, κἂν τε ἀσθένειαν, ἢ μελῶν πηρώσεις, πάντα πρὸς  
 ἐκεῖνην τὴν κάκωσιν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν εὐρίσκονται ἀνεκτότερα. Τί γὰρ  
 ἐπωδυνώτερον, γονεῖς ἐκ παίδων χωρισθῆναι, συζύγων διατομήν, ἀδελ-  
 φῶν ἀποξένωσιν; Καὶ οὐπω φημι ὅσα λοιπὰ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους συνέχει,  
 55 ἃ καὶ ἡ σὴ εὐγένεια καὶ πάντες ὅσοι νοῦ μετέχουσι συνεπίστανται. Διὰ  
 τοῦτο ἐπὶ νοῦν ἀναληψάμενος τὰ κοινὰ πάθη τῶν τε ὑμῶν ὁμοπίστων καὶ

united to the Father of your Nobility in such a bond of affection that none  
 even among those of your own religion and race had shown himself so much  
 your friend: because, being a man of God, and mighty in the lore of God and  
 man, he knew that, although the barrier of religion stood between us, yet a  
 strong intelligence, wit and character, a love of humanity, and all other  
 qualities which adorn and dignify man's nature, arouse in the breasts of good  
 men an affection for those in whom the loved qualities are found. And so he  
 loved your Father, who was endowed with the qualities I speak of, even  
 though the difference of religious faith stood between. And so it is not now  
 only that I am moved in this direction, but long ago I was moved toward it  
 with him, and have long had close to my heart the object of which I speak,  
 the search for the friendship of our Fathers.

Yet now, to implement my purpose, there is a matter to my hand which  
 might most suitably form the beginning of such an approach: a matter, as  
 you will see, of sympathy for our kind, of mercy, of pity, of gentleness,  
 indeed, nothing else but the imitation of God's own goodness: Who, in His  
 great worthiness and infinite compassion, has given us substance when we  
 were not, and, when we have been given our earthy substance, extends His  
 care over us, provides for His children, preserves our life, and provides us  
 with all things whereby mankind continues here. Of such a kind is the  
 present matter, which brings with it the enjoyment of the blessings I mention:  
 for the liberation of prisoners, the remission of captivity, the ransom from  
 slavery, the return of the prisoner to his home, his family, and his friends,  
 these things bring with them the continuity of our race, the preservation of  
 friendship, and the sweet enjoyment of life.

But, having said so much, I now, both as a friend and as one who cares  
 for the reputation of his friend, introduce my counsel and exhortation toward  
 the merciful work of freeing the prisoners; and, ready as you are for this,  
 I try to make you readier still, so that, this work of mercy toward the pris-  
 oners being accomplished in your days, you may yourself win undying fame,  
 and I, as a friend, may have a share in my friend's glory. There are many  
 occasions of life (my best of Friends) which oppress and vex mankind, and  
 bring them heavy sorrows; but not one of these is comparable with captivity:  
 whatever one may speak of, whether poverty, or sickness, or amputation of  
 limbs, all are more tolerable by comparison with that evil and suffering, I  
 mean (and what can be more grievous?) the severance of parents from child-  
 ren, the divorce of spouses, the estrangement of brothers. I do not now speak  
 of all the other evils which afflict the prisoner, since they are known to your  
 Nobility, as to every man of sense. Therefore, taking account of the common

τῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως, μὴ βουλευθῆς πρὸς τὴν τελείωσιν τοῦ σωτηρίου  
 πράγματος δυσχερῆς ὀφθῆναι μηδὲ προφάσεις τινὰς δυσκολίαν φερούσας  
 πρὸς τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας δεσμίων τῶν τε ὑμετέρων |  
 60 καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων προβαλέσθαι· μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ὡς δικαιοσύνην τιμῶν, 40  
 πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον ἀφορῶν, καὶ μὴ ἀντεχόμενος κέρδους οἰκείου, καινοτο-  
 μίαν δὲ Χριστιανοῖς ἐπιβάλλων. Οὐκ ἔστι κέρδος τὸ ἄδικον οὐδὲ ὠφελῆν  
 οἶδε τὸ πλεονεκτικόν, ἀλλ' ἐσχάτη βλάβη καὶ καινοτομία τοῖς ὡσπερ σὺ  
 65 οὔσιν ἰκανοῖς τὰ πρόποντα ἐκλογίζεσθαι. Τοῦτο μεγίστη ὠφέλεια, τοῦτο  
 65 ἀσύγκριτον κέρδος, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑμῶν ἀρχῆς καὶ διοικήσεως πρὸς τὴν  
 οἰκίαν πατρίδα τοὺς ὁμοειθεῖς ἀποκαταστήναι, τὸ γονεῖς ἀπολαβεῖν τὰ  
 ἴδια τέκνα, τὸ ταῦτα τοῖς πατράσι συναφθῆναι, τὸ γυναιξὶ τοὺς ὁμοζύ-  
 γους ἀποδοθῆναι, τὸ φίλοις συγγενέσθαι τοὺς φίλους, καὶ ἀπλῶς ὅσα καλὰ  
 70 ἐκάστῳ δίδωσιν ἢ πατρίς, τὸ τούτων μετέχειν τοὺς ἄχρι καὶ νῦν τῆς  
 70 πατρίδος ἀποξενωμένους.

Ταῦτα, φίλων ἐμοὶ ἄριστε καὶ τιμιώτατε, ἀρ|χὴν τῆς πρὸς σέ ποιου- B  
 μαι φιλίας καὶ γράφω καὶ παραινῶ, ἐπεὶ καὶ σοὶ πρόπον τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν  
 καὶ ἡμῖν τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν φιλούμενον γράφειν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐρῶσθαι σε  
 ἐπευχόμεθα ὑψηλότερον συντηρούμενον πάσης βιωτικῆς ἀνωμαλίας καὶ  
 75 περιστάσεως ὅση τῷ θνητῷ τούτῳ βίῳ ἄνω καὶ κάτω στρεφομένη  
 οἶδεν ἐμπολιτεύεσθαι.

### 3. Τῷ ὑπερφυστάτῳ μεγαλοδόξῳ πνευματικῷ τέκνῳ Συμεῶν ἄρχοντι Βουλγαρίας

Ἴσως περιττόν τι ποιεῖν δοκοῦμεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, δυσωπεῖν σε  
 βουλόμενοι τοιαύτην δυσώπησιν, ἥτις καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων  
 5 ἐν τῇ σῇ θεοφιλεῖ ψυχῇ ἐναπόκειται· παντὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ γνώμην συμπαθῆ  
 φέρειν ὀφειλομένου τυγχάνοντος, μάλιστα χρέος ἐστὶν ἀπαραίτητον τοῖς  
 ἀναβεβηκόσιν εἰς ἀρχῆς ὕψος τοῦτο διασφάζειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ |  
 πάντων ἄρχοντος θεοῦ παρεσχέθη τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ ἀρχῇ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου C  
 χάριν ἢ ἵνα πρὸς μίμησιν τοῦ τιμήσαντος καὶ εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν ἀναβιβάσαντος  
 10 ἀναφαίνωνται διαβιοῦντες. Πάντως δὲ νουεχῆς ὢν καὶ συνετὸς ἐπίστασαι  
 τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα καὶ τὸ συμπαθές· ὅς

3: 11-13: Ps. 102.12.

57 βουλευθῆς P<sup>c</sup>: -εις P<sup>1</sup> || 71 τιμιώτ(α)τ(ε)] mg. adscr. P, nullo signo addito  
 3: P 75v-77r

sufferings of those who believe with you and of those of our faith, do not turn  
 away from the accomplishment of this work of salvation, or put forward  
 excuses to impede the liberation of those found in captivity, both yours and  
 ours; nay, acting as one who holds justice in honor, who looks to what is  
 just, not grasping at personal gain, and thereby doing injury to the Christians,  
 reflect that injustice cannot be gain, nor can greed bring profit, but rather  
 the greatest hurt and injury, in the eyes of those who, like yourself, are able  
 to judge of right conduct. The greatest profit of all, the incomparable gain,  
 will be that under your rule and administration fellow countrymen were  
 restored to their own fatherland, parents received back their sons, these were  
 united with their fathers, husbands were given back to their wives, friends  
 consorted with friends—in a word, that those hitherto estranged from their  
 fatherland should enjoy all the blessings which their fatherland supplies to  
 each.

This (my best and most excellent of Friends) I make the commencement  
 of my friendship with you, and write and exhort: since it is your duty so to  
 act, and mine so to write to my beloved friend. For the rest, I pray that you  
 fare well, preserved above all life's vicissitudes and perils that are wont to  
 infest this inconstant, mortal existence of ours.

### 3. To my most mighty, renowned spiritual Son Symeon, Prince of Bulgaria

It may seem superfluous (my Son) for me to prefer this request to you  
 when it is already in your pious heart without any words of mine: for while it  
 is every man's duty to judge with mercy, this practice is an absolute debt  
 owed by those who have risen to the height of rule, inasmuch as rule has been  
 granted to rulers by God, Who is Ruler of all, for no other purpose than that  
 they may be seen in all their lives to be imitating Him Who has so honored  
 them and raised them up to rule. I do not doubt that you, in your intelligence  
 and wisdom, appreciate God's benevolence, and His goodness, and His  
 mercy: "Who removeth our transgressions from us as far as the east is from

καθ' ὅσον ἀπέχουσιν ἀνατολαὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν μακρύνει τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ λίαν ἐπίστασαι, ὅτι οἱ γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιοι τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ δεδομένης αὐτοῖς ἀρχῆς, πλείστον ὑπαρ-  
 15 χόντων δι' ὧν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς θεραπεύειν θεόν, ταύτην μάλιστα τὴν ἐξαί-  
 ρητον θεραπείαν προσφέρουσι, τὸ φιλόανθρωπον ὡς εἶπον καὶ τὸ ἀνεξίκακον  
 καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὑποχειρίους ἀόργητόν τε καὶ συμπαθές. Οὐ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο  
 τῶν λοιπῶν προεκρίθησαν, ἵνα τῇ | ἐξουσίᾳ πρὸς θυμὸν ἀποχρῶνται D  
 καὶ ἀκάωσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἵνα σπλάγγχοις πατρικαῖς, καὶ πολ-  
 20 λάκις τινὰ συμβῆ ἑξαμαρτήσαι, τὸ ἀμάρτημα μεθοδεύσων. Ἀρκεῖ ἐπὶ  
 τοσοῦτον προοιμιάζεσθαι, αὐτὴν σοι λοιπὸν ἐκτιθέμεθα τὴν ὑπόθεσιν  
 περὶ ἧς δυσωποῦμεν.

Ἀνθρωπὸς τις οὐκ οἶδα δίκαιος ὧν ὑποσχεῖν τιμωρίαν, οὐκ οἶδα  
 οἷα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα εἰς περίστασιν ἐμπεσῶν, ἕνεκεν τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν  
 25 ὑμῶν ἐξουσίαν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ὃν πᾶς ὁμολογεῖ Χριστιανὸς ὀφθαλμὸν  
 εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης προσπέφυγεν, ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ ἀχρεῖοι, νύκτα  
 καὶ ἡμέραν τὴν λατρείαν προσφέρομεν. Οὗτος ἐπειδὴ ἀπαραιτήτως  
 εἴλακετο τοῦ ναοῦ, πολλὰ τὸ τε ἅγιον ἱλαστήριον ἐπιβοῶμενος καὶ τὴν  
 κοινῶς πᾶσι Χριστιανοῖς ὀφειλομένην τοῖς θεοῖς ἱεροῖς σεβασμιότητα καὶ  
 30 τὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς προσφευγόντων ἀσυλίαν, ἐκίνησεν ἡμᾶς (καὶ τί γὰρ  
 ἄλλο ἔδει ποιεῖν λειτουργοὺς ὄντας, εἰ καὶ ἀναξίους, τοῦ ἁγίου θυσια-  
 στηρίου;) εἰς τὸ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν συγχωρῆσαι τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτὸν  
 ἔλκειν τοῦτο παριδεῖν ἐκτελέσαι, καίτοι χαλεπαινόντων καὶ σκληρῶς  
 ἡμῖν διὰ τὴν σὴν χάριν προσφερομένων. Ὅμως ἐπαγγελομένων καὶ πᾶσι  
 35 τρόποις βεβαιούντων ἡμᾶς ὡς οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἀπεργάσῃ, τέκνον ἡμῶν,  
 ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης ἀξιοθήσεται παρὰ σοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πταίσματι συγχω-  
 ρήσεως, ἐξηγάγομεν αὐτὸν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ ἀπεστείλαμεν, θεὸν ἐπιμαρτυ-  
 ρόμενοι καὶ τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ ἱλαστήριον, καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα αἰῶνα  
 καὶ κατὰ τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνεκδίκητον, εἴ | τι λυπηρὸν B  
 40 αὐτῷ καὶ δυσχερές, ὅπερ μὴ γένοιτό σε, τέκνον ἡμῶν, διαπράξασθαι,  
 ἀπαντήσαι. Μὴ νόμιζε οὖν τοῦτον ἐκ χειρὸς λαμβάνειν τῶν πρὸς σὲ παρα-  
 γινομένων, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ λογίζου αὐτὸν παρεῖναι, ὃς τοῦτον ἐξείλκυσα τοῦ  
 θεοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ χειρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ τῇ σῇ παραδιδόναι χειρὶ. Σκόπει δὲ ὅπως  
 καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμήσεις, καὶ διὰ τούτου πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν τιμὴν  
 45 ἀνενέγκῃς, καὶ σεαυτῷ τὴν ἀνωθεν αὐτοῦ εὐμένειαν ἐπισπάσῃ, καὶ τὴν  
 ἡμῶν ταπεινότητα διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον συμπαθείας ἕξεις ὑπερευ-  
 χομένην σοὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ σωτήρια, ἀλλὰ μὴ καταβοῶσαν ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν  
 θεῖον ναὸν ὕβρεως, εἴ τις, ὅπερ μὴ γένοιτο, τιμωρία καὶ κόλασις τὸν  
 ἄνθρωπον ὑποδέξεται.

the west." And especially you appreciate that those who are truly worthy of the rule granted to them by God, out of the multitude of ways in which they may serve Him, offer to Him this special service above all, which is, as I say, benevolence and long-suffering and mildness and mercy toward their subjects. They have not been preferred above the rest so that they may abuse their authority in rage and in vexation of men, but so that they should correct a fault in the spirit of a father, even though the sinner has sinned many times over. So much by way of preface: I now set before you the matter itself that is the subject of my request.

There is a man, perhaps worthy of punishment, perhaps merely fallen, as men may, into misfortune, who out of fear of your authority fled for refuge to the temple of God which every Christian acknowledges to be the eye of the world, and in which I, albeit unworthy, offer up worship night and day. This man, as he was being dragged inevitably from the temple, moved me, by his invocation of the Holy Sanctuary, and the respect owed by all Christians in common to the holy places of God, and the immunity of those who take refuge in them, to refuse (what else could I do—I, the servant, albeit unworthy, of the Holy Sanctuary?) even to consider allowing those who were trying to drag him away to execute their design, insolent as they were and brutally as, on your behalf, they conducted themselves toward me. However, when they undertook, and altogether confirmed to me, that you (my Son) would do him no harm, but that he should be granted your pardon and forgiveness of his fault, I drew him out of the temple and sent him off, calling at the same time upon God and His All-holy Sanctuary, both now and hereafter, not to leave him unavenged if—may it not be at your hands, my Son!—he should meet with any harm or suffering. Do not imagine that you receive him from the hands of those who come to you; but suppose that I myself am before you, I who drew him out of the Holy Temple, and am surrendering him out of my hand into yours. Take care that you respect God's Holy Place, and through it carry up the respect to Him, and draw down on yourself His favor from above; and through your mercy to the man you shall have my Humility praying for your prosperity and salvation, instead of cursing you for insolence against the Holy Temple, unless—may it not be so!—the man should meet with any retribution or punishment.

50 Χωρίς δὲ τούτων ἀναμνήσθητι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ C  
τοῖς οἰκείοις πταίσμασι τῆς θεϊκῆς χρηστότητος καὶ φιλανθρωπίας  
χρῆζεις, ἧς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιτυχεῖν μὴ ἀφιέντα τοῖς ὀφειλοῦσι τὰ ὀφειλήματα·  
καλὸν οὖν ὡσπερ τινὰ προκαταβολὴν δοῦναι θεῷ τὸν εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
ἔλεον, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς τύχῃς τῆς θεϊκῆς ἐλεημοσύνης. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἄξιόν  
55 σε συνιδεῖν, ὅτι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ γενομένῳ σοι καὶ (ὅπερ μὴ συγχωρήσοι  
θεός) εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον τρεπομένῳ, πολλαπλάσιος ἔσται ἢ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας  
ἢ τῆς κολάσεως ἢ ἀντίδοσις. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπλοῦν, ὡς ὄρας,πραχθήσεται σοι  
τὸ ἀμάρτημα· ὅ τε γὰρ ναὸς ὑβρίζεται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀρχιερεὺς,  
εἰ καὶ ἐλάχιστος, καὶ δόγματα κατασφαλιζόμενα τὴν ἀσυλίαν τοῖς εἰς  
60 τὸ μέγα καταφύγιον τοῦτο καταφεύγουσιν.

Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ λόγου παραινέσεως ἡμῖν προσείρη- D  
ται· ὑπόλοιπον δὲ καὶ ἔτι δεσμῷ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος τὰ εἰρημένα  
ἐπὶ πλεον ὀχυρῶσαι καὶ σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀνάξιόν τι παθεῖν  
τῆς σῆς μεγαλοτίμου ἀρετῆς μηδὲ ἐξαμαρτεῖν διασφαλίσασθαι. Καὶ  
65 λοιπὸν ἐν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, παρ' οὗ ἡμῖν τοῖς ταπεινοῖς  
ἐξουσία δέδοται δεσμεῖν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ψυχῆς τοὺς ἐν χρεῖα τοῦ δεσμοῦ  
καθισταμένους, ἀπαγορευόμεν σοι μηδεμίαν κόλασιν ἢ τιμωρίαν ἐπα-  
γαγεῖν τῷ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ ληφθέντι, μηδ' εἰς πείραν τινος  
κακώσεως αὐτὸν καταστήσαι, ἀλλ' οἰκτιρμῶν ἀξιῶσαι καὶ συγγνώμης,  
70 ὡς ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς εὖροις ἐπὶ ταῖς σαῖς ἐξαιτήσεσι πειθόμενον τὸν πάντων  
ἄρχοντα καὶ δεσπότην, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὀργιζόμε|νον καὶ προτεινοντά σοι τοὺς 44  
λόγους ἐκείνους οὓς ὁ τῶν πολλῶν ὀφλημάτων τῆς λύσεως οἰκέτης  
ἀξιωθεῖς, ἐπειπερ τῷ πλησίον ὠφθη ἀσυμπαθῆς, σὺν ἀπειλῇ ἀποφηνά-  
μένου τοῦ δεσπότητος διήκουσεν.

#### 4. Τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ θεοφιλεστάτῳ συλλειτουργῷ καὶ τέκνῳ ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Βουλγαρίας

Καὶ ἄλλως ἡμῖν ἐπιθυμητῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῆς πρὸς τὴν σὴν ὁσιότη-  
τα διὰ τοῦ γράφειν συνομιλίας, νῦν ἐπειδὴ καὶ πράγματος ἀναγκαίου  
5 ὑπόθεσις προελθοῦσα πρὸς τὸ γράφειν ἐκίνησεν, ἅμα μὲν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυ-  
μίαν παρηγοροῦντες, καὶ τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ τοῦ πράγματος συγκινοῦμενοι, τὸ  
παρόν σοι γράμμα διαχαράττομεν. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνο προλαβεῖν δεήσει πρὸ

52: Matth. 6.12; 18.23-35. || 65-66: Matth. 16.19; Ioann. 20.22-23. || 71-74: Matth.  
18.23-35.

Recollect besides (my Son) that you yourself for your own sins are in  
need of the divine goodness and mercy, which you cannot obtain if you do  
not forgive them that trespass against you. It would therefore be well to  
offer your mercy to this man as an earnest to God, so that you too may  
obtain the divine mercy. And this also is worth consideration: that whether  
you show mercy or—which God forbid!—turn in the opposite direction, the  
consequence of your mercy or punishment will be many times greater than it.  
You see, your sin will not be simple: for the temple of God will be insulted,  
and His high-priest (least though he be), and the laws which secure immunity  
to those who fly to that mighty refuge.

So much, then, I say by way of verbal exhortation: it remains to  
fortify my words yet more, even with the bond of the Holy Spirit, and to  
ensure that you (my Son) suffer nothing unworthy of your most honorable  
virtue, and commit no sin; so, therefore, in the Father and the Son and the  
Holy Spirit, by Whom to my Humility is given authority to bind for their  
souls' salvation such as are in need of such binding, I forbid you to visit with  
any kind of punishment or retribution him who has been taken from the  
Holy Place of God, or to inflict any harm upon him; but you will grant him  
pity and pardon, so that you yourself may find the Ruler and Lord of all  
propitious to your own entreaties, and not saying unto you in His wrath  
those words which that servant, his own many debts forgiven, when he proved  
harsh toward his neighbor, heard with menace from the mouth of his Lord.

#### 4. To my most honorable, most pious Fellow Minister and Son, the Archbishop of Bulgaria

I had in any case desired to communicate with your Holiness in writing:  
and since a matter of urgency has now arisen to move me to do so, I am  
writing this letter both to gratify my desire and also under impulsion of the  
urgency of the business. But I ought to say this first of all, before describing

τῆς κατὰ μέρος τοῦ πράγματος διηγήσεως, ὅτι καταξιωθέντες τῷ ἁγίῳ  
 θυσιαστηρίῳ παρίστασθαι καὶ μεσιτεύειν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἐν γῆ στρεφό-  
 10 μνοι πρὸς τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς δεσπότην κατασταθέντες (ὡ τῆς φοικτῆς  
 καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον δωρεᾶς | καὶ φιλοτιμίας) ὀφείλομεν συντόνῳ λογισμῷ τὴν B  
 τάξιν ἐφ' ἣν κατέστημεν ἐννοεῖν, καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ πρὸς θεὸν ἁμαρτανόμενα  
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραιτούμεθα, πολλῶ πλέον τὰ εἰς ἀλλήλους πταισμάτα  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαλύειν σπουδάζειν καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἐπαγομένας παρὰ  
 15 τῶν ὑπερχόντων παραιτεῖσθαι τιμωρίας, ἅτε δὴ καὶ ἀσυγκρίτου ἡμῖν  
 τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους παρρησίας ὑπαρχούσης καὶ εὐλόγου παραιτήσεως.  
 Τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη ἄνθρωπος ἐξημαρτηκῶς εἰς ἄνθρωπον ὃ μὴ κατὰ πολὺ  
 ἔλαττον ἀποφαίνεται τῶν πρὸς θεὸν καθ' ἑκάστην ἁμαρτανομένων, ὧν οἱ  
 τῷ ἁγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ παριστάμενοι πρέσβεις καὶ παραιτητὰι καθεστῆ-  
 20 κασιν;

Διὰ τί ταῦτα εἶπον; Ἴνα καὶ ἡ σὴ θεοφιλῆς ὁσιότης, ἱερατεύειν  
 λαχοῦσα τοῦ Βουλγάρων ἔθνους, τῇ δεδομένη σοι παρὰ | τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύ- C  
 ματος παρρησίᾳ τὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑμῶν κεκτημένον, φημί δὴ τὸ ἡγαπημένον  
 ἡμῶν τέκνον, ἐπειδὴν οἶα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πρὸς ἀγανάκτησίν τινος ἐξα-  
 25 χθείη, τοῦτο μὲν πατρικῶς παραινῶν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἀρχιερατικῶς παρ-  
 ρησιαζόμενος, ἀναδιδάσκης μέτρα εἰδέναί τῆς ἀγανάκτησεως, μᾶλλον δὲ  
 τὰ πολλὰ νικᾶν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν καὶ παρορᾶν τὴν τιμω-  
 ρίαν, ὡς εἰδόμενα ὅτι παντὶ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ πολὺ κρεῖττόν ἐστι τοῦ  
 λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν τὸ δοῦναι συγγνώμην, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐξου-  
 30 σίαν εἰληφόσι παρὰ θεοῦ, οὓς τοσοῦτον ἀποφαίνει θαυμαστοὺς καὶ  
 τιμίους τὸ συγγνωμονικὸν ὅσον ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες κολάσαι τὴν συγγνώμην  
 προέκριναν τῆς κολάσεως.

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ὑπεμνήσαμεν, φέρε δηλώσωμεν | καὶ τὴν ὑπό- D  
 θεσιν δι' ἣν τὸ γράμμα διατυποῦται. Ἄνθρωπός τις προσπέφυγε τῇ  
 35 καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς φησιν, οὔτε τοῦ Βουλγάρων τυγγά-  
 νων γένους οὔτε τινὸς τῶν ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ χρηματίσας οἰκέτης, καὶ νῦν ὡς  
 δραπετῆς οἰκέτης ἐπιζητούμενος. Τοῦτον προσφυγόντα τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ πρὸς χάριν τοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ ἄρχοντος ἦκον ἀποσπάσαι βουλόμενοι τοῦ  
 ναοῦ· οἷς ἡμεῖς πολλὰ χαλεπαίνουσιν καὶ σκληρῶς προσφερομένοις πει-  
 40 σθῆναι οὐκ ἐβουλόμεθα οὐδὲ συγχωρεῖν ἀποσπάσαι τοῦ ναοῦ τὸν ἰκέτην,  
 ἕως οὔ, πληροφορίαν παρασχόντες ὡς οὐδὲν πείσεται δεινὸν παρὰ τοῦ  
 ἐκ θεοῦ ἄρχοντος, τοῦ παναγίου ἔλαβον θυσιαστηρίου, πολλὰ καὶ θεὸν  
 ἐπιμαρτυρομένων ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἱλαστήριον, ὡς εἰ κακὸν τι ἀπαντήσει  
 αὐτῷ, | οὐ μὴ ἀνήσωμεν, ἕως ἂν ἐν ζῶσι στρεφόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ 45

the matter in question: that, since we are held worthy to stand at the Holy  
 Sanctuary and are put here to mediate on behalf of men upon earth, turning  
 from our earthly station toward the Lord Who is in heaven (awful and  
 ineffable gift and privilege!), it is our duty constantly to consider the place  
 in which we are set: and, while deprecating the sins committed by men  
 against God, we must be even more ready to dissolve their transgressions  
 against one another, and to deprecate the punishments inflicted from time  
 to time by those in authority, since our right to speak and our grounds for  
 intercession are incomparably more valid when we plead before men. For  
 what could be that sin of man against man which does not appear far less  
 than the sins daily committed against God, for which those who stand at the  
 Holy Sanctuary are the intercessors and deprecators?

And why do I say this? So that your pious Holiness, chosen to be priest  
 of the nation of the Bulgarians, may, with the freedom of speech granted to  
 you by the Holy Spirit toward him who has the rule over you (I mean, my  
 beloved Son), when he is—as men may be—moved to anger against anyone,  
 both advise him as a father and speak frankly to him as a high-priest, and  
 teach him to set limits to his wrath, or, better far, to overcome his wrath by  
 mercy, and to remit the punishment, in the knowledge that it is far better for  
 every man to forgive than to punish, and especially so for those to whom  
 God has given rule and authority, whom mercy rewards with the greater  
 admiration and honor in that, having the authority to chastise, they have  
 preferred forgiveness to chastisement.

After this reminder, let me now explain the matter I am writing about.  
 A certain man took refuge in our most holy Church, a man who says he is  
 neither of Bulgarian race nor the slave of anyone in Bulgaria, and is now  
 sought for as a runaway slave. When he had taken refuge in the Holy Place  
 of God, there came some who, to do a favor to the Prince appointed by God,  
 wished to drag the man out of the temple; to whom, as they were most  
 insolent and brutal in action, I refused to listen, or to allow them to drag the  
 suppliant from the temple until they had given an assurance that he should  
 suffer no harm at the hands of the Prince appointed by God. Then they took  
 him from the All-holy Sanctuary, I calling much upon God and His Holy  
 Sanctuary to witness that, if any harm should come to him, I would not  
 cease so long as I lived—yes, and even after my departure from life, if there

45 τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἀπαλλαγὴν, εἴ τις ἡμῖν ἀχρεῖοις οὖσιν παρασχεθεῖη  
 τόπος ἐντεύξεως πρὸς θεόν, κατὰ τοῦ ὑβριστοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου  
 τὰς ἐντεύξεις ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς τούτου τιμωρίας. Πάντως δὲ δῆλός  
 ἐστὶν ὁ ὑβριστής· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἕτερος ἢ ὁ τὴν κόλασιν καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν  
 ἐπενέγκαι τολμήσων, ὅπερ μὴ δοίη θεός, τῷ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ληφθέντι ἀνθρώ-  
 50 πῳ. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πείσαντες ἡμᾶς ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν εἴησαν ὑβρι-  
 σταί, διότι μὴδ' αὐτοὶ γίνονται τιμωροί, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον χαριζόμενοι τῷ ἐκ  
 θεοῦ ἄρχοντι τὴν τοιαύτην κατεβάλλοντο σπουδῆν, καὶ ἄξιοι χαριζό-  
 μενοι ὡς φίλῳ τυχεῖν χάριτος φιλικῆς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου εἰς τὸν  
 ἀνθρώπον τιμωρίας ἔνοχοι κατακρίσεως ὀφθῆναι, οἷς τε παρέ-  
 55 ἡμᾶς καὶ οἷς τὸν προσπεφευγότα τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ λαβόντες ἀπέστειλαν  
 πρὸς αὐτόν.

Ἐγὼ δέ, εἴ τίς ἐστι νοερὰ διάβασις καὶ παρουσία ψυχῆς καὶ ἔ-  
 νωσις ἀνθρώπου πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τοῦτό σοι γράφω τῷ θεοτιμῆτῳ  
 ἡμῶν καὶ φιλαρέτῳ τέκνῳ προσειπεῖν. «Τέκνον ἐμόν, αὐτόν με νόμιζε τοῖς  
 60 σοῖς ὄρᾶν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου  
 ἐξαγαγόντα τῇ σῆ χειρὶ παρατίθεσθαι. Μηδεὶς σε παραπέιση, μὴ παρα-  
 λογίσῃ μήτε τὸν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ κατοικοῦντα ναῶν, ὃς τὸν οὐρανὸν πληροῖ καὶ  
 τὴν γῆν, μήτε τὸν ἀχρεῖον τοῦ ναοῦ ἱερέα, μηδέ τι πράξεως ἀνιαρὸν εἰς τὸν  
 παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ ἐξενηγεγμένον καὶ σοι παραπεμφθέντα. Προ-  
 65 μαρτύρομαί σοι ὡς οὐχὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ δίκη νυστάζει, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν βαρυ-  
 τέραν ἀπαιτήσῃ τὴν δίκην ἢς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιθήσῃς τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ ἀνθρώπῳ.» C

Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῇ σῆ ἀρχιερωσύνη μὴ γενέσθω ὑποστολή προσει-  
 πεῖν αὐτῷ, ὅτι μὴ μέγα τὸ ἀνελεῖν μηδὲ τὸ τιμωρεῖσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ  
 τοῦ τυχόντος· λησται γὰρ καὶ καταποντισται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο μυρίον τῶν  
 70 κακούργων γένος, εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ ὄφεις καὶ λύκοι καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ λέοντες  
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνήμερα ζῶα δυνατὰ εἰς τὸ ἀνελεῖν καὶ λυπεῖν τὸ ἀνθρώ-  
 πινον. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνο μέγα ὡς ἀληθῶς, τὸ εὐεργέτην ὀφθῆναι, τὸ ψυχὴν  
 παρασφαλεῖσαν ἐπανορθώσασθαι ἢ κεκακωμένην ἰάσασθαι· καὶ τούτου  
 75 φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς πλάσεως, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἄρχειν τῶν ὁμοδούλων πλέον τι φιλοτιμηθέντας, τὸ φέρειν  
 τοῦ πλά|σαντος τὴν ὁμοίωσιν. D

Πολλὰ εἶχομεν καὶ ἕτερα γράφειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς σῆς ἀρχιε-  
 ρατικῆς τελειότητος ἱκανῆς οὔσης καὶ οἰκοθεν τὰ πρέποντα παραινεῖν,

62-63: Jerem. 23.24. || 74: Gen. 1.26.

51 γίνονται Vat.: -ωνται P || 63 πράξεως Vat.: -εις P || 76 φιλοτιμηθέντας P<sup>c</sup>: -ες P<sup>1</sup>

be provided for my Unworthiness any place of intercession to God—to make  
 intercession against the violator of the Holy Sanctuary and against his  
 punishment of this man. It will be perfectly clear who that violator is:  
 it will be none other than he who shall presume to inflict punishment and  
 retribution (God forbid it!) on the man who has been taken from the temple.  
 For those who persuaded me to take him out would not be the violators,  
 since they are not themselves the punishers and were acting merely in favor  
 of the Prince appointed by God, so that, for the favor shown to their friend,  
 they deserve to receive his friendly favor, and not to be responsible for the  
 guilt of his punishment of the man, because they gave me an assurance, and  
 took him who fled for refuge to the sanctuary, and sent him to *their friend*.

But if there be any communion of intellect, any visitation of the mind,  
 any union of man with men, I write this also for you to say to our Son the  
 honored of God and lover of virtue: “My Son, think that you see my own  
 self before you, and that it is I who surrender into your hand the man whom  
 with my hand I led out of the sanctuary. Let nobody overpersuade you; do  
 not defraud Him Who dwelleth in the Holy Temple, Who filleth heaven and  
 earth, nor the worthless priest of His temple, by inflicting any harm on him  
 who was by me brought from the Holy Temple and sent to you. I warn you  
 that God’s justice shall not sleep, but shall demand a far heavier requital  
 than any you may impose on that unfortunate man.”

I beg your Archpriesthood will have no hesitation in saying this also  
 to him: that to destroy and to punish are no tokens of greatness: anyone  
 may do these things: brigands and pirates and ten thousand other criminals,  
 not to speak of snakes and wolves and bears and lions and the other wild  
 animals, are powerful to destroy and vex mankind. But what is a deed of  
 true greatness is to show oneself a benefactor, to raise up the soul that has  
 fallen, to heal the soul that is wounded. And this must be the study of all  
 who know that they are honored according to the image of God, but especially  
 of those who, not only by their creation, but also through rule over their  
 fellow servants, are endowed with a gift more rich than those: to wear the  
 likeness of the Creator.

I had much else to write; but, partly since your high-priestly Perfection  
 can think of suitable arguments yourself, and partly since this letter should

80 τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ λόγου φεύγοντος διὰ τὸ μῆκος τὸ ὀχληρόν, τοῖς εἰρη-  
 μένοις ἠρκέσθημεν, ἐκεῖνο μόνον προσεπιλέγοντες, ὡς παράσχοι θεὸς  
 μηδὲν ἐναντίον τῆς ἡμετέρας παρακλήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος γενέσθαι, ἵνα  
 μήτε τὸ πνευματικὸν ἡμῶν τέκνον ὃ ἐκ θεοῦ ἄρχων ὑπόδικος αἰωνίου  
 γένηται κρίματος μήτε οἱ κοινωνήσαντες αὐτῷ τῆς βουλήs καὶ τῆς πρά-  
 85 ξεως κοινωνοὶ καὶ τῆς κατακρίσεως γένωνται.

#### 5. Συμεῶν ἄρχοντι Βουλγαρίας

Ἄ γραφομεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, μὴ νόμιζε μέλανι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμῶν  
 δάκρυσι γεγράφθαι· εἰς τοῦτο γάρ, ὡς | ἔοικεν, περιέστησαν ἡμᾶς αἱ ἄμαρ- 48  
 τὰ ἡμῶν, ἵνα τοιαύτας περὶ σοῦ ἀκούσωμεν ἀγγελίας αἱ τὸ ἡμέτερον  
 5 πρὸς σὲ γράμμα τὰ δάκρυα ἔξουσιν ὑπουργοῦντα πρὸς τὴν γραφὴν.  
 Φεῖσαι ἡμῶν, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ παραχωρήσης ἐν ἡμέραις τῆς τα-  
 πεινότητος ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναξιότητος τοῦ σοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοιαῦτα ἐνερ-  
 γηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ πράγματα ἃ μὴ διαλείψει τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα  
 μεμπτοὺς καὶ ἐπονειδίστους παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ποιεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πράτ-  
 10 τειν ὀρμήσαντας.

Ἄλλὰ μέχρι τίνος φεύγει ὁ λόγος καὶ ἀναβάλλεται τὴν πονηρὰν  
 ἀγγελίαν καὶ θεῷ μισητὴν καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀποτρόπαιον ἐμφανῶς σοι  
 λέγειν; Ἀνήγγειλαν ἡμῖν ὡς ὁ φρόνιμος, ὁ συνετάτατος, ὁ Χριστιανι-  
 κώτατος, ὁ πολλὰ μετακλαυσάμενος τὴν πονηρὰν ἐκείνην ἐκστρατεῖαν  
 15 ἦν | ἐποίησω κατὰ Χριστιανῶν, νῦν πάλιν χεῖρον ἐκστρατεῖα καὶ θεῷ B  
 μισητοτέρα ἐκείνην ἀποκρύπτειν ἐπιχειρεῖς, κινῆσαι βουλόμενος καὶ  
 τυραννικῶς ἐπελθεῖν κατὰ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντος, κατὰ τοῦ μηδὲν ὄλως  
 λυπήσαντος νηπίου καὶ ὄρφανου καὶ παιδὸς βασιλέως, οὔτε τῆς τυραν-  
 νίδος ἔννοιαν λαβὼν, ὡς βδελυρὰ παρὰ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις — τίς γὰρ οὐκ  
 20 οἶδεν ὅτι καὶ θεὸς τυραννίδα μεμίσηκεν καὶ ἀνθρώποι τὸν αἰῶνα πάντα  
 τοὺς τυράννους ὡς κοινούς ἀλάστορας διαβάλλουσιν; — ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε ταῦ-  
 τα εἰς ἔννοιαν ἔθου οὔτε τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἐνεθυμήθης, ὅς καὶ  
 τὴν κατὰ τοῦ τυχόντος ὄρφανου ἀδικίαν δυσχεραίνει καὶ βδελύσσεται  
 καὶ ἀτιμώρητον οὐκ ἔχῃ, μὴ ὅτι γε τὴν κατὰ βασιλέως ὄν αὐτὸς κρίμασιν  
 25 οἷς ἐδικαίωσεν | τῶν σκῆπτρων τῆς αὐτοῦ κληρονομίας κατέστησε C  
 δεσπότην καὶ κύριον. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν κοινῶν συμφώνων ἐποίησω λόγον

5: 22: Ps. 67.5.

84 αὐτῷ Vat.: ἐαυτῷ P

5: P 79r-83v || 5 γράμμα <ἀπαιτοῦσι καὶ> ei. Jk || 26 λόγον Vat.: -ων P

avoid tediousness on account of its length, I rest content with what I have  
 said, adding only this prayer, that God will allow nothing to happen in  
 opposition to my request and hope: so that neither will my spiritual Son, the  
 Prince appointed by God, be condemned to eternal punishment, nor will  
 those who share in his counsel and his act be partners also in his condem-  
 nation.

#### 5. To Symeon, Prince of Bulgaria

What I write (my Son) you must suppose to be written not with ink,  
 but with my tears: so closely, as it seems, have my sins encircled me that  
 I hear news of you which *demand* my letter to you *and* shall have tears for  
 the writing of it. Spare us, O Lord our God, and let it not be that, in the  
 days of my Humility and Unworthiness of Thy sanctuary, the Evil One  
 should bring such things to pass as will never cease to hold up the doers of  
 them to the execration and shame of all the world in every generation!

But how far shall my letter run on before speaking plainly to you of  
 this evil news, hateful to God and abominable to men? They have brought  
 news that you, the wise, the most intelligent, the most Christian, the much  
 penitent for that wrongful expedition which you made against the Christians,  
 have, once again, resolved to hide the memory of that expedition in another  
 yet worse and yet more hateful to God, with intent to move and usurp upon  
 an innocent who has done you no harm whatsoever, an infant and an orphan,  
 the son of an emperor, and without considering how abominable is usurpation  
 in the eyes of God and men. For who does not know that God hates usurpation,  
 and that men in all ages execrate usurpers as general pests? No, you  
 have not considered this, nor thought of the Father of orphans, Who loathes  
 and abominates and avenges a wrong done even to a humble orphan, far more  
 to an emperor, whom He Himself has by His decree and sanction set up to be  
 sovereign and lord of the scepter of His inheritance. You have broken the



ἃ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀφ' οὗ τῷ βαπτίσματι προσεληλύθατε, Ῥωμαίοις ἐμεσίτευσαν καὶ Βουλγάροις· οὐδὲ πάλιν τῶν δευτέρων ἃ τῆς πρώτης κακῶς διαλελυμασμένης εἰρήνης εἰς ἀνακαινισμόν καθιστῶντα  
30 αὐτὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένα ὄρκοις φορικτοῖς κατησφαλίσθησαν τε καὶ ὠχυρώθησαν.

Τί τοῦτο, τέκνον ἡμῶν; Ποῦ μοι τὸ περὶ σέ καύχημα; Ποῦ ἐκεῖνα τὰ καλὰ ὅσα ἡ ἀγαθὴ περιφέρουσα ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἡμῶν φήμη, ὡς ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ ἄρχων ἀγαθός, φιλόθεος, δίκαιος, μισοπόνηρος, ἐραστής ἀληθείας,  
35 πολέμιος ψεύδους, καὶ τί με δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγειν, ὅσα κομίζουσα ἡμῖν ἡ καλὴ ἐκείνη καὶ δεξιὰ φήμη ἐποίει χαίρειν ἐπὶ σοί, εὐφραίνεσθαι, D σεμνύνεσθαι, εὐχαριστῆσαι θεῷ ἀναφέρειν, δοξάζειν τὸν τῶν ὅλων ἄρχοντα καὶ θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα τῷ γένει τῶν Βουλγάρων κεφαλὴν καὶ ἄρχοντα ἔδωκεν; Ποῦ ταῦτα, δι' ὧν καὶ νυκτὶ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ  
40 χαίρων ἐπὶ σοὶ εὐχὰς ἀνέφερον, εἰ καὶ ταπεινός, εἰ καὶ ἀχρεῖος τοῦ ἀγίου θυσιαστηρίου παραστάτης, μὴ ἐπιλιπεῖν τὸ σὸν σπέρμα ποτὲ τοῦ ἄρχειν τῶν Βουλγάρων τοῦ ἔθνους μηδὲ τῆς κληρονομίας τῶν σῶν κατορθωμάτων τὰ σὰ ἐκπεσεῖν τέκνα; Ποῦ μοι ἐκεῖνα τὰ καλὰ καὶ σεμνὰ διηγήματα; Πόθεν δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἐναντία, τὰ σκυθρωπά, τὰ μεμισημένα θεῷ  
45 καὶ ἀνθρώποις, τὰ εἰς αἰσχύνην ἀπάγοντα, τὰ ποιοῦντά μοι ἄρτον τὰ ἐμὰ δάκρυα; Τίς γάρ, μὴ ὅτι γε ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν σὴν φιλήσας καὶ φιλῶν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλος δίκαια λογιζόμενος καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ σε φιλεῖν ἀκούων ταῦτα, 49 οὐχὶ πληττεται τὴν καρδίαν, οὐ σκυθρωπάζει, οὐκ ἀνιάται, οὐχ ὅλος γίνεταί τῶν δακρύων; Τί γάρ ἐπωδυνώτερον ἀνθρώποις, τί δὲ μᾶλλον  
50 ἀξιώτερον θρηνηεῖσθαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν ἀρετῇ διαβόητον ὄντα καὶ ὀνόματος ἀειμνήστου τυχόντα καὶ οἷον παράδειγμα καὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ ταῖς μετέπειτα γενεαῖς τρόπων καὶ βίου φιλοθέου γενόμενον, ἐξαίφνης τούτων μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, πρὸς δὲ τὰ χεῖρω δέξασθαι τὴν μετὰπτωσιν; Οἷμοι τῶν ἐμῶν συμφορῶν, τῆς ἐμῆς ταλαιπωρίας, τῶν  
55 ἐμῶν ὡς ἔοικεν ἀπειρῶν ἀμαρτιῶν. Φεῦ τῆς ἐπηρείας τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μισανθρώπου, τοῦ τοῖς καλοῖς ἀεὶ διαφθοροῦντος, τοῦ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιουμένου ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπάγειν.

Ἐγὼ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τὸ σὸν ἐκάστοτε ἀναμανθά|νων εὐγενὲς φρό- B νημα τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ὅτι μηδὲν ἕτερον οὕτως σοὶ διασπουδάζεται ὡς τὸ  
60 παραστήσαι τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκατάκριτον καὶ ἀνεύθυνον, οὐκ ὀλίγων καὶ

45-46: Ps. 41.4. || 55-56: cf. Ioann. 8.44.

29 καθιστῶντα Jk: -εσ P || 33 περιφέρουσα P<sup>1</sup>: περὶ σοῦ φέρουσα P<sup>o</sup> || 53 τούτων P<sup>o</sup>: τοῦτον P<sup>1</sup>

agreement between us which negotiated peace between Romans and Bulgarians in the beginning, when you approached us for baptism; and also the second agreement which, when the former peace was wrongfully disturbed, brought about its renewal and was, at its making, confirmed and assured with fearful oaths by yourself.

My Son, what is this? Where is the pride I took in you? Where are those good reports which fair fame carried to my ears of the prince appointed by God, the good, the pious, the just, the hater of evil, the lover of truth, the enemy of falsehood? Why need I enumerate all that the said fair and auspicious fame carried to me, and made me rejoice in you, and be glad, and proud, and thankful to God, and glorify the Ruler of all, our God and Lord, that He had given such a man to the race of the Bulgarians to be their head and ruler? Where are those prayers which gladly, night and day, I (albeit lowly, albeit a worthless servant of the Holy Sanctuary) sent up on your behalf, that your posterity should never cease to rule over the nation of the Bulgarians, that your children should never fall away from the inheritance of your achievements? Where are those fair and proud tales told of you? And whence come their opposites, sad, hateful to God and men, tales that bring the blush, that make tears my bread? Who is there—I do not speak of myself, who was and am the lover of your virtue, but any other who regards justice though he were not your friend—who, at hearing this, is not smitten to the heart, is not sad, distressed, all tears? For what can be more grievous to men, what more lamentable, than that a man renowned for his virtue, who has won an imperishable name, who is (as it were) an example of morality and religion to his own and future generations, should on a sudden fall away and become estranged from this and should choose to turn to the worsen part? Alas for my calamities, for my wretchedness, for (as would appear) my measureless transgression! Woe for the malice of man's Enemy from the beginning, still envying the good, still devoting all his energy to perverting mankind to evil!

I (my Son) who daily learnt the nobility of your soul, and that nothing was closer to your heart than to present your rule as irreproachable and innocent, when several people before were whispering what is now being said,

πρὶν τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα φημιζόντων, λῆρον ἐποιούμην τοὺς λόγους καὶ ἐχθροὺς ὑπελάμβανον τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα λογοποιεῖν, ἵνα σε μωμητὸν καταστήσωσιν· καὶ πολλοῖς ἔλεγον ὡς οὐδαμῶς ἔχει χῶραν ἢ τοιαύτη κατηγορία κατὰ τοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ ἄρχοντος. Ἔλεγον γὰρ  
65 ὡς ἄνθρωπος τιμῶν εὐσέβειαν, ἀληθείᾳ χαίρων, δικαιοσύνην τιμῶν, ὀνόματος ἀγαθοῦ καὶ μνήμης ἐφιέμενος, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμίαν ἔξῃ· ὁ γὰρ τύραννος τούτων μὲν πάντων ἀλλότριος ὑπάρχων, πεπληρωμένος δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν πρὸς ταύτην ἀναφλέγεται τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. Καὶ γὰρ πᾶς τύραννος καὶ ἄπιστος καὶ ψεύστης καὶ C  
70 παράνομος καὶ ἄδικος καὶ, τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς κακίας, μὴ νομίζων εἶναι θεοῦ πρόνοιαν μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου κρίσεώς τε καὶ νεύσεως τὰ ἀνθρώπινα διοικεῖσθαι καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας διανέμεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ τεθάρρηκε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μανίᾳ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ καὶ ἀθεότητι. Ἔλεγον οὖν πρὸς τοὺς σὲ διαβάλλοντας ὡς τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς· «Ἄνθρωποι,  
75 ἄλλα ὑμῶν εἶη τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια, τὰ λαλοῦντα κατὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ θεοφιλοῦς τέκνου, κατὰ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου, κατὰ τοῦ πιστοτάτου, κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν.» Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ προστιθεὶς ταῦτα· «Ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας προβάλλει τὰ πονηρά· ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας D  
80 προβάλλει τὰ ἀγαθὰ. Τὸ ἐμὸν τέκνον ἀγαθότητι χαίρει· ἀληθινὸς γὰρ, καὶ ψεῦδος πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐκ τοῦ οἰκείου ἔθρους διώκει καὶ ἀπελαύνει· καὶ πιστότατος δέ, ὅτι πάντας ἀκούω τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν πᾶσι τρόποις ἐν τῇ πίστει· ὅτι δὲ καὶ δικαιοτάτος, οὕτω πάντες κεκράγασιν, οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄδικος τὴν ἐκείνου καυχῆσεται μυκτηρίζων δικαιοσύνην. Πῶς οὖν ἔχει  
85 λόγον τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν πιστότατον, τὸν δικαιοτάτον, τὸν ἄλλους ταῦτα παιδεύοντα καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις, αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ψεύστην ἢ ἄπιστον ἢ ἀδικώτατον; Οὐκ αἰσχυρῆσεται αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τοὺς μὲν ὑπηκόους ἀρετὴν ἐκπαιδεύων, αὐτὸς δὲ χάριτι θεοῦ ἄρχων καθιστάμενος πρὸς κακίαν καὶ τότε μιαιω|τάτην (τί γὰρ μιαιώτερον τυραννίδος;) ἀπο- 52  
90 κλίνων; Οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα μὴ γένηται, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ ἥλιος ἀντὶ τοῦ φωτίζειν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λαμπομένους σκοτίζειν διαλοιδορούμενος.»  
Οὕτως ἐγὼ δισχυρίζομαι, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ πάντας ἀντέλεγον, ὅποτε περὶ σοῦ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τυραννικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τυραννίδος ὑπέβαλλον λόγους. Νῦν δὲ τί εἶπα; Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα πάντα, ὅσα  
95 πρότερον ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἔλεγον, ὅσα ἐπῆνον, ὅσα πρὸς σύστασιν τῆς σῆς διε-

75-77: Ps. 30.19. || 77-80: Matth. 12.35.

83 fort. πίστει <συνέχοντα> || 84 καυχῆσεται P<sup>c</sup>: -σηται P<sup>1</sup> || μυκτηρίζων P<sup>1</sup>: -ειν P<sup>c</sup>

thought they were talking nonsense, and supposed them to be the enemies of your Virtue, and to be inventing this tale for the purpose of slandering you; and I said to many that this accusation against the Prince appointed by God had no foundation at all. For, I said, a man who loves piety, takes delight in truth, honors justice, and is covetous of a fair name and memory, would never desire usurpation. The usurper, because he is a stranger to all these virtues, and his wretched soul is full of their opposites, is inflamed with a desire of this kind. For every usurper is impious, false, lawless, unjust, and—most wicked of all—refuses to believe in God's Providence, or that by His judgment and sanction human affairs are governed, and rules and authorities are assigned to men; but he is bold simply out of his own madness and conceit and godlessness. So I said to those who were accusing you of a desire to usurp: "Sirs, let those treacherous lips be silent that speak lawlessness and injustice against my divinely favored Son, the most pious, the most faithful, the righteous!" And not simply this, but I added also: "The evil man from the evil treasury of his heart bringeth forth evil. The good man from the good treasury of his heart bringeth forth good. My Son takes delight in goodness: for he is true, and with all his might expels and drives out falsehood from his own nation; he is most faithful, for I hear that all those beneath him are at all points in the faith; that he is most righteous, all men loudly proclaim, for none of the unrighteous shall boast himself a mocker of that righteousness. How then can it be that a true man, most faithful, most righteous, who teaches others so to be, can become in word and deed false, faithless and most unrighteous? Will he not shame his own self if, while teaching virtue to his subjects, he, by God's grace their prince, declines to vice, and that of the most heinous kind? For what is more heinous than usurpation? It is not so, God forbid it! As well might one slander the sun, for darkening, not illuminating, those on whom he shines!"

So I stoutly maintained, so I confuted the emperor and all of them whenever they mentioned a desire to usurp in connection with you (my Son) or spoke of usurpation. But now, what am I to say? For all that I formerly said on your behalf, all my praises, all my earnest commendation of your

βεβαιούμην ἀρετῆς, εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον με περίσθησιν, ἀποφράττει μοι τὸ στόμα, καταισχύνει, καὶ οὐδὲ βλέπειν μοι συγχωρεῖ πρὸς οὓς πρότερον ἀντέλεγον ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς. Τί τοῦτο, τέκνον ἐμόν; Ποῖος πονηρὸς δαίμων τῇ σῇ δόξῃ φθονήσας εἰς τοῦτο κατέστησεν, ἵνα τυραννίδος ὄνομα κληρονομήσῃς; Πόσω ἄμεινον ἐκ θεοῦ ἄρχοντα κεκληθῆσαι ἢ τύραννον; Ποῖος ὄφις ἠρεύξατο εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ ἐμοῦ τέκνου; Οὐ πεφρίκαμεν τὴν θείαν δικαιοσύνην; Οὐ φοβερὸν ποιούμεθα τὸ ἄρπαγμα | νομιζέμεν ποιέσθαι ἣν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ἐμεγάλυνε βασιλείαν; "Ορα, τέ- B κνον ἐμόν, ποῦ φερόμεθα, ποῦ ὀρμησάμενοι διενεώθημεν. Μισεῖ τὰς ἐπάρσεις ὁ θεός· καταβάλλει τοὺς ἐπαιρομένους· τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονήματα, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον συγχωρεῖ δοκεῖν ἴστασθαι, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἀνατρέπει αὐτά. Οὐδεὶς δυνατὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τι λαβεῖν· καὶ φρόνιμος ὢν οἶδας καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων ὡς πολλοὶ πεισθέντες ἀβούλως κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν καὶ μετέγνωσαν καὶ πολλὰ τῆς ἀβουλίας ἑαυτοὺς κατεμέμψαντο. Καὶ 110 ἵνα πάντα ἐάσω τὰ προλαβόντα, τίς οὕτως φιλόνηκος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἐπιθυμίας ἐξαγόμενος καὶ πρὸς τόλμαν ἔτοιμος, ὃν οὐ διδάσκει ὁ χθὲς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἐπιστάς αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις τύραννος καὶ σύντομον εἰσπραχθεὶς δίκην τῆς δυσσεβεστάτης αὐτοῦ | καρδίας ἐπαξίαν καὶ C τοῦ θράσους καὶ τοῦ τολμήματος, ὅτι οὐδεὶς λαμβάνει, καὶ μάλιστα τοιοῦτον ὑπερμέγεθες δῶρημα, ἐὰν μὴ ᾗ δεδομένον αὐτῷ ἄνωθεν; Εἴτα οὐκ αἰσχυρόμεθα ἑαυτοῖς ἄλλους ὅτι ψεύδονται τιμωρούμενοι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδικούντες καὶ παράνομα πράττοντες; Τὴν δὲ παράβασιν τῶν φρικτῶν ἔρκων ποῦ θήσομεν; Οὐκ ἔστι πίστεως ἄρνησις; Οὐκ ἔστιν εὐσεβείας ἀλλοτριώσις; Οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ὀνόματος ἀνατροπή; 120 "Ὅταν γὰρ τὰ φρικτὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν τις ἐνουβρίση μυστήρια, πῶς ἔτι Χριστιανὸς ἐκεῖνος κεκλησεται;

Ἄναγκάζομαι ὑπὸ τῆς σφοδροτάτης τῆς ψυχῆς ὀδύνης καὶ τοῦ περὶ σὲ διαπύρου φίλτρου ὃ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνεφλέχθη ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ἔτι δὲ ἀναφλέγεται, μακρύνει τὸν λόγον· πάλιν δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπροσδοκῆτου D 125 ταύτης συμφορᾶς καὶ τῆς ἐπηρείας τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος, ὃς τῇ σῇ βούλει λυμήνασθαι μεγαλειότητι, ἀνακόπτομαι τοῦ λέγειν, θαμβούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος. "Ὅμως ἔτι προσθεὶς παλαιὰν τινα ἱστορίαν σιγήσομαι. Ἀκούεις τὴν Περσῶν βασιλείαν, ὅση μὲν τὴν δύναμιν, ὅση δὲ τὸν πλοῦτον, καὶ ὡς οὐ διέλιπον ἐξ ἀρχῆς Πέρσαι Ῥωμαίους 130 πολεμοῦντες· ἀλλ' οἱ διηνεκῶς τὰ ἔπλα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπαίρον-

107: Ioann. 3.27. || 114-115: ib.

120 ἐνουβρίση Vat.: -σει P

virtue, have turned against me: they bridle my tongue, they put me out of countenance, and forbid me so much as to look in the face of those whom I once controverted in defense of your virtue. What is this, my Son? What evil spirit, in envy of your glory, has brought you to inherit the name of a usurper? How much better to be called "the prince appointed by God" than "the usurper"! What serpent has belched his venom into my Son's ears? Do we not shudder before the Divine Justice? Do we not dread the thought of a rape on that empire which Christ has magnified on earth? See (my Son) where we are going, what we are proposing to undertake! God hates the swollen heart, and puts down those who raise their pride on high; even though He may permit it to stand for a little, yet afterward he overthrows it. No man can achieve anything of himself: you, in your wisdom, know, without words of mine, how many, through listening to ill advice, have then changed and repented in misery and heartily blamed themselves for their folly. Indeed, apart from all I have said, who is there so ambitious, so much intoxicated by his desire, so ready and so headstrong, who is not warned by the rebel who only a day or two ago appeared before the very palace itself, and met with the summary vengeance worthy of his most impious heart and of his rashness and daring? And that no one obtains a prize, especially one so vast as this, unless it is given him from above? Again, do we not shame ourselves if we punish others for their falsehoods while we ourselves are violators of justice and law? How do we rate the breaking of solemn oaths? Is it not a denial of our faith? Is it not turning our backs on religion? Is it not the subversion of the very name of Christian? For when a man insults the awful mysteries of the Christians, how can he be called a Christian any more?

I am urged by my most heavy grief of heart, as well as by my ardent affection for you, which was kindled in my heart from the beginning and glows in it still, to make my letter a long one; though at the same time by the suddenness of this disaster and by the malice of the evil demon who is seeking to injure your Majesty, I am bereft of speech, in bewilderment at the strangeness of the enterprise. I will add an old story, and then close. You know of the power and riches of the empire of the Persians, and how the Persians were from the first continuously at war with the Romans; and yet they, who were habitually in arms against the Romans, when Arcadius the

τες, ἐπειδὴ Ἀρκάδιος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὸν βίον καταλιπὼν τῷ  
 παιδί Θεοδοσίῳ τριετὴ ὄντι κατέλιπε τὴν βασιλείαν, ἄδικον καὶ ἀπάνθρω-  
 πον εἶναι νομίσαντες βασιλείᾳ | πολεμεῖν ἦν ὁ κατέχων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων 53  
 πραγμάτων καὶ διοικήσεων διὰ τὴν νηπιότητα ἦν ἀνεπαίσθητος, οὐ  
 135 μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἔπαυσαν, ὃν πρὸς Ἀρκάδιον ἐνήργουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐνταῦθα τῆς συγκλήτου προέχοντας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλεν τῶν  
 Περσῶν — Χοσρόης δὲ ἦν, ὁ πάντων Περσῶν ἐπὶ μαιφονίᾳ διαβόη-  
 τος· — ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὗτος ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τοὺς τῆς συγκλήτου λογάδας,  
 δηλῶν ὡς καὶ τὸν πόλεμον καταλύει καὶ τοῦ νηπίου βασιλέως προστήσεται,  
 140 καὶ εἴ τις ἀνῆραι χεῖρας πολεμικὰς τολμήσει, πάσῃ ἀμυνεῖται δυνάμει  
 καὶ χωρήσει καὶ κατ' αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως σὺν τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατῷ, καὶ πᾶσαν  
 σπουδὴν θήσεται καὶ ἀγῶνα τοῦ καὶ τὰ θεμέλια ταύτης ἀναστρέψας εἰς  
 θάλασσαν ἐμβαλεῖν.

Ἀκούεις βασιλέως βαρβάρου καὶ δυσσεβοῦς φιλανθρωπῖαν; Ἀκού-  
 145 εἰς κρίσιν διανοίας κατὰ γε τοῦτο δικαιοσύνης; Καὶ γὰρ ὡσπερ ὁ ἐπι-  
 τρέχων ὄρφανοῦ | παιδὸς πράγμασι ληστής ἐστὶν καὶ ἄρπαξ, καὶ οὐχ Β  
 ἀπλῶς ἄδικος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ τυραννεῖν βουληθεὶς ὄρφανὸν βασιλέα καὶ  
 νήπιον οὐ μόνον ἔργον τυράννου ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ ληστοῦ καὶ ἄρπαγος καὶ  
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων βιαιοτάτου· ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος ὁ βάρβαρος συνιδὼν βασι-  
 150 λεύς, ὁ μὴ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν γινώσκων, ἤσχύνθη ἀντὶ τῆς  
 βασιλικῆς αὐτοῦ τιμῆς πρὸς ἄρπαγος καὶ ληστοῦ ἀτιμίαν ἑαυτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν,  
 λέγων τοῖς πρὸς τοῦτο διερεθίζουσιν αὐτόν (καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ τότε πολλοὶ  
 μισοὶ καὶ λησταὶ ὄντως, πρὸς τοῦτο ὑποκινουῦντες, ὡσπερ καὶ νῦν εἰσιν  
 οἱ τὴν σὴν σύνεσιν πρὸς τοῦτο ὑπάγειν σπουδάζοντες), ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγεν  
 155 οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα συμβουλεύειν αὐτῷ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ προσλα-  
 βεῖν τυχὸν πλοῦτον ἢ δυναστείαν ἐστὶν καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ C  
 δὲ ὄνομα ἐνδοξὸν κτήσασθαι ἢ κτηθὲν διαφυλάξαι καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσαι,  
 μόνων ἐστὶ φρονίμων καὶ ἀρετὴν τιμώντων καὶ μνήμην ἀγαθὴν καταλι-  
 πεῖν τῷ βίῳ σπουδαζόντων. Τί λέγεις; Ἄρα καλῶς ἔχει σοι, τέκνον  
 160 ἐμόν, δι' ἐπιθυμίαν τυραννίδος χεῖρω γενέσθαι, Χριστιανὸν ὄντα καὶ τῆς  
 ἐκείνου δόξης κληρονομίαν ἐλπίζοντα, ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου καὶ ἀθέου καὶ  
 πυρσολάτρου καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην θεοὺς νομίζοντος; Καὶ πῶς οὐκ  
 ἄμεινον καταδύναί εἰς γῆν τὸν οὕτω φρονοῦντα ἢ βλέπειν τὸν ἥλιον;

Ἐγὼ, τέκνον ἐμόν, ὅπερ καὶ προλαβὼν εἶπον, ἐξ ὅλης σε φιλήσας  
 165 ψυχῆς φιλίαν τοῦ πνεύματος καθαρὰν, ὡς Χριστιανικώτατον, ὡς δικαιοτά-  
 τον, ὡς συνετάτατον, ὡς κατὰ πάντα θεοῦ θεράποντα καὶ αὐτῷ ἀρέ- D  
 σκειν μελετώντα· μάλιστα γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀκούων ὅτι καὶ νυκτὶ καὶ

Roman emperor died and left the empire to his three-year-old son Theodosius, thought it unfair and inhuman to make war on an empire whose ruler, owing to infancy, was ignorant of human business and administration: and they not only desisted from the war they had been waging against Arcadius, but also the Persian king sent an embassy to the principal senators here. He was Chosroes, notorious among all Persians for bloodthirstiness; yet this man sent his embassy to the chiefs of the senate, declaring that he renounced the war and would protect the infant emperor, and that if any should dare to raise an arm against him, he, *Chosroes*, would defend him with all his might, and would go with his own army upon their very city, and would put forward all his zeal and effort to destroy its foundations and cast them into the sea.

You hear the humanity of a barbarous and pagan king? You hear the decision of a mind in that respect most righteous? For just as he who hankers after the property of an orphan child is no simple malefactor, but also a bandit and a ravisher, so he who desires to usurp upon an orphan and infant emperor is acting not merely as a usurper but as a bandit and ravisher also, and as the most outrageous of men: which that barbarian king realized, though having no knowledge of our Christ and God, and he was ashamed to abandon his royal honor and to involve himself in the dishonor of a bandit and a ravisher, saying to those who incited him to do so (for there were then also many pure villains and bandits persuading him to it, just as are those now who encourage your Wisdom to go in the same direction)—but he told them their counsel was neither just nor expedient: for the possible acquisition of wealth and domination may be the work of evil men as well as good, but to obtain fair fame, or, when obtained, to keep it and not forfeit it, is the work of the wise alone, and of them who honor virtue, and endeavor by their lives to leave a fair memory to their posterity. What say you? Is it well for you (my Son), in your desire of usurpation—you who are a Christian and hope to be an inheritor of Christian glory—to fall below the standard of a barbarian, a pagan and a fire-worshipper who thought the sun and moon were gods? Were it not better that one so minded should be swallowed up in the earth rather than behold the sun?

I (my Son), as I have said already, have loved you wholeheartedly, with a pure love of the spirit, as one who is most Christian, most righteous, most intelligent, in all ways the servant of God and anxious to please Him: more especially since I hear from many that you do not cease by night or day

ἡμέρα οὐ λήγεις θεοῦ δεόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς προτέρας σου κατὰ Χριστιανῶν  
 ἐκστρατείας καὶ πᾶσι τρόποις ἐκείνης τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἑαυτὸν ἐκκαθαίρων  
 170 νηστεύεις καὶ δάκρυσι καὶ συντρίψει καρδίας· — ἀλλὰ γὰρ ταύτην τὴν  
 καλὴν σου προαίρεσιν μανθάνων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν, ὅσην διεξῆλθεν  
 ὁ λόγος, ὀλοψύχως ἐφίλησα. Καὶ νῦν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν πρὸς σὲ διασφύζων  
 φιλίαν, καὶ τὴν ἀπαίσιον καὶ πονηρὰν ταύτην ἀκούσας ἀγγελίαν, οὐκ  
 ἤνεγκα σιωπῆσαι, ἀλλὰ δακρῦων καὶ στενάζων τὸ γράμμα ἀπέστειλα·  
 175 πρῶτον μὲν δεόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς σῆς ἄψασθαι καρδίας, καὶ μεταστρέ-  
 ψαι αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸ εὐάρεστον αὐτοῦ καὶ σωτήριον καὶ σὲ δεικνύον ἀκα-  
 τάκριτον | καὶ ἀκατάγνωστον θέλημα· ἔπειτα δὲ διανοῖξαι καὶ τὰ ὅσα, καὶ 56  
 ἡρεμίαν τῷ λογισμῷ παρασχεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν θορύβων καὶ ταραχῶν  
 διακοῦσαι τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων, καὶ πεῖσαι οἷον ἐλπίζομεν γενέσθαι, καὶ  
 180 ἀκοῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀντὶ τῶν νῦν πονηρῶν λόγων καὶ ὀδύνην μὲν ἡμῖν ἐμποιη-  
 σάντων, σὲ δὲ ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς δόξης μεγάλης ζημιωσάντων, τὰ καλὰ  
 καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ μὴ αἰσχύνοντα τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν μήτε ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι  
 μήτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ποιῶντα ὑπόδικον αἰωνίου ἀδοξίας καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ  
 ἀπαρηγορήτου κολάσεως, ἣ τοῖς ἀθετοῦσι τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 185 καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐποφείλεται. Πάντως δὲ οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλεις ὡς ἀθέτησις  
 ἐστὶν τοῦ μεγάλου ὀνόματος ἢ τῶν συμφώνων καὶ τῶν ὅρκων ἀθέτησις  
 καὶ τὸ βουληθῆναι ἀρπάσαι βασιλείαν τὴν | κατὰ μηδὲν τῷ σῷ γένει B  
 προσήκουσαν.

Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ ὡς πατὴρ κατὰ πνεῦμα, εἰ καὶ ἐλά-  
 190 χιστος, καὶ ὡς ἱερεὺς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου παραστάτης, εἰ καὶ  
 ἀνάξιος, καὶ λαβάν ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος δεσμῷ  
 ὑποβαλεῖν τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας, εἰ καὶ πάντων ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐγὼ πρῶτος,  
 δεσμῷ ὑποβάλλομέν σε ἐν πατρὶ καὶ ὑἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἵνα, εἴ τι  
 τοιοῦτον βεβούλησαι, καὶ ὡς ἡ φήμη προέδραμεν, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι πρὸς  
 195 τὴν πόλιν διέγνωσ, καταργήσης τὸ ὄρημα καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξουσίαν  
 ὑποστρέψης καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνην στέρξης καὶ μηδὲν καινοτομήσῃ  
 τολμήσης· γινώσκων ὡς, εἰ τοῦτο πράξεις, ἀλύτοις δεσμοῖς τὸν πάντα  
 αἰῶνα τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος | ὑποβεβλημένος ἔση καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ C  
 ἀχράντων μυστηρίων ἀκοινωνήτος. Καὶ τῷ αἰωνίῳ βήματι μετὰ σοῦ  
 200 παραστήσομαι, ἐξελέγχων σε ὅτι ὅσον τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἐσίγησα οὐδὲ πρὸς  
 τοιαύτην φερόμενον ἀτοπίαν παρεῖδον οὐδὲ τῆς σῆς ἡμέλησα σωτηρίας,  
 ἀλλὰ σπουδῆν ἐθέμην καὶ ἀνενεγκεῖν σε καὶ ἀποστρέψαι τοῦ ἀσυμφόρου

191–192: Matth. 16.19; Ioann. 20.22–23. || 192: 1 Tim. 1.15. || 199–200: Rom. 14.10.

168 λήγεις P<sup>c</sup>: -ης P<sup>i</sup> || 176 δεικνύων Vat.: -ων P || 195 <ὄρησαι> διέγνωσ vel sim. ||  
 καταργήσης Vat.: -σεις P

to supplicate God in respect of your former expedition against the Christians:  
 in every way—by fasting and tears and contrition of heart—purging yourself  
 of that transgression. And learning of this your honest purpose and of your  
 other virtue which report has described, I have loved you with all my heart.  
 And now, retaining that same love toward you, yet hearing those sinister and  
 evil tidings, I cannot endure to be silent, but with tears and sighs send you  
 this letter: first praying to God that He will touch your heart and turn it to  
 a purpose pleasing to Him, and salutary, such as will render you blameless  
 and irreproachable; then that He will open your ears and grant to your under-  
 standing peace from the din and turmoil without, so that you may hear my  
 words, and they may persuade you to the course in which I would have you,  
 and we may hear, rather than the present evil tidings, which have affected us  
 with grief and have, so far as they could, damaged you in your great glory,  
 news that is favorable and beneficial to you, not shaming your virtue in this  
 present age nor making you liable in the ages to come to eternal disgrace and  
 dishonor and that inconsolable punishment which is the portion of them who  
 set at naught the mighty name of our Christ and God. You cannot doubt,  
 I am sure, that His great name is set at naught in the breaking of treaties and  
 oaths, and in the plan to seize an empire which in no way belongs to your race.

Now, in addition to all I have said, I, as your father according to the  
 spirit (though the least of men), and as priest and servant of the Holy  
 Sanctuary (though unworthy), deriving authority from the All-holy Spirit  
 to subject the sinner to the bond (though myself first among sinners), subject  
 you to the bond in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, that, if you  
 have any such intention, and are, as rumor has prognosticated, resolved upon  
 usurpation against this City, that intent you shall renounce, and return to  
 your own dominion, and content yourself with the original peace, and dare  
 to do it no injury: in the knowledge that, if you shall persist, you shall be  
 subject in all ages to the insoluble bond of the Holy Spirit, and excommuni-  
 cate from the holy and untouchable Mysteries. And at the Eternal Judgment  
 I shall take my stand beside you and testify against you that I for my part  
 spoke out, and did not ignore your hurrying into this crime, nor neglect your  
 salvation, but was eager to rescue you and deflect you from the fatal rebellion

κινήματος τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ τοῦ ὑπόδικον γενέσθαι καὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ καὶ  
τοῦ ἀλύτου κατακριματος. Πρὸ δὲ τούτων καὶ νῦν τὰς ἀναξίους μου χεῖ-  
205 ρας οὐ κατασπάσω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, δεόμενος τῆς θείας δυνάμεως, μέχρις  
ἂν δικασῇ δικαίαν κρίσιν μεταξύ τῆς τε σῆς ἐπηρείας καὶ τῶν ἀδίκως  
ἐπηρεαζομένων.

## 6. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Καὶ πρότερον ἂ ἐγράφη, τέκνον ἐμόν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ | κοινῇ συμφέροντος D  
Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων ἐγράφη, καὶ νῦν δὲ τὰ γραφόμενα τῆς αὐτῆς  
ὑπάρχει προαιρέσεως καὶ σπουδῆς. Εἰδότες γὰρ ἀσύμφορον ὑπάρχον ἐκα-  
5 τέρα ἐξουσία καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῇ λαοῖς τὸ διαστασιάζειν καὶ τὸ ἀνειρήνευ-  
τον, καὶ σφόδρα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ συνεχόμενοι, οὐ μόνον ὅτι λειτουρ-  
γοὶ τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου, εἰ καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνάξιον λειτουργίας,  
ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ταλαιπώρου ζωῆς ἡμῶν οὐκ ὀλίγην  
συνελεξάμεθα ἔκ τε τῶν ἱστορημένων τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς  
10 ἡμετέρους καιροὺς γεγονότων μάθησιν τῶν συμβαινόντων ἐν τῇ στάσει  
χαλεπῶν — ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰδότες τὰ καταλαμβάνοντα τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐκ  
φιλονεικίας καὶ ἔριδος λυπηρὰ καὶ ἐπώδυνα πράγματα καὶ νῦν γράφομεν.  
Χαλεπὸν γὰρ καὶ ἐνός | ἀνδρὸς πρὸς ἓνα φιλονεικία, καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἐχόντων, 57  
εἰ μὴ φθάσασα εἰρήνη τὸ φιλονεικίον διαλύσῃ, κίνδυνος περιστῆναι ἢ  
15 τοῦτον ἢ ἐκείνον εἰς ἐσχάτην βλάβην· χαλεπώτερον δὲ καὶ οἶκον πρὸς  
οἶκον καὶ πόλιν πρὸς πόλιν οὕτω διακεῖσθαι· ἔθνος δὲ πρὸς ἔθνος φιλονει-  
κῶς ἔχειν καὶ μὴ ἐθέλειν καταλλάττεσθαι πῶσω χαλεπώτερον, οὐκ  
ἔστιν ἐμὲ διδάσκειν, ἀλλὰ πᾶς τις συνήσιν, μὴ ὅτι γε ἡ σὴ ἐμφρονεστάτη  
καὶ τελεωτάτη σύνεσις. Οὐκ ἔχω τι πλέον εἰπεῖν, διότι καὶ πρότερον  
20 εἴρηται καὶ ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ἐμὲ λέγειν ἱκανὸς εἶ, τέκνον ἐμόν, καὶ ἄλ-  
λους περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης διδάσκειν, μὴ  
ὅτι γε σεαυτῷ ποιεῖσθαι παραίνεσιν.

Ἄ δὲ εἰς βουλὴν προήχθη καὶ οἷς διακονούμενοι τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
ἐστεύλαντο πορείαν οἱ τὸ ἡμέτερον γράμμα κομίζοντες, διηγήσονται μὲν  
25 καὶ αὐτοὶ χεῖλεσιν ἰδίοις, ἀπαγγελεῖ δὲ σοὶ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον | γράμμα, B  
ὥστε, εἰ ἀμεταθέτως ἔχεις τοῦ σοῦ φρονήματος, καὶ μὴ ἐπανελθεῖν  
ἐθέλοις εἰς τὴν προτέραν τάξιν, ἔνορκον ἀσφάλειαν γενέσθαι τοῦ μὴ τοὺς

of your soul, and from placing yourself beneath the bond and the indissoluble  
condemnation. But meanwhile and even now I will not lower my unworthy  
hands from Heaven in entreaty of the Power Divine, until It pronounces a  
just judgment between your malice and us, who are unjustly the victims of it.

## 6. To the Same

What I wrote before (my Son) was written for the sake of the common  
advantage of Romans and Bulgarians, and similarly what I write now is with  
the same purpose and zeal: for I know how disastrous to both our dominions,  
and to the peoples subjected to them, are dispute and implacability, and am  
much perturbed at heart by this, not only because I am a minister of the Holy  
Sanctuary (though unworthy of this ministry), but also because in the long  
lapse of my miserable lifetime I have gathered both from ancient histories  
and contemporary events no small learning as to the ills which arise from  
dissension. It is, then, in the knowledge of the distress and pain which afflict  
humanity by reason of contention and strife, that I am writing again. Contention  
between man and man is cruel, for, in such a condition, unless peace  
comes to dissolve their contention, either the one or the other of them is  
likely to suffer the utmost harm; yet more cruel still is such a state between  
house and house, and between city and city; but if nation contend with  
nation, and will not come to terms, I cannot express by how much that is  
cruellest of all! This all men understand, not to speak of your own most  
prudent and perfect Wisdom. I have no more to say of this, since it has been  
said before, and since, without my saying it, you, my Son, are capable of  
instructing others concerning advantage and right-doing and peace, and so,  
of course, of advising yourself upon them.

Now, as to what has been decided in the Council, and upon what errand  
those have been dispatched to you who are bearers of my letter, they will  
tell you themselves in their own words, and my letter will inform you: to wit,  
“if your purpose is fixed and you will not again resort to the former muster,  
there shall be a sworn guarantee that the Bulgarians shall do no harm to the

206 ἀν] in ras. 2 litt. P

6: P 83v-85r || 5 τοῖς ... λαοῖς Vat.: τοὺς ... λαοὺς P || 6 τούτῳ Wk: τοῦτο P ||  
19 τί P || 25 ἀπαγγελεῖ P<sup>c</sup>: -ἔλλει P<sup>1</sup>

Βουλγάρους βλάβην τινὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐπάγειν μήτε Ῥωμαίους κατὰ Βουλ-  
 γάρων ἀσύφορόν τι πράττειν, καὶ τελεῖσθαι μὲν καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ  
 30 λεγόμενον κομβέντον, στέλλεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς βασιλείας  
 ὡς ἔθος πρὸς σὲ στελλόμενα μέχρι τῆς Δεβελτοῦ ἐκεῖθεν τε διὰ τῶν  
 ὑμετέρων ἀνθρώπων κομίζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι  
 τούτων οὕτω γινομένων καὶ μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιζητεῖν, μηδὲ τὴν τῶν βασιλι-  
 κῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς σὲ ἀφίξιν τε καὶ προσκύνησιν. Τούτων οὕτω δοξάν-  
 35 των ἐγράψαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς παρακαλοῦντες καὶ δυσωποῦντες φείσασθαι  
 μὲν τῆς καταλαμβανούσης ἀμφοτέρα τὰ γένη, Ῥω|μαίους τέ φημι καὶ C  
 Βουλγάρους, συμφορᾶς, εἰ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὅπερ μὴ δοίη θεός, ἐπιποδῶν  
 γένηται· φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκείας τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης, καὶ μὴ τῷ  
 βίῳ καταλιπεῖν ἀφορμὰς πρὸς διαβολὴν τε καὶ μέψιν τοῦ σοῦ περιδόξου  
 40 ὀνόματος, μηδὲ ἀνθ' ὧν μέλλουσιν ὑποστῆναι συμφορῶν τὰ ἀμφοτέρα  
 ἔθνη ἄρας ἐπαφίεσθαι κατὰ σοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν περιπιπτόντων ταῖς συμφοραῖς.  
 Ταῦτα δυσωπῶ, ταῦτα παραινῶ, καὶ ὡς πατὴρ τέκνον, καὶ ὡς λειτουργός,  
 εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιος, τῆς θείας δόξης, παρὰ θεοῦ σε δεδοξασμένον καὶ μέλ-  
 λοντα λόγον ὑφέξειν αὐτῷ εἰ τι ἀνάξιον καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐκείνου ἄγιον θέλημα  
 45 ὀφθεῖης διαπραξάμενος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πρὸς σὲ μετὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γράμματος πρότερον κατα-  
 λαβόντες, ὑποστρέψαντες ἀπήγγειλαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς εἰπόντων ἡμῶν ἐν  
 τῷ γράμματι ὅτι ἀδύνατον χωρὶς χύσεως αἱμάτων τὴν σὴν ὀρμὴν γεγε-  
 νῆσθαι, αὐτὸς ἀνθυπέφερες ὡς τοῦτό | φαμεν ὅτι μετὰ τῆς τῶν αἱμάτων D  
 50 χύσεως δυνηθῆσθαι ἐπιτελέσαι τὸ ἐπιχείρημα, μεγάλως μὲν ἐξεπλάγημεν,  
 μεγάλως δὲ ἠνιάθημεν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ῥήμασιν, καὶ ἐθαύμασα (εἰ γε  
 ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ ὕλον ἐστὶν ψεῦδος καὶ ἀνάπλασμα τῆς τῶν  
 εἰπόντων προαιρέσεως) πῶς μὲν ἐνεθυμήθης τοιοῦτον, πῶς δὲ τὸ ῥῆμα  
 προσήνεγκας. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἀποσκοπήσαντες ὅσαι  
 55 καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ στασιάζοντας, ἔφημεν ὡς ἀδύ-  
 νατον μὴ οὐχὶ αἵματα χεθῆναι τῆς σῆς ἐξορμήσεως γινομένης καὶ τῆς  
 φιλονεικίας κρατούσης. Οὗτοι δέ, οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν εἴτε τῆς σῆς  
 ἀκούσαντες γλώσσης, ἀπεφθέγγαντο λόγον ὃν οὐχ ὅτι γε ἡμεῖς πρεσβῦται  
 ὄντες καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς, εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιοι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν παῖς φθέγγασθαι βου-  
 60 ληθείη. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ | οἶδεν ὅτι στάσεως ἀναμεταξύ τινων γενομένης ἀνάγκη 60  
 καὶ πληγὰς ἀκολουθῆσαι καὶ φόνους; Οὐ πάντως δὲ ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῦ  
 σκοποῦ τυχεῖν ἐκείνου δι' ὃν κεινημένος τις αἷτιος ὑπῆρξε τῆς τῶν  
 αἱμάτων ἐκχύσεως. Ἡ οὐχ ὄρας τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην γινομένους πολέμους;  
 Ἐκστρατεύονται μὲν γὰρ οὗτοι ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὰ τῶν πολεμίων προσ-

Romans nor the Romans do anything to hurt the Bulgarians, and the so-  
 called 'convention' shall operate as in the beginning, and that what is by  
 custom sent to you from the Roman Empire shall be sent as far as Develtos,  
 and thence shall be carried into your dominion by your own servants, and  
 this arrangement shall suffice and no other demand be made, not even the  
 demand that our imperial agents should come to you and give you obeisance."  
 Such being the decisions, I have written to you myself also, to beg and entreat  
 you to spare us the disaster which will come upon both races, I mean Romans  
 and Bulgarians, if a peaceful policy—God forbid it!—is abandoned: to spare  
 also your own honor and reputation, and not to leave behind you occasions  
 for aspersing and abusing your glorious name, nor, for the disasters both  
 nations must undergo, to let bring on you the curses of those who will suffer  
 these disasters. This I entreat, this I urge on you, as a father upon his son,  
 as a minister (though unworthy) of the Divine Glory upon one whom God has  
 glorified, and who will answer for it to Him if you are found in any action  
 unworthy or contrary to His holy will.

But whereas those who came to you with my letter before told me on  
 their return that, when I said in my letter that your purpose could not be  
 achieved without bloodshed, you had replied that my meaning was, that by  
 the shedding of blood you could get what you wanted, I was greatly astonished  
 and greatly grieved at these words, and wondered (if they spoke the truth,  
 and if the whole was not a falsehood and deliberate fabrication of my in-  
 formants) how you could think of such a thing or make such a remark.  
 I, with my mind full of all the disasters which come on those who fight and  
 quarrel, said that blood must necessarily be spilt if your expedition took  
 place and your contentiousness persisted. But they, whether of their own  
 fiction, or having heard it from your mouth, used language such as not even  
 a child, let alone I myself, an elderly man and an archpriest (though un-  
 worthy to be so), would utter. Who does not know that when a quarrel breaks  
 out, wounds and bloodshed must certainly ensue? But it is very far from  
 certain that the man who is responsible for the bloodshed will achieve the  
 object on which he is bent. Do you not observe the conflicts that break out  
 from day to day? One side mounts an expedition with intent to gain the



65 κτήσασθαι· ἀντεπεξέρχονται δ' ἐκεῖνοι ὑπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων λαβεῖν, καὶ συμβαίνουσι μὲν πάθη παρ' ἑκατέρους οἷα συμβαίνουσιν, οὐ πάντως δὲ κατ' ἐλπίδας ἀμφοτέροις ἐκβαίνει τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐψεύσθησαν καὶ διέπεσον τῶν ἐλπίδων, τοῖς δὲ τυχὸν συνέπεσε παντελὴς ὄλεθρος καὶ ἀπώλεια.

70 Μὴ οὖν τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον μῆτε σύ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐπηρεάζῃς, μῆτε τις ἄλλος πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον αὐτὸν διαστρέφων βούλημα ὑπολαμβάνετω λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὅ | μῆτε ἴσμεν μῆτε διενόηθημεν μῆτε εἰρήκαμεν· μᾶλλον B δὲ ὁ μὴδ' ἂν ἕτερός τις εἴποι μὴ δυστυχῶν ἐσχάτην δυστυχίαν εἰς φρένας. Ὡς οὖν προσέφημεν, σφόδρα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπλήγημεν ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τῶν  
75 εἰπόντων ματαιολογία· καὶ εἶθε μόνον ἦν τὸ εἰρημένον ματαιολογία, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ὑπόδικον κρίματος αἰωνίου. Εἰ γὰρ λόγος ἀργὸς οὐκ ἀνεύθυνος παρὰ τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πόσω μᾶλλον τοιαύτη συκοφαντία; Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰπόντες ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν καρδίας τοῦτο ἠρεῦξαντο, οὐ τοσοῦτον λυποῦσιν, εἰ καὶ λυπηρὸν τὸ ῥηθέν, διότι φρονήματος  
80 ἀτελοῦς καὶ ἐσφαλμένου τυγχάνοντας εἰκὸς καὶ ἀτελεῖ καὶ ἐσφαλμένα καὶ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ φθέγγεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τῆς σῆς ἐστὶν σύνεσιν φιλοῦσης καὶ | μεγαλοτίμου ἐξουσίας τὸ γέννημα, ἡμῶν μὲν ὁ θεός, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, φεί- C σαιτο καὶ ῥύσαιτο ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας, σοὶ δὲ γένοιτο εὐμενῆς νῦν τε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ διδοῦς ἐκεῖνα καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λογίζεσθαι καὶ πράττειν,  
85 ἃ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης μέμφεως ἐκτὸς δείξει καὶ τῷ αἰωνίῳ κριτῇ ἀκατάκριτον παραστήσει.

### 7. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐπλήγημεν τὴν καρδίαν πληγὴν ὀξυτάτην, τέκνον μου πολυέραστον, ὑπὸ δεινῆς ἀγγελίας, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς δόξης, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐγράψαμεν ἃ προεγράψαμεν κινούμενοι πατρικῶς, καὶ  
5 νῦν μὲν παρακαλοῦντες, νῦν δὲ ἐπιτιμῶντες οἷα τὰ πατρικὰ σπλάγγνα θαρροῦντα καὶ συγκινούμενα οἶδεν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα ποιεῖν. Ὡστε εἰ ἐνέτυχες τοῖς προλαβοῦσι γράμμασι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, | ἐγνώρισας πάντως νῦν D ἐπὶ πλεον ἢ πρότερον τὸ διάπτυρον πρὸς σὲ φίλτρον ἡμῶν, καὶ ὅπως περι-  
καϊόμεθα σοῦ ἔνεκεν καὶ τῆς ἐν γῆ τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης καὶ τῆς ἐν οὐρα-  
10 νοῖς σωτηρίας καὶ ἀπολαύσεως.

Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν προγεγραμμένων, νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ πεμφθέντος γράμματος πρὸς τὸ τέκνον ἡμῶν τὸν φιλόχριστον βασιλέα τὰ

property of its enemies; the other comes out against it, equally resolved to seize the property of its enemies. The usual misfortunes are suffered on each side, but the event is by no means according to the hopes of both, since one side may be deceived and miss of its ends, and the other perhaps be overtaken by total destruction and loss.

Therefore do not (my Son) pervert my words, nor let anyone else, by twisting them to his purpose, imagine me to mean what I do not know, never intended, and never said; what, indeed, no one would ever have said, unless he were unlucky enough to be quite out of his wits. As I have said already, I was greatly amazed at the folly of those who so spoke: and would to God the speech were nothing worse than folly, and did not also incur eternal punishment! For if an idle word does not pass guiltless at the tribunal of Christ, how much more guilty is slander of this kind! Now, if those who spoke to me belched up this word out of their own hearts, then what they said, harmful as it was, is not so injurious, since the intent and speech of minds imperfect and misled are likely to be imperfect and misleading also. But if it is the product of your wisdom-loving and most honorable Lordship, then may our God have mercy and deliver me from slander, and be gracious to you both now and hereafter, granting you to resolve and think and act those things which shall keep you beyond the censure of men, and present you faultless before the Eternal Judge!

### 7. To the Same

I was (my dearly loved Son) struck a very severe blow at the heart by the dreadful news, and it was out of concern partly for you and your reputation, partly for myself, that I wrote my previous letters, being affected as a father would be, and now entreating, now rebuking, with the frankness and emotion characteristic of a father addressing his sons. So that, if you have read my previous letters (my Son), you have certainly realized by now even better than before my ardent affection for you, and how anxious I am about you and your honor and glory on earth, and your heavenly salvation and felicity.

So much for what I wrote before. But now that, through the letter sent to my Son the Christ-loving emperor, I have learnt what arrangements you



διοικηθέντα μεμαθηρότες, τῆς προκατασχούσης ἡμᾶς βαρυτάτης ἀνεί-  
 θημεν θλίψεως, καὶ γράφομεν ἵνα καὶ σύ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εἴ τι ἐπὶ τῇ  
 15 πατρικῇ ἐπιπλήξει λελύπησαι πρότερον, τὴν λύπην ἀπορρίψῃς, τοῦτο  
 εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἐπιπλήξις οὐκ ἦν μίσους, ἀλλὰ πολλῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ οὐ  
 μόνον πολλῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρικῆς ἀληθῶς. Καὶ εἰ μὲν παρήμην αὐτὸς  
 ἐγώ, ἄλλως ἂν τὴν σὴν ἐπισχεῖν σπουδῆν ἐποιησάμην ὁρμήν· πῶς καὶ τίνα  
 20 τρόπον; | Λαμβανόμενος τῶν χειρῶν, περιπτυσσόμενος κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰ  
 ὄμματα καὶ τὰ μέλη πάντα τοῦ ἐμοῦ υἱοῦ· φιλονεικούντος δέ σου πάντως  
 ἂν ἠψάμην καὶ τῶν ποδῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὼν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κωλύειν οὐκ ἐδυνά-  
 μην, ἀνάγκη δὲ ἀπόντι μοι σπουδῆν ποιῆσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισχεθῆναι σε  
 τῆς ὁρμῆς, ἐδέησεν ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιπλήξιν καταστῆναι οἷα δὴ πατρὶ  
 καὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχοντι ἐπιπλήττειν σοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οὐ μόνον διότι  
 25 τέκνον ὑπάρχεις, ἀλλὰ διότι καὶ λίαν φιλεῖς. Πεφύκασι γὰρ οἱ λίαν φι-  
 λουῦντες ἠδέως τὰς ἐπιπλήξεις τῶν φίλων φέρειν· πόσω δὲ μᾶλλον τέκνα  
 πατέρων, καὶ τότε τῆς πλήξεως ὑπὲρ τιμῆς καὶ σωτηρίας γινομένης τῶν  
 ἐπιπληττομένων; Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τῶν φρονίμων ἀνθρώπων οὕτως  
 ἡ φύσις τὸ φέρειν ἠδέως τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις τῶν φίλων· διὰ τί; Ὅτι | τῶν B  
 30 μὲν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἐπιτιμήσει κακῶς τινι πράττοντι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, εἰ  
 δύναίτο καὶ πίστεως ἀξιοῖτο, αὐτὸς ὑποθήσει τὰ χεῖρω. Λείπεται οὖν  
 τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτιμᾶν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καθὼς ἔφημεν, χαίρουσιν, οὐ λυ-  
 ποῦνται, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω φέρονται, οἱ παρὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπιτιμώμενοι.  
 Εἴτε οὖν ὡς φιλοῦντος ἐπιτιμήσεις εἴτε ὡς πατρὸς δεξάμενος, πάντως  
 35 χαίρειν ὀφείλεις· πεποῖθαμεν γὰρ ἐν θεῷ τῶ πάντων σωτῆρι καὶ ἄρχοντι  
 καὶ δεσπότῃ ὡς ὠνήσουσιν, οὐ βλάψουσι τὰ γραφέντα, καὶ τὴν ἐν γῆ εὐη-  
 μερίαν δωρούμενα, εἰ προσέξειν αὐτοῖς ἐθελήσεις, καὶ τὴν οὐράνιον  
 δόξαν, ἥστινος χωρὶς τὰ ἐν γῆ δοκοῦντα καλὰ, καὶ δόξα καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ  
 πᾶσα ἐξουσία, χαλεπὰ καὶ ἐπώδυνα τῶ κτησαμένῳ γίνεται, καθ' ὅτι διὰ  
 40 τούτων ἡ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπομειοῦται ἀπόλαυσις· ἥς γένοιτό | σε μὴ ἐκπεσεῖν, C  
 καὶ ἦν παράσχοι σοι Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πρεσβείαις τῆς παναγίας  
 ἀχράντου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, τῆς ἐλπίδος τῶν Χριστιανῶν καὶ σωτηρίας, καὶ  
 πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.

### 8. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἄ πολλάκις, τέκνον ἡμῶν, μετὰ συνοχῆς καρδίας, μετὰ δακρύων  
 ἐγράψαμεν, ταῦτα καὶ νῦν σοι πενθοῦντες καὶ δακρῦοντες γράφομεν. Πῶς

have made, I am relieved of that very heavy sorrow that occupied me before,  
 and I am writing so that you too (my Son) should put aside any resentment  
 you may have previously felt at my fatherly reproach, in the knowledge that  
 the reproach was not dictated by hatred, but by great love, love not only  
 great but truly paternal. If I had been in your presence, I would eagerly have  
 resorted to other means to repress your intent. How (you ask), and by what  
 means? By taking my Son by the hands, embracing his head and eyes and  
 all his limbs; nay, had you been obdurate, I would certainly have clasped you  
 even by the feet. But since I could not be there in person to check you, and  
 had to do what I could from a distance to hold you from your intent, I had  
 to resort to a rebuke, as a father and thus in a position to rebuke you (my  
 Son), not merely because you are my child, but because you love me well.  
 For those who love well may naturally and easily bear the rebukes of their  
 friends: and how much the more may children bear the rebukes of fathers,  
 especially when the reprehension is made on behalf of the honor and salvation  
 of the rebuked! It is in any case the nature of wise men easily to digest the  
 censures of friends. And why? Because no enemy will censure a wrongdoer,  
 but will rather himself, if he can, and can obtain credit, suggest the worse  
 course. So censure is left for friends; and therefore they are, as I say, glad  
 and not sorry at receiving friendly censure when they are drawn toward a  
 worse course. So, whether you receive censure from friend or father, you  
 should indeed be glad. For I believe, in God the Saviour and Ruler and Lord  
 of all men, that what I wrote will do good and not harm, and will bring you  
 both happiness on earth, if you attend to it, and also that heavenly glory  
 without which the things that seem fair on earth—glory and rule and all  
 lordship—are cruel and disastrous to their possessor, inasmuch as through  
 them is diminished the felicity beyond the grave. Of which felicity be you not  
 deprived, but be granted it by Christ our God through the intercession of our  
 most Holy and Pure Lady, who is the Christians' hope and salvation, and  
 of all the saints!

### 8. To the Same

That which often (my Son) I have written with affliction of heart, *and*  
 with tears, that same I write to you now also, lamenting and weeping. How

24 τὸ Wk: τῷ P || 27 πλήξεως] duobus punctis not. P (leg. ἐπιπλήξεως?) || 40 τού-  
 των P<sup>c</sup>: τοῦτο P<sup>l</sup>

γὰρ οὐχὶ πενθήσω; Πῶς δὲ οὐ θαυμάσω καὶ κόψομαι, ὁ ταπεινὸς ἐγὼ  
 5 καὶ ἀρχιερατεύειν θεῷ δι' οὗς οἰκτιρμούς ἐκεῖνος οἶδεν καταξιωθείς,  
 ὅποτε καὶ ἄλλος ὄστισοῦν μὴ μόνον ἐν πόλει διατρίβων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων κεχωρισμένος καὶ (ἐν) ὄρει διαίταν ἔχων καὶ ἐρημία, ταυῦτα  
 πράγματα διακούων οἶα | ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι συμπέπτωκε καιροῖς, οὐ δύ- D  
 νάται χωρὶς θαυμάσειν τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑποδέξασθαι; Πῶς οὐ θαυμάσω, ὅταν  
 10 λυπῆ μὲν τὰ πράγματα θεὸν τὸν τῶν καλῶν αἵτιον, εὐφραίνῃ δὲ τὸν  
 πατέρα τῆς κακίας καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν σκανδάλων διάβολον; Ἡ οὐκ  
 ἔστιν, τέκνον ἐμόν, σκάνδαλον χαλεπώτατον ἢ νῦν γεγενημένη μεταξὺ  
 Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων ἀντὶ τῆς φιλίας, ἀντὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀντὶ τῆς  
 ἐνώσεως ἔχθρα καὶ διάστασις καὶ δυσμένεια; Ἦν ποτε καιρὸς ὅτε  
 15 δίσταντο Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Βούλγαροι, ὅτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπήγε-  
 σαν, διατειχίζοντες αὐτοὺς τοῦ μεσοτοιχοῦ τῆς ἔχθρας, ὁ ἡ κατέχουσα  
 ὑμᾶς ἀσέβεια ὑπέβαλεν θεοῦ δὲ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἀγαπήσαντος, τοῦ τὸ  
 οἰκεῖον πλάσμα διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς  
 20 αὐτοῦ εὐδοκήσαντος, καὶ καταλύσαντος μὲν τὸ μεσοτοιχὸν τῆς ἔχθρας,  
 προσκεκληνός δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸν φωτισμὸν τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνάψαν-  
 τος Ῥωμαίους, ὡς περὶ τῆ πίστεως, οὕτως καὶ τῆ ἀγάπῃ, κατήργητο μὲν ἡ  
 ἔχθρα, πέπαυτο δὲ τῶν ὅπλων ἡ κίνησις, καὶ τὴν διάστασιν ἡ ἀγάπη καὶ  
 ἡ ἔνωσις καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἰκειώσεις διεδέχετο.  
 25 Νῦν δὲ τί; Φεῦ τῆς τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος ἐπιρρείας· μετὰ τοσοῦτων  
 χρόνων παρέλευσιν, ἀφ' οὗ τῆς τοιαύτης ἡξιώθητε χάριτος, μετὰ μακρὰν  
 οὕτως ἀγάπην, μετὰ πολὺν οὕτως φιλίαν, χάραν εὐρηκῶς ὁ πονηρὸς δαί-  
 μων πάλιν διάστασιν, πάλιν ἔχθραν ἀντὶ τῆς φιλίας καὶ τῆς ἐνότητος ἐπεισ-  
 ἤγαγεν· καὶ οὐκ ἔφριξεν ὁ παμμίαιρος ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον ἔργον θεοῦ  
 30 τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων ἐνώσεως | καταλύειν ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸν B  
 χρόνον ἐδυσωπήθη, οὐδὲ τὴν ὡς περὶ ἀνάκρασιν ἐκ τοῦ τοσοῦτου χρόνου  
 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφιλονείκησεν καὶ φιλονεικεῖ ταῦτα μὲν παρ'  
 οὐδὲν θέσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν φίλην αὐτῷ δυσμένειαν, καὶ ἥς αὐτὸς ἐχρημάτισε  
 πατῆρ, Ῥωμαίους καὶ Βουλγάρους συγκρούων τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ θεο-  
 35 ποιὸν διαλύειν ἀγάπην. Ταῦτά μοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, πένθους καθ' ἐκάστην  
 ὑπόθεσις γίνεται· ταῦτά μοι ἄρτον τὰ δάκρυα ποιεῖ. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρότε-  
 ρον παρήγγου, ἐδυσώπου, παρεκάλου σεαυτοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ φείσασθαι  
 μὲν τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς περιβοήτου φρονήσεως, φείσασθαι δὲ

16: Ephes. 2.14. || 17-19: Ioann. 3.16. || 20: Ephes. 2.14. || 34-35: cf. I Ioann. 4.7. || 36: Ps. 41.4.

7 ἐν Mai: om. P || 10 εὐφραίνῃ Vat.: -ει P || 17 ὑμᾶς] υ in ras. P<sup>c</sup> || τοῦ τὸν Vat.: τοῦτον P || 34-35 θεοποιῶν] θεοποιῶν ci. Jk

shall I not lament? How not weep and beat the breast, I, the humble yet  
 deemed worthy to be archpriest by God, through what mercies He knoweth,  
 when any other man—not merely a dweller in the city but even if sundered  
 from men and having his abode *in* mountain or wilderness—could, at the  
 report of such matters as have befallen us in our times, not receive the report  
 without tears? How shall I not weep when matters grieve God Who is the  
 author of good, and rejoice the father of evil, the Devil that is the creator of  
 offenses? For is it not (my Son) a most cruel offense, this enmity and division  
 and hatred which have arisen between Romans and Bulgarians in place of  
 friendship and peace and union? Time was when Romans and Bulgarians  
 were sundered, when they came upon one another in arms, when they were  
 fenced from one another by the middle wall of enmity, which was built in the  
 foundation of your then prevailing impiety. Yet when God, Who loved the  
 world, Who turned His own creation to Himself through the Cross and death  
 of His Son, had consented that you too should be illuminated by the light of  
 His knowledge, and, pulling down the middle wall of enmity, called you into  
 the brightness of His glory and united you to the Romans, as in faith, so too  
 in love, then the enmity was stopped, the movement of arms ceased, and  
 division was replaced by love, and union, and the familiarity of one with  
 another.

But now, what do we find? Alas for the malice of the evil demon!  
 After the passage of so many years since you were accorded that grace, after  
 so long love, after friendship so hoary, the evil demon has found place, and  
 has once more introduced division, once more enmity, instead of friendship  
 and unity; and has not shrunk, in his monstrous villainy, from attempting,  
 so far as he may, to destroy that great work of God, the union of Romans and  
 Bulgarians. He has had no respect for the *length of time*, nor for the—as it  
 were—fusion of both nations that so long a time has wrought, but has  
 striven and strives obstinately to cancel this, and, by embroiling Romans and  
 Bulgarians in the hatred which he loves, and of which he is the father, to destroy  
 the blessed love which makes us like God. This (my Son) is daily matter for  
 my lamentation; this it is that makes tears my bread. For this reason before  
 now I exhorted, implored, entreated you to return to yourself, to regard  
 your own virtue and your celebrated wisdom, and to spare us those common

καὶ τῶν κοινῶν συμφορῶν, ὅσας ἀνάγκη Ῥωμαίους καὶ Βουλγάρους ἐκ  
 40 τῆς τοιαύτης ἐχθρας καὶ διαστάσεως συναντήσῃν· καὶ νῦν δὲ τὰ ὅμοια  
 καὶ παραινῶ καὶ δυσωπῶ, τέκνον ἐμόν· ἀναμνήσθητι τῆς τοῦ κυρίου  
 παραινήσεως, ἣν ἐκεῖνός φησιν· «Συμφέρεει τῷ σκανδαλίζοντι ἓνα τῶν C  
 μικρῶν, μύλον ὄνικον δεδεδῶσθαι περὶ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν  
 ἐρριφθαι.» Πρόσσχες νουνεχῶς· εἰ τῷ σκανδαλίζοντι ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τοῦ-  
 45 το συμφέρεει, τί ἐροῦμεν περὶ τοσοῦτου σκανδαλοῦ ὃ οὐ πρὸς ἓνα διαβαίνει,  
 οὐδὲ πρὸς πέντε καὶ δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν, ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν ἀριθμήσοι τὸ πλήθος;  
 οὐδὲ πρὸς τινα τῶν μικρῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς βασιλείαν τὴν ἐπάνω πάσης ἐπι-  
 γείου ἀρχῆς, ἣν μόνην ἐν γῆ ὃ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπηξε βασιλεύς; Ἐννοεῖ,  
 τέκνον ἡμῶν, τίνας ὃ λόγος· οὐκ ἄγγελος ταῦτα λέγει, οὐκ ἀνθρωπὸς τις  
 50 τῶν χάριν θείαν πλουτούντων, οὐκ ἀπόστολος, οὐ προφήτης, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς  
 ὃ μέλλων πᾶν τὸ πλάσμα συναγαγεῖν καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ φρικτῷ | βήματι D  
 παραστήσαι. Ἐκείνην ἀναλογίζου μοι τὴν ὥραν, ὅτε τοὺς λόγους τοῦτους  
 εἰς τὸ μέσον προενεγκῶν τὸ μέγα τοῦτο σκάνδαλον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμάσει  
 δικαιοσύνην. Τί ἐροῦμεν τότε; Τί ἀπολογησόμεθα; Ποίαν ἀφορμὴν προ-  
 55 βαλοῦμεθα εἰς ἀπολογία τῆς φρικτῆς κατακρίσεως; Εἴτα ἐὰν καὶ τοῦτο  
 προεπέγκῃ, τὸ «Τὶ ὠφελήσει ἀνθρωπὸν ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν  
 δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ;» Τί ποιήσομεν; Τί γενοίμεθα; Τίνα παρά-  
 κλησιν εὐρήσομεν; Ἐγὼ, τέκνον ἐμόν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης ταῦτα  
 νῦν λέγων ὅλος πληροῦμαι φρίκης, ὅλος ἔντρομός εἰμι. Σὺ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα  
 60 εἰ μὴ φρίττετε καὶ τρέμειτε συνετὸς ὢν καὶ φρόνιμος, καὶ ὅσον τῆς ἐπιγείου 65  
 δόξης ὀρέγη τῆς νῦν μὲν ἀνθούσης, αὐριον δὲ μαραινομένης, πολλῶ  
 πλέον τῆς ἐπουρανίου καὶ ἀμαράντου.

Ἀναγκάζομαι, τέκνον ἐμόν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνεχούσης με ἀθυμίας  
 καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ σὲ φιλίας ἐπὶ πλέον τὸν λόγον ἐκτείνειν· καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς  
 65 ἄκουε. Ἔθετο ἑκάστῳ ἔθνη ὃ θεός, ὡσπερ ὄριον, οὕτως καὶ τιμὰς καὶ  
 κλήσεις· καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐνέμειναν ταῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ δεδομέναις τιμαῖς, οὗτοι  
 καὶ διήρκεσαν· ὅσοι δὲ τῶν μὲν θείων δωρεῶν καὶ τιμῶν ὡσπερ ἠλόγη-  
 σαν, ἐφιλονείκησαν δὲ πλέον τι παρ' ἑαυτῶν προσλαβεῖν, οὗτοι, κἂν ἐπὶ  
 μικρὸν ἔδοξαν εἰς αὐξήσιν προσελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ πάν-  
 70 των ἐξέπεσον. Καὶ εἰ βούλει ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν οἰκειῶν συνορᾶν  
 πραγμάτων· καὶ σκόπει ὃ λέγω. | Εἴ τις τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑποχειρίων, τιμῆς B  
 τίνος ἀξιώθεις παρ' ἡμῶν, μὴ ταύτην ἀγαπᾷ μηδὲ στέργοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ φι-

41-44: Matth. 18.6; Marc. 9.42. || 51-52: cf. Rom. 14.10. || 56-57: Matth. 16.26; Marc. 8.36; Luc. 9.25. || 65: Deut. 32.8. || 71-83: cf. Plat., *Phaed.* 62b6-c4.

40 συναντήσῃν Mai: -σει P || 56 ὠφελήσει Vat.: -ση P || κερδήσῃ Vat.: -σει P

disasters which Romans and Bulgarians must needs encounter from such  
 enmity and division; and now (my Son) I exhort and implore the like:  
 remember the Lord's exhortation, where He saith, "It is profitable for him  
 who causes offense to one of the little ones that a millstone should be bound  
 about his neck and that he should be cast into the sea." Weigh it wisely: if  
 this is profitable for him who causes offense to one of the little ones, what  
 shall we say of so great an offense that it reaches to not one nor five nor ten  
 nor one hundred, but a multitude that no man can number? not to any of the  
 little ones, but to an empire which is above all earthly rule, which the Emperor  
 of all has fixed singly on the earth? Consider (my Son) Whose word this is!  
 no angel spoke it, no man from among those richly endowed with divine  
 grace, no apostle, no prophet, but He Himself, Who shall gather together all  
 his creation and set them before His awful tribunal. Think—I beg you—on  
 that hour, when He shall bring these words to the proof, and weigh by His  
 own justice this mighty offense. What shall we say then? What is to be our  
 defense? What excuse shall we put forward in deprecation of the fearful  
 sentence? Or, if He shall cite this too: "What shall it profit a man if he gain  
 the whole world, but be damaged in his soul?", what shall we do? What will  
 become of us? What plea shall we discover? For myself (my Son) even as I  
 speak the words now, before the hour cometh, I am all full of terror, all  
 ashake. You I think must be in terror and trembling if you are wise and  
 prudent; and, however much you covet earthly repute, that today blossoms  
 and tomorrow withers away, so much the more must you covet that which is  
 heavenly and imperishable!

I am compelled, my Son, both by the grief that afflicts me and by my  
 friendship for you, to stretch out my discourse somewhat more; and do you  
 listen without impatience. God, as he has given to each nation its limit, so  
 to each its honors and appellations. As many as have kept to the honors  
 given to them by Him, these have endured. But as many as have set at  
 nought—as it were—the divine gifts and honors, and have persisted in  
 trying to get something more on their own account, these, though they have  
 appeared for a short while to advance and increase, yet after a little have  
 been deprived of all. We may, if you please, jointly view this from the  
 standpoint of our own affairs. Consider what I mean. If one of our subjects,  
 to whom we have accorded some honor, is not satisfied or content with this,

λονεικεῖ πλέον τι ἑαυτῷ περιθέσθαι, οὐκ ἀγανακτήσομεν, οὐ μισησομεν, οὐκ ὀργιούμεθα κατ' αὐτοῦ; Εἶτα ἡμεῖς μὲν, ἄνθρωποι ὄντες θνητοὶ καὶ 75 ἐπίκληροι, ἦν ἂν τιμὴν δοίημεν ἀνθρώπῳ ἴσῳ τὴν φύσιν, ἐὰν μὴ ταύτην ἀγαπήσῃ μὴδὲ εὐχαρίστως ἐμμείνῃ τῇ δωρεᾷ, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσφιλονεικήσῃ καὶ περιεργάσεται καινότερος τις εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν, ἀγανακτήσομεν καὶ ὀργὴν ἀναληψόμεθα, καὶ τυχὸν καὶ ἀφελοῦμεν παντελῶς τὴν δεδομένην αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν τιμὴν καὶ ἄτιμον μᾶλλον ποιήσομεν ἀνθ' 80 ὧν ἐνόμισεν οἰκεία περινοία πλέον τοῦ δέοντος ἑαυτὸν τιμᾶν· τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐχ οὕτως ὑποληψόμεθα τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις ἐμμένειν τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ C δεδομένη τούτοις τιμῇ ἕξειν, οὐδ' ὀργιεῖσθαι ἂν τοὺς ὄρους ὑπερβαίνειν βουληθεῖεν τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς τιμῆς οὓς αὐτὸς ἐδώρησατο; Μὴ ὑπολάβῃς ταῦτα σοφιστικῶς γράφειν ἡμᾶς· οὔτε γὰρ σοφιστὴς ἐγὼ οὔτε πιθανολόγος, ἀλλ', εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιος, τοῦ ἀγίου θυσιαστηρίου λειτουργὸς καὶ τῆς 85 πάντων σωτηρίας ὑπερευχόμενος· καὶ ὑπολαμβάνω (ὡς ἑμαυτὸν πείθω, ἀληθῶς) ὅτι μὴ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐπιχειρήμασιν ἀρέσκεται ὁ θεός.

Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων κάκεινό σε δεῖ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, διενθυμείσθαι, ὅτι πέρυσιν εἰς ὕψιν ἀλλήλων καταστάντων ἡμῶν ἐπηγγείλω πάντα εἰρηνικά, 90 πάντα φιλίας καθαρᾶς, καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ γε τοῦ νῦν λυθῆσεται μὲν πᾶσα ἔρις, πᾶσα πρόφασις σκανδάλων, παύσεται δὲ πᾶσα στάσις, καὶ βραβευθήσεται σὺν θεῷ μεταξύ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων εἰρήνη ὄντως σταθερὰ καὶ οἷα οὐπω πρότερον γέγονεν οὐδ' ἐπειράθησαν οἱ | πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐν βίῳ γεγονότες. D Ποῦ μοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, ἢ τότε γλυκεῖα διάθεσις; Τί γέγονεν ἢ τῆς εἰρήνης 95 ὑπόσχεσις; Ποῦ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ῥήματα οἷς ἔχαιρε μὲν θεός, ἔχαιρον δὲ οἱ ἀκούοντες ἄνθρωποι; Ποῦ ἐχώρησαν αἱ χρησταὶ ἐλπίδες ἃς εἴχομεν ἀδιστακτως, ὡς οὐκέτι μεταξύ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων ἰσχύσει ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων ὑποβαλεῖν σκάνδαλον οὐδὲ συνταράξει τὴν καθαρὰν αὐτῶν ἀγάπην; Σκόπει φρόνιμος ἂν χάριτι θεοῦ καὶ δέξῃς συνιδεῖν τὸ καλὸν τὰς μεθοδείας 100 τοῦ πονηροῦ· πολύτροπός ἐστιν καὶ πάσῃ μηχανῇ κατὰ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ θεοῦ πλάσματος ἀγωνίζεται· φθονεῖ μὲν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, πλέον δὲ τοῖς μειζρόνως χάριν λαβοῦσι παρὰ θεοῦ. Εἶδεν οὖν καὶ σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, φρονήσῃ, συνέσει, χρηστότητι, ἐπιεικείᾳ, καὶ ἄλλοις πλείστοις καλοῖς | φιλοτιμηθέντα παρὰ θεοῦ, καὶ πρὸς φθόνον δέξύτερον κατὰ σοῦ ἀναφλέ- 68 γεται, καὶ βούλεται πάσῃ μηχανῇ τὸν κατὰ σοῦ φθόνον πληροφρήσειν. 105 Ἄλλὰ μὴ λανθανέτω σε ἡ ἐκείνου ἐπιβουλή, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅσα τοῖς καλοῖς πλουτεῖς, τοσοῦτον ταπεινότερος γίνου, ἵνα τὴν ἐκείνου ἐπιβουλήν

but strives to acquire something more for himself, shall we not be incensed, and moved to hatred and wrath against him? Well, then: we, who are men mortal and corruptible, when we award a man an honor suitable to his condition, and he is not satisfied with it nor remains grateful for the gift, but strives additionally, on his own account, and is eager to appear and to be somebody of different standing, are to be highly incensed and moved to wrath, and shall perhaps altogether deprive him of the honor we have given him, and indeed make him to be dis-honored, because he thought by his own devices to get more than was due to him; and shall we not conclude that God will be so disposed toward those who will not abide by the honor given them by Him? that He will be wrath if they try to overstep the bounds of the glory and honor which He Himself has conferred? Do not think that I am writing sophistries. I am no sophist, no special pleader, but a minister (though unworthy) of the Divine Sanctuary, one who prays for the salvation of all. And I think I am truly convinced that such enterprises are displeasing to God.

Apart from these things, this also you should consider (my Son): that last year, when we stood in sight of one another, you promised all that was peaceable, all that was of pure friendship; that henceforth all strife, every occasion of offense should be dissolved, every quarrel should cease, and, with God's help, a peace really stable between Romans and Bulgarians should be accorded, such as had never been before nor had been experienced by preceding generations. Where (my Son) is that sweet disposition? What has become of the promise of peace? Where are those words in which God rejoiced, in which the men who heard them rejoiced? What has become of the fair hopes, which we unhesitatingly entertained, that the evil demon would no longer have strength to introduce offense between Romans and Bulgarians, or would disturb their pure love? Consider—for you are wise by the Grace of God and quick to comprehend the good—what are the devices of the evil one: he is versatile, and with every artifice labors against the salvation of the divine creation. He envies every man, but especially those who have received more abundant favor from God. He has seen (my Son) that you have been favored by God with prudence, wisdom, goodness, honesty, and a host of other benefits, and he is inflamed to keener envy against you, and tries by every device to satisfy his envy against you. But do not let his plot escape you; rather, the more richly you are endowed with favors, so much the more humble should you become, so as to escape out of

διαφύγης. Ἐδόθη σοι ἐπὶ γῆς τιμὴ καὶ δόξα παρὰ θεοῦ, σπούδασον ἐπὶ ταύτη καὶ τὴν οὐράνιον προσλαβεῖν· προσλήψῃ δὲ ταπεινοφρονῶν, μὴ μετεωριζόμενος, μὴ τὴν καρδίαν ὑψούμενος, μὴ ὑπὲρ ὃ προσῆκεν ἐπαιρόμενος, μὴ σπονδάς καὶ ὄρκια παραβαίνων, ἃ ἔθεντο μὲν οἱ πατέρες σου πάλαι καὶ πρόπαλαι, ἔθου δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς χθὲς καὶ πρόω·ν. Εἴ τις ὄρκιον τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ποιήσαιο, εἶτα παραβῆναι τὸν ὄρκιον τολμήσας, ἀπαραιτήτως θάνατον ὑπέχει τὴν δίκην· ὁ δὲ τὸν πάντων θεὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν καὶ δεσ-  
 115 πότην εἰς ὄρκιον προθέμενος, εἶτα παραβάτης γινόμενος, οὐ μυρίων θανά- B  
 των ἔνοχος; Ἄλλὰ τί; Διότι μὴ παραυτίκα ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀφάτου μακροθυμίας ἐπάγει τὴν δίκην, διὰ τοῦτο καταφρονήσωμεν; Ἄλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἶμαι, χαλεπωτέραν ἡμῖν τὴν ποινὴν ἐποίσει, καὶ ὅσῳ πλέον μακροθυμεῖ, τοσοῦτον ἀλγεινοτέραν.  
 120 Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τὸ γράμμα πλέον ἐξέτεινα· διὰ τοῦτο ἐν εἰπῶν σιωπήσομαι. Οὐκ εἰμὶ προφήτης οὐδὲ τῶν προορῶν τὰ μέλλοντα χάριν λαβόντων, ὡς δὲ λειτουργὸς τοῦ ἀχράντου θυσιαστηρίου, εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιος, καὶ ὡς πατὴρ τέκνου τὴν σωτηρίαν κηδόμενος, προσασφαλίζομαι καὶ προλέγω. Ἐὰ τὴν τῶν σκανδάλων αἰτίαν· ἀπόστηθι τοῦ φρονήματος,  
 125 δι' οὗ ἡ κατάλυσις ἐνεργεῖται τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ | παναγίου πνεύματος, C  
 ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ ἀναμεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον χρόνον κατασχοῦσα εἰρήνην καὶ ἀγάπην· ἐπάνελθε πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς λογισμοὺς, μεθ' ὧν χάριτι θεοῦ εὐδαιμόνως χωρὶς δακρύων καὶ συμφορῶν ἐκάτερον ἔθνος ἐπολιτεύετο· ἐπεὶ εἴ τι ἐγὼ συνίημι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξεγέρσεως,  
 130 ἀναστήσεται εἰς ἐκδίκησιν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔσται ὁ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐξαιρούμενος.

### 9. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Τίνας ποταμοὺς εὐρήσω δακρύων; Ποίους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑμοῖς πάθεισιν ἀναλάβωμαι θρήνους; Ἐμὰ γὰρ τὰ πάθη ὅσα τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ μου κατέλαβεν, τὴν ἀγίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιπόθητον κληρονομίαν, δι' ἧς ἤς ὑπέμεινε τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸν θάνατον. Πῶς οὖν ἀποκλαύσωμαι ταῦτα ἢ τίνα εὐρω τῆς ἐμῆς ὀδύνης καὶ τῶν σπαραγμῶν τῆς καρδίας παράκλησιν; Ὡ τῆς κακίας τοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μισανθρώπου, τοῦ τὸν πικρὸν φθόνον κατὰ

110: Ps. 130.1. || 111: cf. Prov. 22.28. || 130-131: Isai. 43.14.

9: 7: cf. Ioann. 8.44.

117 ἐπάγει Vat.: -η P

9: P 88v-94v || 5 ἦς] fort. ἦν

his plot. God has given you honor and glory on earth, strive to acquire also those which are heavenly. These you shall acquire by a humble spirit, not by pride, or by lifting up the heart, or by undue arrogance, or by the violation of treaties and oaths which your fathers made and swore long, long ago, and you yourself made and swore only the other day. If a man takes an oath in your name, and then dares to break it, he is inevitably condemned to death; and he who prefixes the God and Creator and Lord of all to an oath, and then violates it, is he not liable to ten thousand deaths? What then? Because, owing to His mercy and ineffable long-suffering, He does not instantly exact the penalty, are we on that account to despise Him? Yet this very delay will I believe involve us in a crueler punishment, the more painful the longer we are suffered.

Perhaps I have prolonged my letter too far: so, I will say one thing, and cease. I am no prophet, nor of them that have received the grace to foresee; but as minister (though unworthy) of the Immaculate Sanctuary, and as a father careful for his son's salvation, I give assurance in advance and predict. Leave the cause of offenses; abandon the pride through which is wrought the destruction of the edifice of the Holy Spirit, which is the peace and love so long subsisting between Romans and Bulgarians; return to the former frame of mind, in which by God's grace both nations were happily governed without tears or disasters: since, if I have any understanding of God's awakening, He shall rise to vengeance, and there shall be none to deliver us out of His hands.

### 9. To the Same

What rivers of tears may I find? What complaints shall I resort to in my sufferings? For mine are all the sufferings which have come upon the people of my Christ and God, His holy and much beloved inheritance, for which He endured the Cross and death. How then shall I bewail these? Or what comfort may I find for the agony and the lacerations of my heart? Alas for the malice of him who has hated mankind from the beginning, who has

τοῦ τῆς θείας παλάμης πλάσματος ἐξοπλίσαντος, τοῦ ἀεὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
 πρὸς ὄλεθρον καὶ ἀπώλειαν ἄγοντος. Ἄπ' ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὁ μιαιφόνος, ὁ ἀρχέκα-  
 10 κος, ἐκμανεῖς κατὰ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους, οὐ παύεται μέχρι καὶ  
 σήμερον, μᾶλλον δὲ μέχρις ἂν ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτεύηται ἄνθρωπος, ἀνασφῶν  
 καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἀνεγείρων, ἵνα, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς μὴ συγκεχώρηται προφανῶς  
 ἐπιβουλεύειν ἡμῖν, αὐτοὶ δι' ἀλλήλων τὰς ἐπιβουλάς καὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν  
 διαπράττωμεν. Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μανιώδους αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως  
 15 καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὄπισσαν | χειῖρας κατὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπέρματος καὶ τῆς 69  
 αὐτῆς προελθόντων γαστρῶν· καὶ πατέρες ἀπέκτειναν παῖδας, ὑπὲρ ὧν  
 ἠϋζάντο πολλάκις τὰς ψυχὰς προαφείναι, καὶ φίλοι φίλους ἠγνόησαν.

Ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀλάστορος οἴμοι δαίμονος καὶ τὰ νῦν ἐμὲ καταλαβόν-  
 τα πάθη καὶ οἱ θρήνοι καὶ τὰ δάκρυα· ἐκείνου τῆς κακομηχανίας ἡ διάρ-  
 20 ρηξίς τοῦ συνδέσμου τῆς ἀγάπης τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ μου τέκνων,  
 τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ τῆς Βουλγαρικῆς ἐξουσίας. Ἄφ' οὗ γὰρ ὁ βρα-  
 βεῦσαι βουληθεὶς εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ διὰ τῆς ἐκ τῶν πατρικῶν κόλπων  
 κενώσεως τὸ τῶν Βουλγάρων γένος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνωσεν καὶ εἰς ἀδελ-  
 φότητα τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ γένει συνῆψεν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν παρέσχε τιμὴν, τὸ  
 25 καλεῖσθαι τούτους Χριστιανούς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμῖν, οὐ φέρων τὴν τσοσάτην  
 γεγεννημένην εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐεργεσίαν ὁ ἀεὶ φθορῶν τοῖς καλοῖς, ἀκατάπαυ- B  
 στον δὲ ἀγῶνα ποιούμενος τοῦ ἔσσαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λυτῆσαι μὲν τὸν Χριστὸν  
 καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν τὸν κοινὸν εὐεργέτην, ζημιῶσαι δὲ τὸ Βουλγάρων γένος  
 τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ δεδομένης τιμῆς, εὗρεν ὡς ἔοικεν ὀψέ ποτε τὴν ἐκβασιν  
 30 τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ εὐρῶν «σκεύη» κατὰ τὸν μακάριον ἀπόστολον «κατ-  
 ηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν», ἃ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὑμετέρου γένους, ἃ δὲ ἐξ ἡμῶν,  
 ἐνήργησε τὸ ἐλεεινὸν τοῦτο καὶ πολυδάκρυτον ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν ἔργον, καὶ  
 τοσοῦτον φόνον καὶ ὄλεθρον τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξετέλεσε κληρονομίας,  
 χειρῶν ἐργασαμένων τὸν φόνον οὐχὶ ἀκαθάρτων οὐδὲ τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ δου-  
 35 λεύειν ἐπισταμένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν κεκαθαρμένων τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι καὶ  
 πρὸς τὸν οὐράνιον πατέρα ἐπαιρομένων καὶ τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ σημείῳ  
 ἑαυτοῦς | κατασφαλιζομένων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐπηρείας. C

Τίς γένωμαι πρὸς ταῦτα; Τί διαπράξωμαι; Τίνας ἀποκλαύσωμαι;  
 Τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλων συγκινηθέντας, καὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ φόνῳ καὶ ταῖς  
 40 σφαγαῖς μολύναντας μὲν τὴν γῆν, μολύναντας δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, σκυθρωπάσαι  
 δὲ οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀκούοντας ταῦτα Χριστιανούς ἐν ὅλη τῇ οἰκουμένῃ

20: cf. Coloss. 3.14. || 21-22: cf. Coloss. 3.15. || 22-23: cf. Ioann. 1.18; Phil. 2.7. || 30-31: Rom. 9.22.

12 ἀλλήλων Vat.: -ους P || 24 τὸ P<sup>1</sup>: τῷ P<sup>c</sup> || 38 post ἀποκλαύσωμαι lac. indie. Jk

sharpened his bitter envy against the creation of the Divine hand, who is  
 ever leading men on to destruction and ruin! He, the defiled, the origin of  
 mischief, incensed against the human race, ceases not from the beginning  
 until this day—nay, will never cease while man dwells on earth—to excite  
 and rouse them against one another, in order that, since he is not permitted  
 openly to plot against us, we ourselves through one another may enact his  
 plots and our destruction. Out of this his insensate purpose from the beginning,  
 brothers have armed their hands against those who are of the same seed and  
 the same womb; fathers have slain sons for whom they have often prayed  
 they might die before them; and friends have forgotten friendship.

From that accursed demon (alas) come also the sufferings that afflict  
 me now, and the complaints, and the tears; from his evil arts the rupture  
 of the league of love between the children of my Christ and God, the Roman  
 and Bulgarian dominions! For since He, Who willed to award peace to the  
 world through His emptying out of His Father's bosom, made the race of the  
 Bulgarians His own, and joined them fraternally to the Roman race, and  
 granted to them the same honor as to us, that they should be called Chris-  
 tians, that constant envier of good, not enduring the great benefit done to you,  
 but striving ceaselessly—so far as he may—to hurt our Christ and God, the  
 common Benefactor, and to rob the race of the Bulgarians of the honor  
 granted to it by Him, has found, it seems, at long last, the vent for his malice,  
 and coming upon vessels fitted to destruction (in the words of the blessed  
 Apostle), some from your race, some from among us, has done this pitiable  
 work, very lamentable both to us and to you, and has contrived so great a  
 slaughter and ruin of the inheritance of Christ, a slaughter made not by hands  
 impure or taught to serve impiety, but made pure by holy Baptism, and  
 lifted up to the Heavenly Father, and fortifying themselves by the sign of  
 the Cross against the malice of the Evil one.

What is to become of me in face of this? What can I do? Whom shall  
 I bewail? Those who, roused against one another, have polluted the earth,  
 polluted the air, with domestic murder and slaughters, who have caused not  
 only Christians throughout the world to be saddened at the tidings, but the

ποιήσαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀγγέλους; Σκυθρωπάζουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντως, καὶ εἰ παρεῖχε δάκρυα ἢ φύσις ἐθρήνησαν ἄν, τοῦ τῶν ὄλων δεσπότου ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι ἀλοῦντος. Εἰκάζεις γὰρ πάντως, τέκνον ἡμῶν, 45 οἷον τὸ ἄλλημα τοῦ μὴ βουλομένου τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοις θανάτοις, οὓς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἢ διάβολος ὁ τῆς ἁμαρτίας γεννήτωρ καὶ οἱ αὐτὴν ἀγαπῶντες εἰργάσαντο.

Ἄλλὰ μέχρι τοῦ ταῦτα θρηνῶ καὶ ἀποκλαίωμαι, δέον τὰ μὲν D γεγονότα χαλεπὰ λιπεῖν, ἐπεὶ περ ἀναβίωσις οὐκ ἔστιν τῶν τεθνηκότων, 50 πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἤδη ἀπὸ γε τοῦ νῦν πράγματα μεταφέρειν τὸν λόγον; Τέκνον ἔμὸν, σπλάγγνον ἔμὸν (εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἐπληξας, εἰ καὶ ὀδύνης ἐπέπληξας δι' ὧν ἔπραξας, τὰ πατρικὰ σπλάγγνα συστρέφεται ἐπὶ σοί), ἀρκέσθητι τοῖς εἰργασμένοις, μέχρι τούτου στήτω ἢ τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος κατὰ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαιφονίας ἐνέργεια, μηδὲ τι πλεον 55 ἰσχύση αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξορχεῖσθαι καὶ χαίρειν ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ συμφορᾷ, τῷ Χριστῷ δὲ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν περιποιεῖν τὸ σκυθρωπάζειν καὶ τοῖς φιλανθρώποις ἀγγέλοις καὶ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τὸ εὐσεβεῖν ἐκληρώσαντο. | Ἀγαθὸν μὲν γὰρ 72 μὴδ' ὄλως λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν ἔργον πονηρὸν μηδὲ τοῦ πρόποντος ἀποσφαλῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα καὶ γένηται τι τοιοῦτον, οἷα συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη 60 τῷ πολυαμαρτήτῳ καὶ πολυπλανεῖ βίῳ, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ὡς μοίρας θεοῦ μίξιν ἔχουσιν, ὀφειλόμενον ἔστιν τῷ πταίσματι προσάγειν τὴν ἐπανάρθωσιν. Γέγονε τὸ ἤδη γεγονὸς ἐλεεινὸν καὶ πολυπενθὲς μεταξὺ Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων πταῖσμα, ὃ τίς ἂν χρόνος δώση λήθη καὶ μὴ πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα εἰς κοινήν στήλην καὶ ὄνειδος εἶη διαμνημονευόμενον, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ ἡμῶν 65 πταισάντων, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν;

Ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὑμέτερον καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἡμῶν λόγων αὐτοὶ ἐπιγινώσκετε· πάντως γὰρ φρόνιμος ὢν καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν συνείδησιν κριτὴν καθιστάνων ἐπιγνώσῃ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἡμετέρου λαοῦ πταῖσμα (φεῦ τῆς τῶν | πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰσχύος) οὐκ B 70 οἶδα εἰπεῖν ἀκριβῶς ὅπως ἀπήντησεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἔχω οὔτε τῶν βεβουλεμένων οὔτε τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀκριβῆ τὴν εἶδῃσιν. Ἄ μὲν γὰρ προεμελετήθη καὶ προκατεσκευάσθη (δεῖ γὰρ κατηγορῆσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν τιμῶντας ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα λαχόντων ἄρχειν) οὔτε συνέγνωμεν οὔτε εἰς μάθησιν ἔσχομεν οὐδ' ὅπως ἢ κίνησις τῆς τοσαύτης ὑπῆρξε στρατιᾶς. 75 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐνταῦθα κατέλαβον, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν οὐδ' ἡμᾶς τὸ πρᾶγμα διέλαθεν (πῶς γὰρ, τοσοῦτου πλήθους ἐνταῦθα συνειλεγμένου;) ἀλλὰ τὸ

very angels in heaven? For they too are certainly saddened, and if their nature allowed of tears, they would have shed them, when the Lord of all is grieving over the event. For you can surely imagine (my Son) what must be the grief of Him Who desireth not the death of the sinner, but rather that he may turn again and live, over so many deaths, which none other than the devil, who is the author of sin, and those who love sin, have contrived.

But how long shall I complain of and bewail this? We must leave the cruel past (for the dead cannot return to life), and turn our discourse to the immediate future. My Son, my dear desire—for though you have struck my heart, though you have filled me with anguish by what you have done, yet my fatherly affection turns itself toward you—be content with what is done until now; let the work of the evil demon for the common slaughter of Christians be stopped; let him have power no more to insult and rejoice at the common disaster, and cause our Christ and God to be saddened, and the merciful angels, and all who have inherited the faith. It is good that an evil work should never be begun, and that man should not slip from the right path; but if such should occur, as it must in a life so full of sin and error, yet afterward it is our duty, having an admixture of the portion of God, to apply the remedy to the fault. Past and done is the pitiable and most grievous sin between Bulgarians and Romans, which God grant time may efface, so that it be not in all ages recorded for a common reproach and shame, the sin divided in a measure between us and you!

Your portion you yourselves recognize without words of mine; for certainly, with your prudence and with your own conscience set up for judge, you will recognize the guilt even before I speak of it. But for the sin of our people—alas for the power of evil men!—I cannot say accurately how it came about, since I have no accurate information about either their plans or actions. For I was not privy to what was devised and prepared in advance (I must, out of regard for truth, censure even those appointed to govern here), nor had I learnt even that this great army was mobilized. But when it arrived here, naturally not even I could fail to observe the fact, in view of the vast multitude congregated here; and then I was told, not by the government but

45-46: Ezech. 18.23. || 60-61: cf. Plat., *Protag.* 322a3; Greg. Naz., *Or.* 14,7, PG 35,865B12-13.



τηνικαῦτα, εἰ καὶ μὴ παρὰ τῶν τὰ πράγματα διοικούντων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ γε τῶν ἄλλων τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐξεδιδασκόμεθα, ὡς ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς Βουλγάρους ἐκστρατείας ἢ τοσαύτη γέγονε κίνησις.

80 Τότε δὴ, τότε τὴν εἰς τὰ βασιλεία ζητήσαντες εἰσόδον, ἐπειπερ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐνετύχομεν, οἰκεία γλώσση μαθεῖν ἐζητοῦμεν τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν συγκίνησιν, καὶ ὡσπερ ἐχρῆν καὶ ἐμεμψάμεθα καὶ ὠνειδίσαμεν τοσοῦτου πράγματος ἐπισκόπους ἡμᾶς ὄντας τῆς πόλεως μὴ λαβόντας κοινωὸν τῆς βουλῆς. Τῶν δὲ ἢ μὲν ἄλλη ἀπολογία προήρχετο μὲν ὡς ἦν δυνατὸν

85 ἀπολογεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν διαλύειν τῆς μέμψεως· ἔλεγον δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκστρατεῦειν οὐ πολέμου χάριν οὐδὲ φόνων ἕνεκεν καὶ αἱμάτων ἐκχύσεως, ἀλλ' ἄπερ ἀπήγγελλον, ταῦτά σοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, ἤδη γνωρίζομεν·

«Ἐπίστασαι, πάτερ καὶ δέσποτα, τοὺς τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς

90 Θράκης στρατηγούς. Οὗτοι δὴ οὖν» ἔλεγον «οὐ διαλείπουσι καθ' ἐκάστην τὰ μὲν γράμμασι δηλοῦντες, τὰ δὲ καὶ γλώσση τῶν οἰκείων | ἀποκρισ- D  
ρίων, καὶ διαβεβαιούμενοι ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγειεν (καὶ οὐδεμία τοῖς λόγοις πρόσεστιν ἀμφιβολία) ὅτιπερ ὁ τῶν Βουλγάρων τοιοῦτος εἶη σκοπός, ὥστε τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν σκυλεῦσαι παντελῶς καὶ λαφυραγωγῆσαι.»

95 Καὶ προσεπέφερον πίστιν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν, ὅτι μὴ ψεύδονται ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῶς τοιαῦτα σκέπτονται Βούλγαροι ποιεῖν, τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων συμφώνων ρῖψιν ἦν ἔλεγον ποιήσασθαι Βουλγάρους, ὡς οὐκέτι βουλομένων ἐμμένειν τοῖς ἤδη συμπεφωνημένοις. Εἶτα καὶ τούτοις προσετίθεσαν λέγοντες ἡμῖν ὡς «Οὐδὲ τὸν Βωγᾶν ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι τῆς Χερσῶνος τέτακται

100 στρατηγεῖν. Οὗτος δὴ ὁ τῆς Χερσῶνος στρατηγός οὐ διαλιμπάνει διηνεκῶς ἀναφέρων ὡς πᾶσαν σπουδὴν τίθενται Βούλγαροι καὶ Πατζηνακίτας καὶ εἴ τινα ἕτερα ἐν ἐκείνοις | ἐστὶν τοῖς τόποις ἔθνη προσλήψεσθαι 73  
εἰς τὴν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔφοδόν τε καὶ τὸν πόλεμον. Καὶ οὐχὶ ταῦτα νῦν μὲν λέγει νῦν δὲ σιγᾶ, ἀλλὰ διηνεκῶς καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην τοιούτοις γράμμασι

105 καὶ ῥήμασι τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς καρδίας παρενοχλεῖ.» Ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἀποκρισιαρίους ἔλεγον μέχρι τῶν ἕξ καὶ δέκα ἤκοντας τοῦ τῶν Πατζηνακίτων γένους τοιαῦτα προσαγγέλλειν, ὡς ἐξαπεστάλησαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βουλγαρίας ἀποκρισιάριοι, οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ δὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλειστάκις, προσκαλούμενοι τούτους εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἔνωσιν· καὶ τοσοῦτον τὸ

110 πρᾶγμα σπουδάζεται Βουλγάρους, ὥστε καὶ γάμου κοινωὴν τῶν οἰκείων παιδῶν σπουδάζειν ἐνώσαι καὶ συνδῆσαι τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς συμμαχίαν Πατζηνακίτων. «Ὡς οὖν τοιούτοις λόγοις διαταρασσόμενοι, ἐπειδήπερ προλα-

92 οὐδεμία Vat.: -ίαν P || 109 ἑαυτοὺς P<sup>c</sup>: -ῶν (ut vid.) P<sup>1</sup> || 110 ὥστε P<sup>c</sup>: ὡσπερ (ut vid.) P<sup>1</sup> || 111 σπουδάζειν Vat.: -ει P || ἑαυτοὺς Jk: -ῶν P || 112 τοιούτοις λόγοις P<sup>c</sup>: τοιούτους λόγους P<sup>1</sup>; fort. πρὸς οὖν τοιούτους λόγους

by others, the cause of the army's mustering, namely, that this great mobilization was for an expedition against the Bulgarians. Then at last I demanded access to the Palace, and when I obtained audience of the government, I insisted on learning from their own mouths of the mobilization of the army, and, as was my duty, I blamed and reproached them because, in a matter of such moment, they had not taken me, the Bishop of the city, into their counsels. They produced such general excuses as they could in their defense, so as to remove the cause of my censure; but, in particular, they said that the expedition against you was not for the purpose of war, or killing, or shedding of blood—but you shall now hear (my Son) just what it was they actually told me:

“You know, Father and Lord, the military governors of Macedonia and Thrace. Well, these officers (they said) are daily stating, both in their dispatches and by the mouths of their own messengers, with assurances that they are telling the truth—and there is no doubt at all of what they say—that the Bulgarians have a plan for the wholesale looting and pillage of our territory.” And they adduced in corroboration of their words, to prove these words true and that the Bulgarians actually were planning such an operation, the renunciation which they claimed the Bulgarians had made of the existing treaty, as an indication that these no longer proposed to adhere to the standing agreement. Then they went on as follows: “You know that Bogas is our military governor at Cherson. Well, this governor of Cherson is continually reporting that Bulgarians are making every effort to get the Pechenegs and other nations in those parts to join them in the expedition and attack on the Romans. These reports of his are not intermittent; he is continually and daily troubling our ears and our minds with letters and statements of this sort.” And they went on to say that as many as sixteen messengers had come from the race of the Pechenegs, who had reported that messengers from Bulgaria had been sent to them, not just once or twice, but over and over again, to invite them to join them: indeed, the Bulgarians are so eager in the affair that they are ready to conclude and cement a Pecheneg alliance with themselves even by a marriage contract of their own children: “So that we, in alarm at these reports, after first making efforts by written



βόντες καὶ δηλώσειν ἐγγράφοις καὶ μηνύμασιν ἀγράφοις σπουδὴν ἐποιήσα-  
 μεθα τὸ εἰρηνικὸν φρόνημα μεταξὺ Βουλγάρων καὶ ἡμῶν ριζῶσαι, οὐκ  
 115 ἠδυνήθημεν δέ, ἤλθομεν καὶ ἄκοντες εἰς τοιαύτην περινοιαν ὥστε στρα-  
 τεῖαν κατ' αὐτῶν σχηματίσαι καὶ πειραθῆναι τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ Βουλ-  
 γάρων τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐπισχεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πρὸς αἵματα καὶ σφαγὰς τὸν λαὸν  
 χωρῆσαι, εἴ πως δοίη θεὸς διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης περινοίας ἐλκύσαι ἡμᾶς πρὸς  
 ἀγάπην αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τὸν δεσμὸν ἐξεργάσασθαι τῆς φιλίας. | "Ἐχεις B  
 120 τὴν ἀπολογία, ὦ πάτερ καὶ δέσποτα, καὶ μὴ ὀργίζου μηδὲ ἀγανακτεῖς."  
 Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν οὐκ εἶχον· πλὴν καὶ οὕτως ἐπετίμων, ἐπέπλητ-  
 τον, ἐξωνείδιζον, καὶ ὡς ἔδει ἔλεγον καὶ ἔτι μηνῦσαι ταῦτα διὰ γραφῆς.  
 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἤξιουν ἐμὲ γράφειν, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ μάταιος (ὁμολογήσω γὰρ τὴν  
 ἑαυτοῦ ἀμαρτίαν καὶ κατηγορήσω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀθλιότητος) οὐκ οἶδα  
 125 πῶς ὀκνηρὸς ἐγενόμην πρὸς ταύτην τὴν διακονίαν, τὸ μὲν τι ὡς εἴκειν  
 τῶν ἐμῶν ἀμαρτιῶν τὸν ὄκνον ἐμποησαμένων, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑπολαβόντων  
 ἡμῶν ὡς ἐπέπερ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων λόγους εἰς σχῆμα μόνον καὶ φαν-  
 τασίαν μάχης ἢ τοῦ λαοῦ συγκίνησις αὐτοῖς ἐπινενόηται, οὐ προκόψει  
 πρὸς ἀληθῆ πόλεμον οὐδὲ πρὸς σφαγὰς καὶ χύσεις αἱμάτων ἢ τοιαύτη  
 130 ὁρμὴ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἢ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γράμματος ἀποστολῆ ἔδοξε C  
 περισπούδαστος. Ταῦτα τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνέστειλε γνώμην τοῦ πρὸς σέ, τέκνον  
 ἡμῶν, γράφειν ἃ ἔδει γράφειν πρὸ τῆς πολυωδύνου τοῦ πολέμου συμ-  
 βάσεως. Ἄλλ' εἶπέ μοι καὶ σύ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, δυσωπῶ, ἀπορρίψας τὸν  
 θυμὸν καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν πικρίαν, καὶ ὡς συνετὸς ὀρθῶ λογισμῶ κρῖνον  
 135 ταῦτα· ὅποτε δὴ τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Θράκης οἱ στρατηγοῦντες  
 τοιαῦτα ἐδίδασκον οἷα τὸ γράμμα διεξῆλθεν καὶ Βωγᾶς ἐτέρωθεν καὶ οἱ  
 ἐκ Πατζηνακίας ἀποκρισιάριοι πάλιν διεβεβαίουντο καὶ τοιοῦτοις ῥήμασι  
 τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐσάλεον, τί φρονεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔδει καὶ ποιεῖν, τοιαύταις  
 140 συνετὸς ὦν πάντως ὁμολογήσεις ὡς ἐκεῖνα φρονεῖν ἔδει καὶ ποιεῖν ἃ  
 ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας εἰκὸς ἦν διανοεῖσθαι.

Τούτου ἕνεκεν, ὅσον ἐμὲ πεισθῆναι εἰκὸς ἦν ἐξ ὧν | διαβεβαιούμε- D  
 νοὶ ἐπληροφόρησαν, ἢ τοῦ στρατοῦ γέγονε συλλογὴ καὶ συγκίνησις καὶ  
 ἢ πρὸς Πατζηνακίτας διάπεμψις· οὐχ ἵνα πόλεμον συγκροτήσωσιν οὐδ'  
 145 ἵνα τοῦ σοῦ λαοῦ σφαγὰς ἐνεργήσωσιν, ἀλλ' ὥστε τοῦτο μὲν ἑαυτοῖς πε-  
 ριποιήσασθαι τὸ ἀσφαλές, τοῦτο δὲ ὥστε ὑμῶν ἀνακόψαι τὴν ὁρμὴν μόνον,  
 ὡς φασιν, καὶ συστεῖλαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιδραμεῖν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν χώραν,  
 καθὼς ἢ τῶν ἀθλίων ἐκείνων ἀνθρώπων, τοῦ τε Βωγᾶ καὶ τῶν ἐκ  
 Πατζηνακίων | ἀποσταλέντων \*\*\*, προσέτι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν οἱ 76

124 ἑαυτοῦ<sup>2</sup> P<sup>c</sup>: ἑαυτοῦ P<sup>1</sup> || 140 ὁμολογήσεις Vat.: -σης P || 149 lac. indic. Jk (ex. gr. διαβεβαίωσις)

declarations and oral messages to ensure a pacific spirit between the Bulgarians and ourselves, and after failing in this, came reluctantly to this expedient, namely to mount a military expedition against them and to try by this means to check the Bulgarians' purpose, with no intent that the force should proceed to bloodshed and slaughter, if God should grant that through this expedient we may draw them to love, and confirm the bond of friendship. Such, Father and Lord, is our defense; and do not be angry or annoyed."

I could not, for my part, disbelieve what they said; but, all the same, I censured, rebuked, and reprobated them, and said they must besides write to inform you of their plan. They requested me to write, and I, worthless as I am (for I will confess my own sin and will condemn my own wretchedness), was in some manner slothful in this service—partly, I think, through sloth which my sins engendered, partly because I concluded that since, according to them, the mobilization of the army had been devised by them merely to make a show and appearance of battle, such an expedition would not get to the point of actual fighting or to slaughter and bloodshed, and therefore that the dispatch of my letter was not a matter of urgency either. This delayed me in my intention to write to you (my Son) as I should have done, before this most painful clash of arms. But tell me for your part (my Son), I implore you, casting out anger and bitterness of soul, and judge the matter as a wise man with level mind: when the military governors of Macedonia and Thrace reported as I have written above, and when on the other hand Bogas and the messengers from Patzinacia gave repeated assurances and with such statements terrified their hearts, what should they have planned and done in their alarm at these evil messages? I know that, as you are a wise judge of affairs, you will admit that they should have planned and done whatever could reasonably be devised for their salvation.

For this reason, or so I naturally supposed from their information and assurances, the muster and mobilization of the army took place, and the embassy to the Pechenegs: not with intent to join battle or to slaughter your folk, but on the one hand to achieve their own security and on the other simply to check your expedition, as they said, and to stop your invasion of Roman territory, of which they were convinced from *the assurance* of those wretches Bogas and the Pecheneg envoys, and by the messages of the other military

150 λόγοι αὐτοῖς πίστιν παρείχοντο. Τοῦτον εἶπον ἡμῖν γενέσθαι σκοπὸν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοῦ στρατοῦ συναθροίσεως, ταύτην αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Πατζηνακίτας διαπέμψεως· καὶ ἐγὼ τούτοις ἐπειθόμην, ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμηθεὶς ὅτι ἔστι τις καὶ τοιαύτη ἀνθρώποις ἐπινοία (ἦν οὐδὲ αὐτός, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἀγνοεῖς), ὡς ἐπειδὴν τέκνα πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς διαστα-

155 σιάζωσιν, εἶτα οἱ πατέρες πάντα δι' ἑαυτῶν πράττοντες μὴ δύνανται οἰκείαις σπουδαῖς καταλῦσαι τὴν στάσιν τῶν τέκνων, ἀναγκάζονται τῷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνίοτε πόθῳ καὶ ἔξωθεν ἄλλους τινὰς προσλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς βοήθειαν, ὥστε δι' ἐκείνων φοβῆσαι καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπισπάσασθαι καὶ ἄκοντα τὰ τέκνα. "Ὅπερ καὶ ἐγὼ ὑπέλαβον καὶ τούτους πρὸς ὑμᾶς |

160 ἐπινοῆσαι, ἐπεὶ ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος διαστάσεως γεγεννημένης B Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἠδύναντο πάλιν δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐλκύσαι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς οἱ γεγονότες πατέρες. Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν οὕτως διενόηθησαν, σχῆμα πολέμου ὑμῖν μόνον ἐπισεῖσαι βουλόμενοι, ὡς φασιν, ἕνεκεν τοῦ προσλαβέσθαι καὶ ἐναγκαλίσασθαι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πόλεμον περιστῆσαι ἀληθῆ οὐδὲ

165 μέχρι σφαγῶν καὶ αἱμάτων χωρῆσαι, ὡς διατείνονται, ἔλαθον δὲ ἄρα τῷ πονηρῷ δαίμονι πρόφασιν παρασχόντες τοιαῦτα πάθη καὶ τοιαύτας πικρὰς ὀδύνας πᾶσι Χριστιανοῖς ἀπεργάσασθαι· ὅς πολλακίς μὲν καὶ μηδεμιᾶς προφάσεως ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οὐσης αὐτὸς παγγάλεπα κατεργάζεται, πολλακίς δὲ καὶ μικρὰς τινος δραξάμενος ἀφορμῆς τῇ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ

170 ἐπινοίᾳ μέγιστα κακὰ ἐκτελεῖ· οὐ καὶ νῦν τὸ μέγα τοῦτο κακὸν καὶ οὐκ ἔχον ὑπερβολὴν μεταξὺ Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων (ἃ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀμαρτημάτων) χώραν εὗρεν εἰς ἐξεργασίαν.

Οἶδα ὅτι ἐρεῖς—καὶ δίκαια πάντως ἐρεῖς, εἰ μὴ ἄλλη τις καὶ παρ' C ἡμῶν ἀφορμὴ τῷ δικαίῳ τούτῳ ἐνστήσεται—φήσεις γὰρ πάντως ὅτι περ, 175 εἰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐσχημάτιζον καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἔβλεπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ σκοπός, τί δήποτε πρὸς τὴν Βουλγάρων εἰσῆλασαν γῆν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τὰ τῶν πολεμίων διεπράττοντο; Εἶπον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγὼ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ταῦτα καὶ πρὸ τῆς τῶν σῶν λόγων ἀπαντήσεως, καὶ ἐμεμψάμην καὶ ἐπέπληξα. Ἄλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα οὐκ ἠπόρησαν ἀπολογίας· εἰ δὲ ἀληθὴς ἡ ἀπολογία σὺ

180 ἂν εἶδείης. Ἐφασαν γὰρ ὅτι τῶν Βουλγάρων πολέμου νόμῳ ἐξελασάντων κατὰ τῶν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ Ῥωμαϊκῶν τόπων καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, γέγονεν ἀφορμὴ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν γῆν τῶν Βουλγάρων τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ στρατεύματα εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως | ἐπιδρομὰς οἶας οἶδεν ὁ πόλεμος D ἔγνωσαν διαπράξασθαι. Ταῦτα εἰ οὕτως γέγονεν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι, 185 οὗτοι δὲ δισχυρίζονται· σὸν δὲ ἐστὶν εἰδέναι καὶ τῆς σῆς ἔμφρονος συνειδήσεως τὸ μὴ ἀπαρνεῖσθαι τὸ γεγονός.

170 fort. <δι> οὐ (Jk) || 174 ἡμῶν Vat.: ὑμῶν P

governors. This, they told me, had been their object in collecting the army, this the motive of their embassy to the Pechenegs. And I believed them, having in mind this further design which is common to men, and with which you also (my Son) will be familiar: that when children are at odds with their parents, and when the fathers, having tried everything on their own account, fail by their personal endeavors to put down the rebellion of the children, they are forced, it may be out of their affection for these children, to resort to the assistance of outside parties, and by this means to overawe and reclaim their children, even against their will; and this I understood to be their design toward you. For since the evil demon had provoked a dissension between Bulgarians and Romans, and they who had become fathers were unable by their own resources to draw their children to them again, they thus determined to threaten a simple show of war in front of you, for the purpose, so they say, of winning you back into their embrace, but not to bring about actual fighting or proceed as far as slaughter and blood, as they asseverate. They did not see, it appears, that they were presenting the evil demon with an excuse to bring such sufferings and such bitter pains on all Christians: for often he, on his own account, when no excuse is given him by men, perpetuates savage cruelties, and often again he seizes upon some slight occasion for his design to bring about enormous evils; even as now that great and incomparable disaster between Bulgarians and Romans—alas for my sins!—has found occasion to come about.

I know you will say—and very justly, unless we can find some other resource to oppose your justice—: you will certainly say, "If they were only making a show of war, and their purpose was confined to that, why then did they invade Bulgarian territory, and act in a hostile manner before hostilities broke out?" I said this to them myself (my Son) even before hearing what you say, and I blamed and rebuked them for this. Yet even against this they found a defense: though whether their defense is truthful, you will know. They said that, since the Bulgarians had forcibly invaded Roman territories in Dyrrhachium and Thessalonica, an occasion was given for the Roman forces to enter the territory of the Bulgarians; yet, even so, they had no intention of making properly warlike incursions. Whether it really happened so, I do not know, but they maintain it, and we must leave the knowledge of it to you, and to your wisdom and conscience not to deny the fact.

Ἄλλά, τέκνον ἐμόν, ὁποῖαί ποτ' ἂν αἱ ἀπολογίαι τῶν ἐνταῦθα γεγό-  
 νασιν, οὐκ εὐλόγους αὐτὰς ἡγησάμην, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὀνειδισμοῖς καὶ  
 μέμφεσιν καὶ ἐπιτιμῆσεσιν ἡμυνάμην καὶ ἔτι οὐ διαλείβομαι ἀμυνόμενος.  
 190 Σὲ δὲ ὅλα παρῶν καὶ τῷ σῶ τραχήλῳ περιχυθεὶς ταῦτα παρακαλῶ·  
 παυσάσθω ἕως τούτου τὰ χαλεπά· γνωρίσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς, ἀναλογισώμεθα  
 ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἔσμεν κληρονόμοι· καὶ εἰ καὶ τοῖς γένεσι διηρήμεθα, ἀλλ' |  
 ἐν σῶμα τῆ πίστει ἔσμεν καὶ μίαν κεφαλὴν κεκτῆμεθα τὸν Χριστόν· 77  
 καὶ ἀλλήλων ἔσμεν μέλη καὶ οὐκ οἶδε τὰ μέλη καθ' ἑαυτῶν στασιάζειν,  
 195 ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον ἀπόστολον «Εἰ πάσχει ἐν μέλος, πάντα τὰ μέλη  
 συμπάσχει.» Χριστιανοὶ ἔσμεν, μὴ ψευδόμεθα τὴν κλῆσιν.

Οἷμοι τῶν ἀφορήτων κακῶν. Τοὺς διδασκομένους εἰρήνην μετὰ  
 πάντων διώκειν ἐξεπολέμωσεν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὁ διάβολος· τοὺς ὀφείλοντας  
 πραεῖς εἶναι πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐκμαίνεσθαι πεποίη-  
 200 κεν ὁ τῆς μανίας ἀρχηγός. Πάλαι μὲν οἱ τὸν Χριστόν ἐγνωκότες, οἱ τῷ  
 ἐκείνου ἀγίῳ ὀνόματι ἐπικεκλημένοι, τὴν γῆν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἡγίασαν  
 αἵμασι, τὸν ἀέρα εὐωδίας ἐπλήρωσαν, τὸν διάβολον σὺν τοῖς αὐτοῦ κατ-  
 ἤσχυναν δαίμοσιν, τοῖς ἀγγέλοις χορεύειν ἐδίδοσαν καὶ σκιρτᾶν, τὸν  
 δεσπότην ταῖς οἰκείαις ἐδόξαζον σφαγαῖς. Nūn δὲ τί; | Οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ B  
 205 ἐπώνυμοι ἐμίαναν τὴν γῆν τοῖς οἰκείοις αἵμασι, δυσωδίας ἐνέπλησαν τὸν  
 ἀέρα, χορεύειν τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἔδωκαν, ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ σκυθρωπάζειν τοῖς  
 ἀγγέλοις παρέσχον, τῷ δεσπότη προεξένησαν ἄλγος οἷον οὐδ' οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 ξύλου τοῦτον σταυρώσαντες. Καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, πρόσσχεσ καὶ μάνθανε.  
 Ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἦλγει διὰ τὰς πληγὰς, ἀλλ' ἔχαιρεν διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν  
 210 τῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν αἱ πληγαί· ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ μὲν ὀδυνᾶσθαι πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ  
 χαίρειν οὐδαμοῦ. Ἐρ' οὐκ εἰκότως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος ποταμοὺς ἐζήτει  
 δακρύων, τοιοῦτων συμφορῶν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀθλίαν περισταμένον ζωὴν; Ὡς  
 εἶθε προαπολώλειν καὶ μὴ τοιοῦτοις ἀλγεινοῖς πράγμασιν ἢ ἐμὴ συν-  
 τετήρητο ζωὴ. Ἄλλ' εἰ τί σοι μέλει, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τοῦ ἄλυπον εἶναι τὸν  
 215 Χριστόν καὶ | θεὸν ἡμῶν τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν πατρικῶν κενωθέντα κολ- C  
 πων, τὸν ὑπομείναντα πάθη ἵνα παθῶν ἡμᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ· εἰ τίς σοι  
 φροντίς τοῦ μὴ σκυθρωπάζειν τοὺς φιλανθρώπους ἀγγέλους, τοῦ μὴ χαί-  
 ρειν καὶ σκιρτᾶν τοὺς μισανθρώπους δαίμονας· προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐμόν·  
 εἰ τί τῆς ἐμῆς τεταπεινωμένης εὐχῆς ὡς πατὴρ ἐν χρεῖα καθίστασαι,  
 220 μηκέτι διανοηθῆς ἐπηρεάσαι μηδὲ πόλεμον ἀναλαβέσθαι κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ  
 τοῦ σοῦ πνευματικοῦ πατρός, τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως· οὐ εἰ καὶ

But (my Son) whatever were the defenses made by those here, I did  
 not find them satisfactory, and therefore I opposed them with invectives and  
 reprehensions and rebukes, and shall still continue to do so. But of you, as  
 though I were before you, with my arms about your neck, I implore this  
 favor: let the cruelties now cease: let us know ourselves, let us reflect that  
 we are the heirs of Christ; and though by our races we are divided, yet we  
 are one body in the faith, and have one Head in Christ and are members one  
 of another, and the members are not made to rebel against one another: for,  
 saith the blessed Apostle, "If one member suffer, all the members suffer with  
 it." Christians we are, let us not bely our calling.

Alas for ills unbearable! Those who are taught to pursue peace with all  
 men, the devil has embroiled with one another; those who should be gentle  
 toward all men, the prince of fury has maddened one against another! Of old  
 those who knew Christ, who were called by His Holy Name, sanctified the  
 earth with their own blood, and filled the air with fragrance, and put to  
 shame the devil with his demons, and made the angels to dance and leap for  
 joy, and glorified the Lord by their own slaughter. But what of today?  
 Those that bear the name of Christ have polluted the earth with their own  
 blood, have filled the air with stench, have made the demons to dance, have  
 given the angels occasion for sadness, have caused the Lord more pain than  
 did those who nailed Him on a tree! And that I speak truth, attend and learn.  
 For on the Cross, although He was pained by His wounds, yet He rejoiced at  
 the salvation of them for whose sake the wounds were given; but here,  
 though the pain is present, there is nowhere rejoicing. Was my discourse not  
 right, at the beginning, to seek for rivers of tears, when such calamities  
 overwhelm my wretched life? Would I had died ere now, and my life had not  
 been reserved for such agonies! But if (my Son) you are at all concerned not  
 to grieve our Christ and God, who was for our sake emptied out from His  
 Father's bosom, Who endured sufferings that by sufferings He might set  
 us free; if you have any care not to sadden the angels who love mankind, nor  
 to give cause of rejoicing and leaping for joy to the demons who hate it; and  
 I will add my own appeal—if you stand at all in need of my humble, paternal  
 prayers; then think no more of malice or of renewing the war against the  
 people of your spiritual Father, our Emperor crowned of God; of whose

193: Rom. 12.5. || 195-196: 1 Cor. 12.26. || 197-198: Hebr. 12.14. || 200-201: cf. Act. 15.17  
 = Amos 9.12. || 215-216: cf. Ioann. 1.18; Phil. 2.7.

216 τις P<sup>c</sup>: τι P<sup>1</sup> || 220-221 λαοῦ τοῦ] punctis del. P (fort. iam deleverat Nicolaus)

μη πείραν ἔλαβες τῆς ἀγάπης διὰ τε τὸ ἄωρον τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ διὰ τὰ φθάσαντα παρεισελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ σκάνδαλα, ἀλλὰ λήψη πάντως βραβευούσης σὺν θεῷ τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ μαθήσῃ πείρα ὅτι ὡσπερ τῶν  
225 σκῆπτρων γέγονε κληρονόμος τοῦ μακαρίου πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὕτως καὶ τῆς στοργῆς καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ τῆς γλυκειᾶς πρὸς σὲ διαθέσεως.

Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οἷς παρεκαλέσαμεν (καὶ ὅρα μὴ κατα- D φρονήσης), τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν φωνὴ ἐστὶν «Ὁ ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ· οὐ, εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτωλός, τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παρέστηκα καὶ παρὰ  
230 τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λύειν καὶ δεσμεῖν ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν. Ὅρα οὖν, πάλιν φημί, καὶ μὴ καταφρονήσης· δεσμῷ σε καθυποβάλλομεν ἀλύτῳ καὶ ἀρρήκτῳ ἐν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, τοῦ μὴ τῆς σῆς ἔτι χώρας ἐξελάσαι μήτε σὲ μήτε τὸν σὸν λαόν, μηδὲ βλάβην τινὰ ἢ ἐπήρειαν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαν ἐπενεγεῖν ταῖς χώραις ἢ τοῖς λαοῖς ὧν ἡ ἀποκλήρωσις  
235 καὶ ἐξουσία μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὑπῆρχε τοῖς Χριστιανῶν σκῆπτροις ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου τοῖς Βουλγάροις ἐξεγένετο | διὰ τοῦ παναχράντου βαπτίσματος 80 τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ θεὸν τῶν ἄλων ἐπιγνώσκειν καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα τότε σύμφωνα τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων τὴν ἐπικράτειαν διορίζοντα συμπεφώνηται.

Ἀπεστείλαμεν δέ, οὐχ ὡς δῶρον ἀλλ' ὡς μεσίτην καὶ οἰκιοῦντα τὴν ἡμῶν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, παραίνεσιν τῇ σῇ φρονίμῃ καὶ πραεῖα, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, καρδίᾳ, εἰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ σκάνδαλα ταύτην ἐξετράχυνεν, τὰ θεῖα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ μου λόγια· δι' ὧν ὡσπερ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχων τὰ ἐκείνου σωτήρια τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάθη, τὸ ἐκείνου κενωθὲν ἅγιον  
245 αἷμα ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τοῦ κόσμου, μὴ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀτιμάσης λόγους, ἀλλὰ δέξαι, ὡς τέκνον τιμᾶν πατέρα εἰδώς, τὰς ἡμετέρας παραινέσεις, καὶ κατάλιπε τῷ βίῳ παράδειγμα εἰς δόξαν μὲν τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ | σωτήρος ἡμῶν, εἰς καύχημα δὲ σὸν (βούλει λέγω καὶ τὸ ἐμόν;) καὶ εἰς B σεμνολόγημα ἐμοί, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔσχον υἱόν, εὐπειθῆ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ταπει-  
250 νὴν πολιᾶν τιμῶντα, ὅς ποτε τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος σκάνδαλα δεινὰ καὶ μέγιστα ἐμβάλόντος καὶ τούτοις ὡσπερ πυρκαϊᾶν ἀναφλέξαντος ἀκατάσβεστον, οὐκ ἔδωκε χώραν τῷ πονηρῷ δαίμονι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξαφθείσῃ πυρκαϊᾷ, ἀλλὰ γέροντος πατρὸς τοῖς δάκρυσι προσσχών καὶ τοῖς ὀδύρμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀλγήμασι, τῷ πρᾶψ καὶ ἐπιεικεῖ  
255 ἔδωκε νικῆσαι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν πικρίαν, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀποσβέσας τοῦ θυμοῦ

228-229: Luc. 10.16. || 229-230: Matth. 16.19; Ioann. 20.22-23. || 244-245: cf. Ioann. 6.51. || 248-249: cf. Phil. 2.16. || 252: cf. Ephes. 4.27.

love if you have had no experience, because of his unripe age and because of the recent past offense of the evil one, yet you shall have that experience when, with God's aid, peace awards it, and by experience you shall learn that, as he is the heir to the scepter of his father of blessed memory, so he is the heir of that father's affection and love and sweet disposition toward you.

Above all these entreaties (my Son), see also that you do not neglect this. The saying of our Christ and God is: "He that rejecteth you, rejecteth Me"—of whose Holy Sanctuary I, though a sinner, am the minister, and have received from the Holy Spirit the authority to loose and to bind. See therefore, I say again, and do not neglect it: I submit you to the bond, indissoluble and unbreakable, in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, not to come out any more from your territory, neither you, nor your army, nor to bring harm or malice or captivity upon the lands or the peoples over whom the authority has been assigned to the Christian scepter ever since the Bulgarians were granted knowledge, through most sacred Baptism, of Christ, the God of all, and the agreements were then concluded which defined the dominion of Roman and Bulgarians.

I am sending to you—not as a gift but as a mediator to commend my exhortation (my Son) to your prudent and, as I believe, gentle heart, even though the offense of the evil one have exasperated it—the divine words of my Christ and God; and beholding in them, as with your eyes, His sufferings for the salvation of men, His Holy Blood emptied out for the peace of the world, do not dishonor my words, but receive, as a child who knows how to honor his father, my exhortations; and leave behind you in this life an example to the glory of our mighty God and Saviour, to your own good name (and, may I say, to mine also), and for a boast to me that I had a son so obedient to honor my humble hoariness, who once, when the evil demon raised up dread and enormous offenses, and blew up upon them a flame unquenchable, gave no occasion to that evil demon to boast for long of that conflagration which he had kindled; but heeded his old father's tears and lamentations and sorrows, and allowed the gentleness and kindness of his soul to conquer his bitterness; and, quenching the fire of his anger, converted the

τὰ τῆς μάχης χαλεπὰ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μετέβαλεν εἰς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀγάπην καὶ φιλίαν. Ἦν παράσχοι θεός, εἰ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν (φεῦ τῆς τοῦ πο- νηροῦ ἐπηρείας) οὐκ ἀφῆκεν ἀνεπηρέαστον, ἀλλ' ἀπό γε τοῦ παρόντος δια-τελέσει ἀνωτέρων αὐτὴν πάσης βλάβης καὶ διχοστασίας καὶ τοῦ φθό- C  
260 νου τοῦ δαίμονος κρείττονα διαμένουσαν καὶ κατησφαλισμένην τῇ ἀσφα- λείᾳ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐκείνης, ἣν κατέλιπεν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ πατὴρ τοῖς ὁμολογοῦσιν αὐτὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιποθοῦσι δόξαν καὶ κληρονομίαν.

Ὁ δὲ τοῦ γράμματος ἀποκομιστῆς ἀπολαυσάτω τῆς σῆς ἐπει-  
265 κείας, τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτῷ ἀρετὴν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔστι μὲν τῶν ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ ἀσκητῶν κατηγούμενος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς πίστεως ἐν Ἀλανοῖς οὗτος ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ παναγίου ἔσπειρε πνεύματος, καὶ ἴσα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποστόλοις λειτουργῆσαι παρά θεοῦ ἀποκεκλήρωται. Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα μέγιστα πρὸς τὸ συστήσαι αὐτὸν καὶ  
270 οἰκειῶσαι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τῇ σῇ θεοτιμῆτῳ ἐξουσίᾳ· εἰ δέ τίς ἐστι καὶ ἡμῶν παρά σοι λόγος | (οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλω δὲ πάντως ὅτι ἐστίν), καὶ διὰ D τοῦτο ἀξιοθῆτω τῆς σῆς ἐπιεικειᾶς ἀπολαῦσαι καὶ διὰ τάχους τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπανελευσιν ποιήσασθαι. Ἐρρωμένον σε φυλάξει Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι, ἐκεῖνα καὶ φρονούντα καὶ μελετῶντα καὶ  
275 πρᾶττοντα ὅσα ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι τῆς ἐκείνου κληρονόμον καταστήσει δόξης, τῆς ὄντως μακαρίας δόξης καὶ τερπνῆς καὶ γλυκειᾶς, ὅτε τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων αὐτῷ ἐν μέσῳ θεὸς ὢν ὡς θεοῖς καθιστάμενος τὰς διανομὰς παρέξει τῶν ἀφθάρτων ἀπολαύσεων.

### 10. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῆς καλῆς καὶ φρονίμης ἐπιστολῆς σου τὸ προηγούμε-  
νον ῥῆμα καὶ γὰρ προηγούμενον τίθημι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εἴπερ δεῖ τέκνον καλεῖν  
τὸ ὑβρίζον πατέρα τέκνον, πατὴρ δὲ σός, ἂν τε βούλη | ἂν τε μὴ βούλη, 81  
5 ἐπίσκοπος, εἰ καὶ ἐλάχιστος, ὁ τὴν εἰς θεὸν μὴ ἀπληρημένος εὐσέβειαν. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑμᾶς ἐπίσκοποι κριτὰς ἔχουσιν· ὑμῶν δὲ κριταὶ τυγχάνουσιν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, εἴ γε τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγέλης ἔσπε καὶ μὴ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιμνῆς πλανώμενοι.

Ἄλλ' ἐμωράνθημεν, ὡς ἔφης ὁ φρόνιμος σύ; Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ  
10 θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ χάριν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ἡμᾶς τῆς ὑβρεως

261: Ioann. 14.27. || 266-267: cf. Rom. 10.8; 1 Tim. 4.6. || 267-268: cf. Rom. 15.19. || 277: Ps. 81.1.

cruelties of battle and warfare into peace and love and friendship. This peace may God grant! Though up till now—alas for the malice of the evil one!—He has allowed it to be violated, yet from today may He grant that it continue above all harm and dissension, and rest superior to the devil's envy, and be assured by the security of that Peace which our Christ and God and Father bequeathed to those who confess Him to be their Father, and long for His glory and inheritance.

Let the bearer of this letter be kindly treated; partly for the virtue that is in him: for the man is an abbot of the hermits of Olympus and moreover, in the power of the Holy Spirit, has sown the Word of the Faith among the Alans, and has been assigned by God a ministry equal with that of the Holy Apostles. These are most weighty matters to introduce and commend him (my Son) to your Lordship honored of God; and if my word is anything to you, and I do not doubt at all that it is, let him for my word also be deemed worthy to enjoy your kindly treatment, and to make a speedy journey back again to us. Christ our God keep you well in mind and body, thinking, studying, doing those things which in the life to come may make you an inheritor of His glory, of the glory that is truly blessed and pleasant and sweet, when in the midst of those who have pleased Him God shall be set, and as it were to gods shall make apportionment of His imperishable felicities.

### 10. To the Same

The same word with which you began your fair and wise letter I myself prefix to this one (my Son)—if son he may be called who insults his father: and your father, whether you like it or not, is a bishop (though the least among them) who has not renounced his reverence to God. Sinners though they may be, it is not for you to sit in judgment on bishops; bishops are your judges, if you belong to the flock of Christ, and have not strayed from His fold.

"Dotard" am I, as you say in your wisdom? Thanks be to my God, who for my sins has cast me down to the depths of insult! Yet pray tell me, in your

ρίψαντι. Ἄλλ' εἰπέ μοι, ὁ σοφὸς σὺ καὶ φρονιμώτατος, εἰ ἐγὼ μαρὸς ὁ  
 γηραιὸς πατήρ καὶ δυσωπῶν παῖδα νεανίαν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ διαλλαγῆς,  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ λῆξαι κενούμενα Χριστιανῶν αἵματα, τίς ἂν εἴη νεανίας υἱὸς ὁ  
 τὸν πατέρα εἰρηνικὰ δυσωποῦντα μαρὸν ἀποκαλῶν; Πρόσσχες οἷα  
 15 φρονεῖς, οἷα λέγεις, οἷα γράφεις. «Εἶδον», εἶρηκεν ὁ προφήτης, «ὕπερουψού-  
 |μενον καὶ ἐπαυρόμενον» (τὸ παραλειφθὲν ἡμῖν αἰδοῖ τῇ πρὸς σέ παραλέ- B  
 λειπται, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἠγγόησας) «καὶ παρῆλθον, καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ἐζήτησα  
 αὐτόν, καὶ οὐχ εὗρέθη ὁ τόπος αὐτοῦ.» Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τοσοῦτον  
 ἐχέτω τὸ γράμμα· τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἄκουε.

20 Μὴ νόμιζε τὴν γεγενημένην ἦσαν τῶν σῶν ματαίων λογισμῶν ἐπὶ  
 τελειώσει γεγενησθαι, μὴ τοῦτο ὑπολάμβανε· εἰ δ' ὑπολαμβάνεις, ὡς  
 φλυαρίαν ἀποστράφηθι τὴν ὑπόληψιν. Ἄλλὰ νενίκηται ὁ πρὸς σέ λαὸς  
 ἐκστρατεύσας, πρῶτον μὲν κρίμασιν ἀπορρήτοις τοῦ ἐξ ἀποκρύφων τα-  
 μείων τὰς ἐαυτοῦ κρίσεις ὅποτε βούλοιο προάγοντος· δεύτερον δέ, ὅσον  
 25 ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνθρώποις εἰδέναι, τῶν οἰκείων ἔνεκε σφαλμάτων. Κακῶς  
 ποιεῖς καὶ οὐ περισκεμμένως τὴν νίκην πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρπάζων ἐπιθυ-  
 μίαν καὶ ὑπολογιζόμενος ὡς ἔνεκεν τοῦ σέ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατασχεῖν C  
 ἐξουσίαν τὸ γεγονός ἀμάρτημα τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ συνέβη λαῷ. Νέος εἶ· καὶ  
 εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἤκουσας, μάνθανε· εἰ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐπιλέλησαι, ἀναμνήσθητι.  
 30 Πάλαι ποτὲ ἡ Περσικὴ στρατιὰ μέχρι τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἠύλισατο καὶ ἀς  
 ἀπειλεῖς πυρκαϊὰς καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καταστροφὰς διεπράξατο. Ἄλλ'  
 οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο, καὶ ὅσον εἰς μνήμην ὀνόματος περιλείπονται· ἡ δὲ  
 Ῥωμαϊκὴ βασιλεία ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἔστηκε κρηπίδος. Ἄλλὰ καὶ ἄνω  
 τούτων τὰ τῶν Ἀβάρων γένη, ὧν ὑμεῖς ἀποσπάδες (καὶ μηδὲν σοι πρὸς  
 35 βάρως ὁ λόγος) καὶ δοῦλοι καὶ δραπεταὶ γεγονάτε, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὴν  
 μεγάλην ταύτην καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ πάντων δεσποίνῃ καὶ κυρίᾳ στρατηγουμένην  
 πόλιν μέχρι καὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπέδραμον. Ἄλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι | ἀπώλοντο, καὶ D  
 οὐδὲ λείψανον τοῦ γένους ὑφίσταται, αὕτη δὲ σὺν τῇ λαχούσῃ αὐτῇ ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς καὶ δόξης καὶ βασιλείᾳ φαιδρύνεται. Βούλει σοι καὶ ἄλλην γράψωμεν  
 40 τυραννικὴν ἔφοδον, καὶ οὐδ' ὅσον καὶ ἀξίαν συγκρίνεσθαι τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ  
 ἐφόδῳ; Τὸ Σαρακηνῶν γένος ναυσὶ μὲν μυριάσιν, ἱππότην δὲ καὶ πεζῷ  
 λαῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι, τὴν μεγάλην ταύτην καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῦ θεοῦ πόλιν  
 ἐπὶ χρόνοις ζ' περιεκύκλωσαν, καὶ πάντας εἶδεν ἀπώλεια, καὶ παντελῶς  
 45 σφίζεται τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐδοκίας φρουρουμένη ταῖς πτέρυξιν.

15-18: Ps. 36.35-36.

17 παρῆλθον P<sup>c</sup>: -εν P<sup>1</sup> || 25 ἔνεκε P<sup>1</sup>: -εν P<sup>c</sup> || 27 τῶν] fort. τὴν || 36-37 στρατηγουμένην  
 πόλιν Wk: -η -ει P || 39 γράψωμεν Vat.: -ομεν P

wisdom and excellent prudence: if I, your aged father, am “doting” when I  
 entreat the young man, my Son, to make peace, to be reconciled, and to stop  
 shedding Christian blood, what would the young man my Son be, who  
 miscalls his father a “dotard” for his peaceable entreaties? Take care what  
 you think and say and write! “I have seen,” said the prophet, “. . . in great  
 power and lifted up, (I have left the blank out of respect to you, but you will  
 know how to fill it up), and I passed by, and lo, he was not, and I sought him,  
 and his place was not found.” But that will do for this part of my letter.  
 Now hear what follows.

Do not believe that our recent defeat tends to the fulfillment of your  
 insane purposes. Do not suppose it; or, if you do suppose it, reject the sup-  
 position as farcical. The army that took the field against you was beaten,  
 first, through the unsearchable decrees of Him Who brings forth His judg-  
 ments from secret treasuries when He so pleases; and second, so far as human  
 intelligence can determine, because of our own mistakes. You are wrong and  
 imprudent if you jump to the conclusion that your victory justifies your own  
 ambition, or if you assume that the recent defeat of the Roman army took  
 place in order to put you in control of the Roman Empire. You are young:  
 if you have not heard this, then learn of it; if you have heard and forgotten  
 it, call it to mind. Once upon a time the Persian army came here and en-  
 camped, and burned and wrecked buildings, as you are threatening to do.  
 But they were destroyed, and are now nothing but a memory; while the  
 Roman empire stands firm on its own bottom. Before that, the Avar tribes,  
 of whom you were the offshoots (I mean no disrespect), and slaves, and  
 runaways, for long assailed this great City that is commanded in chief by the  
 Mistress and Lady of us all, up to the very walls; yet they too were destroyed,  
 and not a vestige of the race survives, while she, our City, smiles in the glory  
 and empire that was her lot from the beginning. Shall I write of another  
 usurper's assault, incomparably greater than yours? The Saracen race with  
 ten thousand ships, with horse and foot innumerable, during seven years  
 invested this mighty City, truly the City of God, and destruction overtook  
 them all, and very few were those who returned to their own country; but  
 she abides and is preserved beneath the guardian wings of the Divine favor  
 from the beginning.

Ἡγάπησα καὶ ἀγαπῶ σε, τέκνον ἐμόν, ὁ μωρανθεὶς, ὡς σὺ λέγεις, πατήρ, καὶ συμβουλεύω σοι, σὺ μὲν ὡς νομίζεις, μωρὰ, πάντως δὲ οὐ μωρὰ κατὰλιπε τῶν σὲ πλανησάντων τὴν πλάνην, ῥῦψον τὰς ματαίους ἐλπίδας, ἀρκέσθητι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἣν ἐκ τῶν σῶν πατέρων ἐκληρονόμησας, 84 μὴ βούλου δεσπότην ὑφ' ὧν ἐδιδάχθης ἐπιγινώσκειν τὸν τῶν ὄλων δεσπότην. Οὐδεὶς δοῦλος ὑπάρχων τινός, εἴτα ὑφ' ἑτέρου τῆς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένος, καὶ σωφρονῶν, ἐπιζητεῖ γενέσθαι δεσπότης τοῦ τῆς δουλείας αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάξαντος. Ἐνθυμήθητι καὶ σὺ ὅτι δοῦλοι δαιμονίων ἦτε καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπηλλάγητε δουλείας ὑπὸ τῶν θεοῦ χάριτι διεπόντων τὴν 55 Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐξουσίαν· μὴ διανοεῖσθε τῶν ὑφ' ὧν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἠξιώθητε δεσπότηαι γενέσθαι· μὴ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀγνωμονήσητε, μηδὲ καταλίπη μνήμην τοιαύτην, ὡς γέγονε τις Βουλγάρων | ἀρχηγός, ὃς ἐβουλήθη τοὺς Β ἐλευθερώσαντας τὸ Βουλγάρων γένος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου δουλείας ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν δουλώσαι καὶ γενέσθαι τῶν ἐλευθερωσάντων δεσπότης. Ταῦτά σοι 60 γέγραφα ὁ μωρὸς κατὰ τὴν σὴν δόξαν ὡς φρονίμω· σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς ὡς σοφός, εἴ γε σοφός, τὸ «Δίδου σοφῶ ἀφορμὴν, καὶ σοφώτερος ἔσται.»

### 11. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἰ μὲν δυνατὸν ἦν αὐτὸν ἐμὲ πρὸς σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, παραγενέσθαι, οὐκ ἂν παρηγησάμην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τὴν πικρίαν ἐν δευτέρῳ ἂν ἐθέμην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν μεγαλόδοξόν σου ἀρχὴν οὐκ ὠκνησα πορείαν ποιήσασθαι. Νῦν δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸ γῆρας 5 ἐπίκειται, καὶ ἡ τούτου βαρῦτης μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς κλίνης ἡμᾶς ἀνίστασθαι ἀπόρως διατίθησιν, καὶ | ἄκοντες ἐπεχόμεθα τῆς τοιαύτης C ὀρμῆς, ἣν οἶδα ὡς εἴπερ ἦν ἐνδείξασθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέτυχον τοῦ σκοποῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπαυσάμην, τοῦτο μὲν ῥήμασι δυσωπῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ 10 τὰ ὄμματα καὶ τὸ φίλον ἐμοὶ πρόσωπον καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καταφιλῶν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ γονάτων ἀπτόμενος, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ τῶν ποδῶν, ἕως ἂν τὸ σπουδαζόμενον κατεπραξάμην. Ἄλλ' ἐπέχει με τῆς τοιαύτης ὀρμῆς τὸ χαλεπὸν γῆρας καὶ ἡ ἀπαραίτητος τυραννὶς τῆς ἀσθενείας· διὰ ταῦτα προσδέομαι γράμματος. 15 Ἄλλὰ πρῶτον κατανόησον, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τίνος ἡ πρεσβεία·

61: P<sup>ov</sup>. 9.9.

50 ἐπιγινώσκειν P<sup>o</sup>: -ει P<sup>1</sup> || 61 τὸ Vat.: τῷ P  
11: P 96r-99r || 7 ἄκοντες P<sup>o</sup>: -ας P<sup>1</sup>

I have loved and still love you (my Son), I, your "dotard" father, as you put it: and my advice to you may seem to you to be "doting," but it is very certainly not so. Abandon the error of those who have misled you. Cast away your insane hopes. Be content with the power which you have inherited from your fathers. Do not desire the lordship over those by whom you were taught the knowledge of the Lord of all. No one in his senses who has been a slave, and then been liberated by another from his slavery, wishes to be the lord of him who has freed him from slavery. Pray reflect that you were once the slaves of demons, and that you were freed from your slavery to them by those who, under God's grace, then ruled the Roman empire. Do not think to become lord of those by whom you were accorded your liberty. Do not be so ungrateful; do not leave behind you the memory that there was once a Bulgarian prince who wished to make slaves of those who freed the race of the Bulgarians from slavery to the devil, and to become the lord of his liberators! This I have written to you, a "dotard" (as you suppose) to a wise man. Yet, as a wise man, if such you be, you will be aware that, "Give a wise man instruction, and he will be wiser still."

### 11. To the Same

If it were possible for me to come to you myself (my Son), I should not refuse to do so: I should disregard the length of the road and the bitterness of winter, and would not shrink from the journey to your most glorious Princedom. But now that age is upon me, and its burden hardly allows me to rise painfully from my bed, I am prevented all against my will from this purpose, in which, if I could have given proof of it, I know that I should not have failed of my end: for I would not have ceased either from verbal entreaties, or from embracing your head, eyes, beloved face, and hands, or from laying hold of your knees, even, perhaps, your feet, until I had obtained the object of my desire. But cruel age stops me from this purpose, and the inescapable tyranny of sickness; and so, I must write.

Know first (my Son) why I make this intercession: and though for my



καὶ εἰ τυχὸν ἐγὼ διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀνάξιος εἰσακουέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πράγματος ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύομεν τὴν σὴν φιλόχριστον δυσωπησάτω ψυχὴν, ὅπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμεῖς | καὶ ζητεῖς, κἄν οἶα D τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐναντιώματα τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἀνακρούει ἐπιθυμίαν.

20 Ἄλλὰ τί μὴ τάχιον λέγω τὸ βούλημα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, προπαρασκευάζομαι δὲ καὶ οἷον προοδοποιῶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν τῇ ἱκετηρίᾳ; Ἰκετεύομεν καὶ δεόμεθα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐκείνην σοὶ τὴν δέησιν φέροντες ἧς ὁ πατήρ καὶ θεὸς τῶν ὅλων τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ πρέσβυν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἀπέστειλεν· ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν 25 ἀχράντων καὶ θείων κόλπων τὸν ὁμότιμον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμόδοξον υἱὸν ἐπὶ τὸ καταλῦσαι μὲν τὸ μεσότοιχον τῆς ἐχθρας, βραβεῦσαι δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην τοῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐκπολεμωμένοις. Δυσωποῦμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ ταπεινοὶ καὶ παρίστασθαι τῷ ἁγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ καταξιώθεντες, οὐδὲ δι' ἐν ἡμέτερον κατόρθωμα, ἀλλὰ | διὰ τὴν ἄφατον ἀγαθότητα τοῦ ταύτης ἡμᾶς τῆς 85 30 χάριτος καταξιώσαντος· ἀλλὰ δυσωποῦμέν σου τὴν φιλόχριστον ψυχὴν ὅπερ καὶ θεὸν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παριστάμενοι δυσωποῦμεν, ὑπὲρ εἰρηνικῆς καταστάσεως.

Ἔως τίνος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐχθρὸς τοῦ πλάσματος τῆς θεϊκῆς παλάμης ἐψευφρανθήσεται ταῖς ἡμῶν συμφοραῖς; Ἔως τίνος ἡ γῆ Χριστιανῶν 35 αἷμασι μαιίνεται ὑπὸ Χριστιανῶν χειρῶν κενουμένοις; Ἔσφαξε Κάϊν Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ ὅμως σφαγέντος ἐνὸς ἐβόα τὸ αἷμα πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Τί λογίζῃ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τί διανοῆ, τοσοῦτων αἱμάτων μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κενουμένων; Πόσῃν εἰκὸς τὴν βοήν ἀναφέρεσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν; Καὶ οὐπω λέγω περὶ τῶν ζώντων, τοὺς ὄρφανους παῖδας, τὰς χηρεύουσας 40 γυναικᾶς, τοὺς ἀδελφῶν ἐστερημένους, τοὺς τέκνων ἐρήμους, τὰ ἅγια θυσιαστήρια, τῶν μοναζόντων τὸν σκεδασμόν, τῶν παρθένων τὴν διαφθοράν, ὧν οἱ διηνεκεῖς στεναγμοὶ καὶ τὰ δάκρυα ἐντυγχάνουσι διὰ παντὸς τῷ θεῷ. Οἶδα ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων, φρόνιμος ὢν καὶ B εἴπερ τις ἀνθρώπων φρονιμώτατος, ἐνθυμῆ ταῦτα· ἀλλ' οἶμοι δαίμονος 45 ἐπηρεία καὶ ἀνθρώπων κακοβουλίαις τῇ σῇ πραεῖα ψυχῇ ἐμπεσοῦσα πικρία ἀνθρωπὸν ὄντα διερεθίζει καὶ φιλονεικεῖ μὴ συγχωρῆσαι γενέσθαι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἡμερότητος. Ἄλλὰ, τέκνον ἀγαπητόν, εἴτε δαίμονος τὸ ἔργον, μὴ ἐπὶ πλεόν παρασχῶμεν αὐτῷ κατορχεῖσθαι καθ' ἡμῶν· εἴτε ἀνθρώπων κακοβουλίαις ἀπῆντησε τὰ ἐλεεινὰ ταῦτα καὶ δυσχερῆ πράγματα,

23-24: 1 Ioann. 4.9. || 24-25: cf. Ioann. 1.18. || 26: Ephes. 2.14. || cf. Coloss. 3.15. || 35-37: Gen. 4.10.

27 ἐκπολεμωμένοις P<sup>1</sup>: ἐκπεπολ. P<sup>c</sup>

sins I be unworthy to obtain a hearing, yet let the greatness of the matter for which I intercede entreat your Christ-loving heart to grant what, I think, you yourself desire and pursue, even though the obstructions of men check this fair desire.

But why do I not at once speak of the wish of my soul and the matter at issue? But, I am preparing in advance and (as it were) making ready the way of approach for my supplication. My Son, I supplicate, I entreat, with that prayer for which the Father and God of all sent into the world His Only-Begotten Son to be the Messenger and Advocate: for He sent forth from His immaculate and divine bosom His Son, equal in honor, equal in glory, to destroy the middle wall of hatred and to award peace to those who were at odds with one another. I entreat, I, the humble, I, thought worthy to be minister of the Holy Sanctuary, through no merit of my own, but through the ineffable goodness of Him who has held me worthy of this grace: I entreat your Christ-loving heart, even as in my ministry at the Sanctuary I entreat God Himself, for the settlement of peace.

How long shall the original enemy of the creature of the Divine Hand rejoice at our calamities? How long shall Christian earth be defiled with Christian blood emptied out by Christian hands? Cain murdered Abel his brother, and yet the blood of the single victim cried unto God. What do you reckon (my Son), what do you suppose of all the blood which has been and is being shed even today? How great must we think the cry which rises to God? I am not speaking now of the living—the orphan children, the widows, those bereaved of brothers, those desolate of children, the holy sanctuaries, the scattering of monastics, the rape of virgins, of whom the continual moans and tears reach continually to God. I know that, as a wise man—indeed the wisest of men—you reflect on these matters without my mentioning them. But alas! through the demon's malice and the evil counsels of men, resentment has possessed your gentle heart, and excites your human frailty and wickedly persists in preventing your return to your native quietness. But (dear Son), whether it be the demon's work, let us no longer give him occasion to triumph over us; or whether these pitiable and odious things





50 ἀρκεσθῶμεν ταῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐπιθέσεσιν. Ἦρξαν τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐπιχειρήματος οἱ προκατάρξαντες, προελύπησαν τὴν σὴν ψυχὴν δι' ὧν κατὰ σοῦ προκεκίνηται. Ἐχεις ἱκανὴν τὴν τιμωρίαν· ἀναλόγισαι τὰ συμβεβηκότα πάθη, καὶ σβέσον τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ψυχῆς οἷς ἔπαθον οἱ σὲ κακῶς ποιήσιν ἐπιχειρήσαντες.

55 Ἔστιν ὁ νόμος οὗτος κρατῶν οὐ μόνον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν C θηρίοις. Ἔστι γὰρ πολλάκις ἰδεῖν θηρία ὑπὸ θυμοῦ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐφορμήσαντα· εἶτα τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐλαττωθέντος τὸ ἕτερον καταπραύνεται. Μὴ βουληθῶμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ θηρίων φύσιν παρεξελθεῖν μηδ' ἄσβεστον ἔχειν θυμὸν μηδὲ τὴν πικρίαν ἀκατάληκτον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ λογισμοὺς ἐλθὼν ἀνθρωπίνους καὶ μάλιστα τῇ σῇ πρέποντας φρονήσει, ἐάσας τοὺς πολέμους, τὰς σφαγὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν αἱμάτων χύσεις ἀπόβλεψον πρὸς τὸ μέγα πρᾶγμα τῆς εἰρήνης, τὴν ἀτίμητον κληρονομίαν ἣν κατέλιπεν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν γενέσθαι καταξιώσας, ἵνα εἰρηνοποιήσας υἰοθετήσῃ ἡμᾶς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ. Ἐκεῖνον, τέκνον ἡμῶν, νόμισον ὁρᾶν μεταξὺ Βουλγάρων καὶ 60 Ῥωμαίων ἐστῶτα καὶ τὰ οἰκτεῖα τραύματα ὑποδεικνύοντα, τὴν σφαγὴν D τῆς πλευρᾶς, τὰς τρήσεις τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τῶν ποδῶν, τοιαῦτα λέγειν· «Τί τοῦτο, τέκνα ἐμά, λαὸς ἐμός, κληρὸς ἡγαπημένος ὃν μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ πατήρ ἀντὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπακοῆς καὶ τῆς μέχρι σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου συγκαταβάσεως; Τί τοῦτο; Πῶς ἐπελάθεσθε τῆς ἐμῆς ἐντολῆς; Πῶς ἀνημονεῖτε τῶν ἐμῶν παραινέσεων; Ποῦ μοι ἀπώλετο ἡ ἀγάπη ἣν κατέλιπον ὑμῖν; Τί γέγονεν ἡ εἰρήνη ἣν ἐδίδαξα ὑμᾶς; Πῶς ἐμὲ κεφαλὴν ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ μέλη ἐμά φιλοῦντες κατονομάζεσθαι, κατ' ἀλλήλων ὀπλί|ζε- 88 σθε; Οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο μελῶν τὴν αὐτὴν κεφαλὴν ἐχόντων, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη χωρίζεσθαι καὶ ἐτέραν ζητεῖν κεφαλὴν.» Ταῦτά μοι νόμιζε τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν πλεον ὀδυνώμενον ἢ ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ προσηλοῦτο λέγειν· οὐ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀκούοντες δυσωπηθῶμεν τοὺς λόγους, αἰδεσθῶμεν τὰ τραύματα, φοβηθῶμεν τὸ λύπην αὐτῷ ἐμπαρέχειν, καὶ ἕως ἔστι καιρὸς θεραπεύσωμεν τὰ εἰς ἀλλήλους σφάλματα, ἀπαλλάξωμεν δὲ κἀκεῖνον τῆς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὀδύνης καὶ τοῦ ἀλγήματος· καταστήσωμεν εὐμενῆ τὴν θεῖαν 80 δίκην πάλιν πρὸς τὸ εἰρηνικὸν μεταβεβλημένοι καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγάπην ἀναλαβόμενοι, καὶ μὴ ἀναμείνωμεν ἐκεῖθεν ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐξεπολεμήθημεν, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐξεμάνημεν, κριθῆναι, ὅτε καὶ ἡ ἀπολογία ἀπρόσδεκτος καὶ πᾶσα πρόφασις ἀνεέργητος καὶ ἡ κατὰκρισις ἀσυγχώρητος.

62: Ioann. 14.27. || 68-69: cf. Phil. 2.8. || 71: Ioann. 14.27. || 71-72: cf. Rom. 12.5.

77 τὸ Jk: τῷ P || ἕως Jk: ὡς P || 79 ἡμᾶς] leg. ἡμῖν?

arise from the evil counsels of men, let us cry enough of these assaults on one another. Those who began this wicked course rule no longer; they provoked your heart by their initiative against you. Your revenge suffices: think of the sufferings that have come on them, and quench the anger of your heart in the woes which they who tried to harm you have encountered.

There is this law which holds good not only among men but among wild beasts also. Wild beasts are often seen hurling themselves in rage on one another; and then, when one is vanquished, the other becomes tame. Let us not wish to outdo the nature even of wild animals, nor to keep our fury unquenchable, our resentment without end. Return to counsels of humanity which especially become your Wisdom; cease from wars and slaughters and shedding of blood; look toward the mighty prize of peace, the inestimable inheritance which was left to us by Him Who deigned to become our Brother, so that by peace-making He might make us the sons of God the Father. Imagine (my Son) that you see Him standing between Bulgarians and Romans, pointing to His own wounds, to the piercing of His side, to the holes in His hands and feet, and speaking this: "What is this, My children, My people, My beloved inheritance, whom My Father gave Me in return for My obedience and for My condescension even unto the Cross and death? What is this? How have you forgotten My commandment? How are you heedless of My exhortations? Whither has fled that love which I bequeathed unto you? What has become of that peace which I taught unto you? How comes it that you, who confess Me to be your Head, who love to be called My members, yet arm yourselves against one another? This is not the fashion of members who have the same Head: it must be that they are sundered and seek another head." Imagine such to be the words of our Christ and God, more grieved than when He was nailed to the Cross; and, as if truly hearing His words, let us be entreated; let us respect His wounds let us fear to grieve Him; and, *while* there is time, let us remedy our mutual sins, and free Him from this pain and grief on our account; let us propitiate the Divine Justice by a return to peace and a revival of former love, and let us not abide the Judgment hereafter for our mutual warfare—I would say, our madness—when the plea will be unacceptable, every excuse dismissed, and the sentence without reprieve.

85 Μὴ καταγνῶς ἡμῶν ὡς ἀδολεσχοῦντων, εἰ πλεον τὸν λόγον ἐκτείνωμεν· τὰ γὰρ κοινὰ πάθη καὶ οἱ | σπαραγμοὶ τῆς καρδίας πρὸς τοῦτο B  
βιάζονται· καὶ εἶπερ ἦν μοι κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον πλειόνων εὐποροῦσαι  
γλωσσῶν, τοῦτο ἠὲξάμην ἄν, ἵνα ἴσως οὕτως ἱκανῶς ἀπεκλαυσάμην καὶ  
τάς δεήσεις μὴ πολὺ τῶν κακῶν λειπομένας καὶ πρὸς θεὸν ἐποησάμην  
90 καὶ πρὸς τὴν σὴν μεγαλοφυῆ ἐξουσίαν. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ μὴ πλειόνων ἐστὶ μοι  
γλωσσῶν εὐπορία, τῇ δεδομένη τέως παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀποχρήσομαι, καὶ  
ὡσπερ εἶπον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄλγους τῆς ψυχῆς βιαζόμενος μακρότερον τὸν  
λόγον ποιήσομαι.

Ἐνθυμήθητι, τέκνον ἐμόν, πρὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος κριτηρίου, πρὸ τῆς  
95 φοβερᾶς ἐκεῖ παραστάσεως, ὅτε διάκρισις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρχόντων καὶ πενήτων  
ἐκ τῆς κοσμικῆς ταύτης περιφανείας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν ψυχικῶν  
κατορθωμάτων—λάβε μοι κατὰ νοῦν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς παγκοσμίου ἐκείνης  
συναγωγῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδεκάστου κριτοῦ, τὰ ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίω μετὰ τὸν C  
ἡμέτερον θάνατον ὑπὸ τῶν τότε στρεφομένων ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ περὶ ἡμῶν  
100 εἰς μνήμην ἐσύμενα. Τίς γὰρ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τοσαύτην ἀκούσας Χριστιανῶν  
μιαφονίαν οὐ λοιδορήσεται, οὐκ ἐπαράσεται, οὐ πᾶν εἴ τι πονηρὸν ὄνομα  
εἰς τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πεπραχότας ἀναθήσει; Ἐγένοντο πολλοὶ πλειστάκις  
ἐχθροὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἀλλ' ὅσοι ἐπιεικέστεροι, ὅσοι τὸν τρόπον ἀνθρωπικώτεροι,  
ἔδωκαν ὄρον τῇ ἐχθρᾷ, οὐκ ἐνέμεναν διὰ παντὸς τῷ  
105 κακῷ, ἀλλὰ συνιδόντες ὡς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀλλότριον τὸ ἐχθραίνειν  
μετέβαλον εἰς εἰρήνην τὴν ἐχθραν. Καὶ οὐ λέγω τέκνα πρὸς πατέρας,  
ἀδελφοὺς πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς τοῦτο ποιήσαντας, μαθητὰς πρὸς διδασκάλους,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πόρρω τῆς τοιαύτης συναφείας καὶ σχέσεως. Τὸ δ' ὑμέτερον  
ποταπὸν; Τέκνα πρὸς πατέρας ἐχθραν ἄσπονδον | ἔχετε, ἀδελφοὶ D  
110 πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς, μαθηταὶ πρὸς διδασκάλους, καὶ τότε πηλίκης διδασκαλίας;  
ἤ τις ὑμῶν ἀνέωξε τὰ ὄμματα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὠδήγησεν πρὸς τὸ φῶς,  
τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου δουλείας ἐρρύσατο, καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀσύγκριτον,  
υἱὸς θεοῦ ἀπειργάσατο. Τίς οὖν τῶν μεταγενεστέρων ταῦτα μέλλων  
ἀναμανθάνειν οὐχὶ πάντα ὄνειδη, οὐχὶ πάσας βλασφημίας ἐπαφήσει κατὰ  
115 τῶν οὕτως ἀθάνατον ἐχθραν ἀραμένων; Εἶτα τί τὸ κέρδος τῆς ἐντεῦθεν  
περιφανείας, τῆς δόξης, τῆς ἀρχῆς, τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὅταν ἀπαρχόμενοι τῆς  
ζωῆς ταύτης ὄνομα πονηρὸν καταλείψωμεν, ὅταν ὑβριζόμεθα, ὅταν  
ἐξονειδιζώμεθα παρὰ τῶν μισούντων τὴν πονηρίαν, ὅταν ἐπαρῶνται ἡμῖν  
οἱ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης καλὸν ἀγαπῶντες καὶ | τὰς σφαγὰς καὶ τὰς μιαφονίας 89  
120 βδελυσσόμενοι; Κρεῖσσον ἀγαθὸν ὄνομα, τέκνον ἐμόν, οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ  
πλοῦτον πολὺν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν δόξαν καὶ βιωτικὴν περιφάνειαν.

Do not accuse me of garrulity if I prolong my discourse: for our common sufferings and our lacerations of heart compel it. If there were at my disposal many tongues, as is that old saying, I would have prayed for the use of that gift, so that perhaps with them I might sufficiently have bewailed, and made prayers which should fall not far short of the evils, both to God and to your noble Lordship. But since I have not several tongues at command, I shall meantime make use of the one which was given me by nature, and, as I have said, enforced by grief of heart, prolong my discourse farther.

Consider (my Son) before the Judgment that is to come, before our terrible presentation there, that there no distinction is made between prince and pauper based on this wordly pride of ours, but simply of our spiritual merits. Take also into account, even before this universal assize in presence of the incorruptible Judge, what will be our memory in this world among those then living, after we are dead. Who, on learning hereafter of this great slaughter of Christians, will not vilify, execrate, call by every evil name the authors of it? Many people often have been at enmity with one another; but those who have been more kindly, more humane in disposition, have set a limit to their enmity, have not clung forever to the evil, but, conscious that hatred is alien to the nature of man, have changed their enmity into peace. I do not speak merely of children who have so acted toward fathers, or brothers toward brothers, or pupils toward teachers, but also of those outside such affinities and relationships as these. How stands the case with you? Though children, you nourish a truceless enmity against your fathers, brothers against brothers, pupils against teachers—and teachers of what a Teaching! one that opened the eyes of your soul, guided you to the Light, delivered you from slavery to the devil, and, with all this, conferred the incomparable benefit of making you Sons of God. Who of later ages, when he comes to learn of this, will not heap every shame, every blasphemy on those who aroused an enmity so undying? What then is the profit of all our future pride, glory, rule, lordship, if, when we depart out of this life, we leave an evil name behind, if we are to be insulted and shamed by those who hate evil, cursed by those who love the blessing of peace and abominate slaughters and murders? Better (my Son) is a good name, not only than much wealth, but even than all glory and mortal pride.

Ἐννόει μοι ταῦτα· καὶ ὕπερ ἐκ παιδὸς ὄνομα καλὸν ἐπεπόθησας, μνήμην ἔντιμον καὶ λαμπράν, ταύτην μὴ ἀπολέσωμεν διὰ φιλονεικίαν καὶ πικρίαν ψυχῆς. Καλὸν ἐφόδιον πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα βίον τὸ συναπᾶραι  
 125 μετὰ τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγκωμίων· καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ καταλιπεῖν τοῖς σοῖς τέκνοις χρηστοῦ πατρὸς τέκνα καλεῖσθαι, ἐπιεικοῦς, πράου, ἡμέρου, φιλανθρώπου, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰ τούτων ἐναντία, μηδὲ γένοιτο, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οὕτω τοὺς σοὺς υἱούς, τὰ ἐμὰ γλυκύτατα δυστυχῆσαι τέκνα, ὥστε ἀνθ' ὧν εἶπον καλῶν ὀνομάτων κληρονομηῆσαι τῶν ἐναντίων. Ἐκεῖνος ὁ | κλη- B  
 130 ρος τιμιώτερος τῆς μελλούσης αὐτοῖς παρὰ σοῦ καταλιμπάνεσθαι ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας· ὧν σὺ φροντίδα ποιούμενος ὡς ὄντως παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦ σοῦ ἔθνους ἄρχειν καταστάς καὶ προσέτι τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς σου ἐπιεικειᾶς καὶ ἡμέρου ψυχῆς μὴ ἐξιστάμενος, ἀνοιξὸν ἡμῖν τὰ ὄτα, καὶ πρὸ τῶν ὠτων τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ πρόσσχες τοῖς λεγομένοις ὡς παρὰ φίλου λεγομένοις  
 135 καὶ πατρὸς ἀγαπῶντος· εἰ μὴ νομίζεις ἀνάξιον τὸ καλεῖν πατέρα, εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτωλόν, ὅμως δὲ πρεσβύτην καὶ ἐπισκόπου τάξιν λαχόντα, οὗς ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸς πνευματικούς ὑμῖν παρέσχε πατέρας, πολλῶ τῶν κατὰ σάρκα γνησιωτέρους, ἐπεὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς λύεται, τὰ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ἄλυτα.  
 140 Ἄλλ' εἰς εὐχὴν ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν τελευτάτω· καὶ τί ἕτερον ἢ τοῦτο φαμέν; ὡς εἶη Χριστὸς ὁ | ἀληθινὸς θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον C ἐκκαθᾶραι τὰ σκάνδαλα, ἐξομαλίζων τὴν σὴν εὐγενῆ ψυχὴν, καὶ εἴ τι σκάνδαλον ἐν αὐτῇ παραπέπτωκεν ἀνακαθαίρων, καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς θειοτάτης φῶς ἀγάπης, ὅπερ ἐσπούδασεν ὁ τοῦ σκότους πατὴρ ἀποσβέ-  
 145 σαι, πάλιν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀνάπτων καὶ ποιῶν ἀναλάμπειν· ὁ τὴν ἔχθραν ἀποκτείνων ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνάψας τὰ διεστῶτα, ὁ εἰρηνοποιήσας τὰ πάντα διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ παναχράντου αἵματος, αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν πᾶσαν διχόνοιαν, πᾶσαν διάστασιν, πᾶσαν ἔχθραν ἐξορίσαι ἐκ τε Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥω-  
 150 μαίων καὶ πάλιν εἰς ἓν συνάψαι καὶ ἐν ἀπολαύσει δοίη γενέσθαι τῶν τῆς εἰρήνης καλῶν, συντριβέντος ἐν τάχει τοῦ τῶν σκανδάλων σπορέως καὶ τῆς κακίας γεννήτορος.

## 12. Τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Βουλγαρίας

D

Ἐπιστάμεθα τὴν ὑμῶν ἀρχιερατικὴν τελειότητα περὶ τοῦ πράγμα-  
 τος οὗ γράφειν προήχθημεν τὰ αὐτὰ φρονεῖν ἃ καὶ ἡμεῖς φρονοῦμεν, τὴν

145-146: Ephes. 2.15,16. || 146-147: Coloss. 1.20.

136 πρεσβύτην P<sup>c</sup>: -ης P<sup>1</sup>  
 12: P 99r-102r

Think of this, and of the good name which have desired from your youth up, the honorable and bright memory. Let us not forfeit this through contention and bitterness of heart. It is a fair provision for the journey to the life to come if you set out accompanied by praises of your virtue; and a fair legacy to your children to be called the sons of a good father, kindly, gentle, quiet, merciful, and not the opposite of these. God forbid (my Son) that your sons, my most sweet children, should be so unhappy as to inherit, not the fair names I have enumerated, but their opposites instead! That former bequest is more honorable than the rule and lordship which you will leave to them. Do you, then, giving heed, as one that is in very truth set by God to rule your nation, and moreover not abandoning your old kindness and tranquillity, open your ears to me, and before your ears your heart, and attend to these words as to words spoken by a friend and loving father; if you do not think him unworthy to be called father, who, though a sinner, is yet an old man and has the rank of bishop, one whom Christ our God has given to be your spiritual father, a bond more real than that according to the flesh, inasmuch as the things of the flesh dissolve, but those of the spirit are indissoluble.

Let my discourse end with a prayer: and with what other prayer but this? "May Christ our true God, who came unto this world to remove offenses, make smooth your noble soul, and clear away whatever offense be in it, and kindle afresh and make to shine in you the old light of His most divine Love, which the father of darkness has sought to quench; and may He Who slew enmity in His flesh, and joined what was divided, and gave peace to all things through His holy and most pure Blood, may He Himself now also drive out all dissension, all division, all enmity from among Bulgarians and Romans, and unite them again, and grant them to be in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace, so soon as the sower of offenses and the father of mischief has been cast down!"

## 12. To the Archbishop of Bulgaria

I know that your archiepiscopal Perfection is in agreement with me on the matter about which I am impelled to write; that you feel the same pain

ἵσθη ὀδύνην φέρειν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, τοῖς ὁμοίοις διαζαίνεσθαι σπαραγμοῖς·  
 5 και διὰ τοῦτο γράφομεν οὐ παραίνεσιν οὐδὲ διδασκαλίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς συν-  
 ομιλίαν και ὅσα εἰ παρόντες ὁμοῦ και συνδιατρίβοντες κοινῶς ἂν διεσκε-  
 ψάμεθα. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν καταλαβόντων κακῶν τὸν ἕνα μὲν τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ λαόν, Ῥωμαίους φημι και Βουλγάρους, διαμερισθέντας δὲ ἐξ  
 ἀλλήλων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ θεοῦ διατεμόντος και δια-  
 10 μερίσαντος. Ὑπὲρ ταύτης | γράφομεν τῆς κοινῆς φροντίδος, ἣν ὡσπερ 92  
 ἡμεῖς ἀδιαλείπτως φέροντες στενάζομεν και θρηνοῦμεν, οἶδα ὅτι και  
 αὐτὸς ὁμοίως φέρεις, και ἄρτος σοι τὰ δάκρυα γίνεται. Ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων  
 γὰρ τὰ ὑμέτερα διδασκόμεθα· ὦν γὰρ τὸ ἔργον και ἡ διακονία κοινή,  
 τούτων εἰκὸς κοινὰ γίνεσθαι και τὰ πάθη και τοὺς καμátους.  
 15 Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ συνοχή και τὰ ὅμοια κεντεῖ ἄλληλη τὴν σὴν  
 καρδίαν οἷα και ἡμᾶς, ἀρκεῖ τοσοῦτον ἐπιμνησθῆναι· λοιπὸν δὲ ἤδη τῆς  
 οἷον συνομιλίας και τῆς κοινῆς ἀπαρχόμεθα συνδιασκέψεως. Ἄλλοι μὲν  
 ἄλλαις ἀπετάγησαν διακονίαις ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ ταύτῃ ζωῇ, βασιλεῖς λέγω  
 και ἄρχοντας, πόλεων ἐπιστάτας, πραγμάτων ἄλλων οἰκονόμους τῆς  
 20 διοικήσεως, ὧν ἕκαστος πρὸς ἣν ἔλαβε τάξιν ἀφορῶν τὸ οἰκεῖον | ὅστις B  
 ἔμφρων σπουδάζει ἀμέμπτως ἔργον ἐπιτελεῖν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ παρίστασθαι  
 τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀποτεταγμένοι θυσιαστηρίῳ, εἰ και πολλῶν ἄλλων χρεῶσται  
 καθεστῆκαμεν ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν διακονίαν, ἀλλά γε πρὸ παντός ἑτέρου τὸ  
 τῆς εἰρήνης ἔργον και τὸ διώκειν ἐκ μέσου τὰ σκάνδαλα και τὴν ἔχθραν  
 25 εἰς ὑπουργίαν ἐλάβομεν. Ἡ γὰρ τῆς φρικτῆς ἱερουργίας θυσίας, ἣν εἰς ἀνά-  
 μνησιν ἐπιτελοῦμεν τοῦ ἵνα καταλύσῃ τὴν αἰώνιον ἔχθραν, τὴν βίαιαν  
 ἐκείνην πρὸς θεὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων μανίαν και ἀνέλπιστον εἰς σπονδάς  
 εἰρήνης συμβῆναι, ὑπομείναντος ὅσα ὑπέμεινεν, τὰ ἐμπτύσματα, τὰ ῥαπί-  
 σματα, τὸν θάνατον τῶν κακούργων, τοῦτο ἡμῖν παρακελεύεται διὰ παν-  
 30 τός, τὸ πάσῃ δυνάμει, πάσῃ περινοίᾳ, παντὶ λόγῳ τῆς εἰρήνης εἶναι  
 σπουδαίους συμμάχους, τῆς ἔχθρας | πολεμίου, και πάσῃ ψυχῇ ἀποκλεί- C  
 εἶν τὴν εἴσοδον τῶν σκανδάλων, ἐπεὶπερ οἷον ἐπ' ὄψιν ἡμῖν τοῦτο δὴ  
 τὸ μέγα τῆς ἱερουργίας μυστήριον ὑποδείκνυσιν, αὐτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ  
 φιλανθρώπου πατρός, ὃς τοσοῦτον ἠγάπησε τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τοῦτον  
 35 ἐξαποστεῖλαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς—ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸν μονογενῆ τοῦτον, τὸν ἀγαπητόν,  
 τὸν ἀμνὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θυόμενον και ἐξίλασμα γινόμενον τῆς ἡμετέρας  
 ἔχθρας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν και πατέρα, τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν ὡσπερ δρῶμενον  
 τὸ πανάγιον τοῦτο μυστήριον παρίστησιν· ὃς κληρονόμος ὦν τῆς θεῆκῆς  
 δόξης κατεφρόνησεν αἰσχύνῃς τοσαύτης και ἀδοξίας ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπ'

12: Ps. 41.4. || 34-35: Ioann. 3.16. || 36: Ioann. 1.29,36.

at heart, that you are torn with the same lacerations. For this reason I do not write to exhort or instruct you, but, as it were, to converse with you on matters, which, if we were together and in talk, we might jointly examine. My subject is the evils which have come upon the people of Christ, I mean, Romans and Bulgarians, one single people yet divided among itself by him who has from the beginning cut off and sundered man from God. Of this care that is common to us I write to you; and as I myself continually sigh and lament over it, so I know that you bear it too, and that your bread has become tears. By my *sufferings* I learn of yours: for those whose work and ministry are in common, must share also the same sufferings and labors.

So much, then, for my observation that the same affliction and similar griefs are wounding your heart as are wounding me also; but now I begin our conversation—as it were—and our mutual discussion. In this our present life different ministries have been allotted to different people, I mean, to emperors, and rulers of cities, overseers of other affairs, stewards of administration: each of whom, looking to the rank he has received, is concerned (if he be wise) to perform his own task without reproach. But we, to whom it is allotted to serve the Holy Sanctuary, although it is our duty to perform the ministry of much else besides, yet, beyond all else, are bound to serve the cause of peace and to cast out offenses and enmity from among us. For the Celebration of the Awful Sacrament, which we perform in memory of Him Who, to dispel the eternal enmity, that violent madness of men toward God which left no hope of terms of peace, endured His Passion, spittings, buffetings, a malefactor's death, enjoins this on us, to be continually, with all our might, with all our wit, in all our speech, the zealous champions of peace and enemies of war, and with all our soul to exclude the entry of offenses. For this great mystery of the Celebration brings as it were before our eyes the very Son of the merciful Father, Who so loved the world that He sent Him forth to us; and this All-holy Mystery presents to us, as if He were visible to our eyes, the Only-Begotten, the Beloved, the Lamb of God slain and become the propitiation of our enmity toward God His Father; Who, though the Inheritor of divine glory, made light of all the shame and dishonor which men

40 αὐτῷ τοιμηθείσης, ἵνα τοὺς διεστῶτας, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, τοὺς πολεμίους  
 διὰ τῶν οἰκείων | παθῶν, διὰ τῶν τραυμάτων, διὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἀπαλ- D  
 λάξῃ καὶ συνάψῃ τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ οἰκείους ἀπεργάσῃται τῷ θεῷ. Τί οὖν,  
 ἀδελφεὲ καὶ συνιερεῦ, δεῖ πράττειν ἡμᾶς; Ποταπὴν ἔχειν καρδίαν, ὅποιαν  
 μέριμναν, ἡλίκιαν ἀγωνίαν, ὅταν τινὰς ὀρώμεν κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐκμαινομέ-  
 45 νους καὶ τὴν ἐχθρὰν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ἀλλασσομένους—καὶ ταῦτά φημι  
 περὶ τῶν καθ' ἓνα τέως καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος—πόσῃ οὖν κεχρεωσθήκαμεν πρό-  
 νοιαν φέρειν, ὥστε τοὺς οὕτω διατεθειμένους τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ  
 συμβιβάζσαι καὶ εἰρηνοποιῆσαι καὶ πείσαι πάλιν διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης εἰς ἐνό-  
 τητα συνελθεῖν; "Ὅταν δὲ οὐχ εἷς, οὐδὲ δύο, οὐ δέκα, οὐδὲ πολλῶ τούτων  
 50 πλείους, ὀλόκληρος οἰκία καὶ πόλις, ἀλλ' ἔθνος ὅλον πρὸς ὅλον ἔθνος, καὶ  
 τότε ὁμόπιστον (οἵμοι τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν τὸ βαρύτερον) | ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ 93  
 δαίμονος ἐνεργείας εἰς τὸ κακὸν τοῦτο περινεχθήσαν, τί ποιήσωμεν, τί  
 διανοηθῶμεν, τί φρονήσωμεν; Ποία ἡμέρα ἢ νύξ ἀναπαύσει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ  
 τῆς τοιαύτης μερίμνης ἢ τῆς συνοχῆς;

55 Προῆλθε μὲν ἄχρι τούτου ὁ λόγος, ὥσπερ προῆλθεν ἄρτι δὲ ὥσπερ  
 αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἀναλαβόντα φωνὴν τρανότερον φθέγγεται. Ἐκίνησεν  
 ὁ τῆς κακίας πατήρ διάβολος, ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης πολέμιος, μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων  
 καὶ Βουλγάρων ὄπλα καὶ ξίφη ἐξέμενεν αὐτοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλων, ἐνήργη-  
 σεν ὅσα ἐνήργησεν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον φεῦ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐμῶν  
 60 ἁμαρτιῶν. Τίς δυσωπήσει; Τίς γενήσεται μεσίτης; Τίς θεοῦ συναντι-  
 λαμβανομένου στήσει τὸν τοσοῦτον ὄλεθρον τῶν ἀνθρώπων; Τίς μαινο-  
 μένην τὴν γῆν ἐξ αἱμάτων Χριστιανικῶν ἀποπαύσει; Καὶ τίς ἕτερος;  
 Τοῦτο ἐμὸν καὶ σὸν τὸ χρεώστημα. Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν αὐτὸς ᾧ παρίσταται  
 πᾶσα καρδία ἐνθύμησις, ἐξεπίσταται ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπετρέψαμεν  
 65 τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἐγχείρησιν καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ἐκνικήσαντος | παραινούντες B  
 οὐ διελείψαμεν, ὥστε ῥῖψαι μὲν τὰ ὄπλα, ἀντιλαβέσθαι δὲ τῆς πρὸς Βουλ-  
 γάρους εἰρήνης καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ τῆς πατρικῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαθέσεως·  
 καὶ θεοῦ τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν ἀψαμένου καὶ οἷς ἠπειθήσαν πρότερον  
 μετεφρόνησαν καὶ οἷς μετὰ ταῦτα παρηγέσαμεν πρόθυμοι ποιεῖν τὰ  
 70 παραινεδέντα γεγονάσιν, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καιροῦ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὰ τῆς  
 εἰρήνης ἐπιζήτοῦσι καὶ τὸν σύνδεσμον τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ τὰ τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 πολέμου μεμισήκασι πράγματα. Ἄλλὰ τί εἶπω; Ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φθονήσας  
 τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει δριμύν ἔσχε καὶ νῦν τὸν φθόνον κατὰ τῆς ἐνώσεως  
 Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ὅτι ἐφθασεν ἀνάψαι τὴν πυρκαϊάν τῆς

71: Coloss. 3.14.

dared heap upon Him, in order that those who are divided and enemies and hostile He might free by His own sufferings, and wounds, and shame, and might join them in peace, and make them the familiars of God. What, then (Brother and fellow-priest), must we do? What must we feel, what must be our anxiety, how great must be our agony, when we see men enraged against one another, and exchanging love for enmity! I speak for the moment of single and individual instances. How great must be our care to compose those whose souls are thus perverted by the evil one, and to make peace between them, and to persuade them to enter once more into unity through love. But when not one or two or ten or even, what is much more, a whole house or city, but one whole nation has been perverted to this crime, by devilish agency, against another whole nation—one of like faith with it, which is, alas, the heaviest of my griefs—then what are we to do, or think, or feel? What day or night shall free us of such an anxiety, or such an affliction?

Thus far our discourse has proceeded as you hear; but now the business itself, as it were with its own voice, exclaims more loudly. The devil, who is the father of mischief and enemy of peace, has moved arms and swords between Romans and Bulgarians, has incensed them against one another, has brought and is still today bringing his designs to pass. Alas for the multitude of my sins! Who shall plead? Who shall be mediator? Who by God's help shall stop this huge destruction of men? Who shall purge the soil from the pollution of Christian blood? Who else *but we*? This is my duty and yours. As He knows, to Whom each thought of the heart is open, I tried from the beginning to avert the breaking out of war: and, when the evil prevailed, I did not cease to exhort the Romans to lay aside their arms, and to pursue peace and love toward the Bulgarians, and be paternally affectionate toward them. And God touched their hearts and they repented of their former disobedience, and they became willing to act on the exhortation with which I afterward exhorted them; and from that time until now they have sought the things of peace and the bond of love, and have hated the things that led them into war against you. But what can I say? He that envies the human race from the beginning has conceived now also a bitter envy of union between Bulgarians and Romans, and having succeeded in kindling the conflagration of

75 ἔχθρας, χαίρει τῷ ψυχοφθόρῳ τούτῳ πυρὶ καὶ πολὺν | τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ- C  
ται τῆς τούτου ἀνάψευς, καὶ οὐ συγχωρεῖ τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαπητῷ υἱῷ μου,  
τῷ φρονιμωτάτῳ καὶ ἡμερωτάτῳ, τῷ δεσπόμενῳ Βουλγάρων λαχόντι, τῆς  
ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι καλοκαγαθίας καὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιστρα-  
φῆναι καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας γενέσθαι γλυκύτητος, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τι ὁ φθονερός,  
80 ὁ τῶν καλῶν διώκτης ὑποβάλλων πικρὸν ἐνθύμημα ἐν τῇ γλυκείᾳ τού-  
του ψυχῇ σπουδάζει τὴν γλυκυτάτην διώκειν εἰρήνην.

Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος τοιαῦτα. Ἡμεῖς δὲ θεῷ πεποι-  
θότες καὶ τῇ τοῦ ποθεινοῦ υἱοῦ μου ἡμερότητι ὡς οὐκ ἀποτευξόμεθα τοῦ  
σκοποῦ, γράμμα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξεπέψαμεν, ἐκεῖνα παρακαλοῦντες, ἐκεῖνα  
85 δυσωποῦντες, ὅσα τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλαγάθου ἐστὶ ψυχῆς οἰκεία, ὅσα τῆς  
ἐκείνου καρδίας. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ἡμεῖς, D  
ὅτε εἰς ὕψιν αὐτῷ κατέστημεν, ἐλάβομεν πείραν τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως καὶ  
ἔγνωμεν τὴν σύνεσιν, τὴν πραότητα, τὴν ἐπιείκειαν, τὴν χρηστότητα, καὶ  
ὡς πάσης ἀπηγείας καὶ ἰταμότητος ἀλλοτρία ἢ τούτου φύσις καθέστη-  
90 κεν. Ἐγράψαμεν οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ εὐέλπιδος ἕσμεν ὡς  
δυσωπήσει μὲν πρῶτον τοῦτον ὁ δοὺς αὐτὸν Βουλγάρων δεσπόμενός, θεός,  
δυσωπήσει δὲ καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἡμερον καὶ φιλάγαθον, δυσωπηθήσεται δὲ  
καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας παρακλήσεως.

Τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον τοιοῦτον, (καὶ) ἀποσαλεύομεν ἐν τοιαύταις ἐλπίσιν.  
95 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῆς ὑμῶν ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς πάθεσιν ἀλγυνομέ-  
νης, ταῖς κοιναῖς συμφοραῖς, τῇ τοσαύτῃ τῶν κακῶν περικλύσει, καὶ ὡς  
οἰκοθεν κεκτημένης τὸ τοῦ πράγματος χρεώστημα, συνεπιλαβέσθαι τῇ 96  
ἡμετέρᾳ πρὸς βίαν, ἐξευμενίσασθαι, καθικετεῦσαι τὸν ἡγαπημένον υἱὸν  
ἡμῶν. Ἐχεις πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς συνεργούσας πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου δυσώπησιν·  
100 πρῶτον μὲν, ὅσα ὁ λόγος προλαβὼν εἶπεν, τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν  
τὸ ἀπαραμύθητον ἄλγος, ἐφ' οἷς οἱ τὸ ἐκείνου τίμιον φέροντες ὄνομα,  
τοῦ ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἀχθέντος ἵνα τοῦτο ἡμῖν τὸ ὄνομα χαρίσῃται,  
κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐξεθηριώθησαν τοὺς ἱεροὺς ναοὺς ἐν οἷς πρὸς ἔντευξιν  
εἰσέρχεται τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ, ὑπὲρ γυναικός, ὑπὲρ παίδων, καὶ ὅλου  
105 φημι τοῦ ἔθνους οὐ δεσπόμενός, κατέστη τὸ ἅγιον καὶ πανάχαρτον σῶμα  
καὶ αἷμα, ὃν ἐσθίω καὶ πίνω ἀδιστακτοὺς ἐλπίδας ἔχει ἀγιασμοῦ  
μέτοχος γίνεσθαι. Παράστησον αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν σῶν λόγων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς  
ὅσα ἐκεῖνος οἰκείαις ὕψεσι καὶ πρὸ τῶν σῶν λόγων τεθεαμένος οὐκ  
ἀγνοεῖ, τῆς γῆς ὅσην διήλθε τὴν ἐρημίαν τὴν ἀντὶ τῆς ὀρωμένης | ἄχρι B

102: Isai. 53.7; Act. 8.32.

94 καὶ P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup>

enmity, triumphs in this soul-destroying fire, and struggles hard to keep  
alight what he has kindled, and will not allow my fair, beloved Son, the  
most wise, the most tranquil Lord of the Bulgarians, to be guided by his own  
nobility of heart and turn to the blessing of peace, and return to his former  
sweetness; but still the envious one, the persecutor of good, casting bitter  
thoughts into his sweet soul, seeks eagerly to drive out most sweet peace.

Such then are the works of the evil demon. But I, trusting to God and  
to the gentleness of my fondly loved Son that I shall not fail of my purpose,  
have sent him a letter, begging, entreating those things which are proper to  
his virtuous soul, those things that he has at heart. For I, too, though but  
for a brief time, when I stood in his presence, had proof of his nature, and I  
recognized his intelligence, his gentleness, his benevolence, his goodness, and  
that his nature is foreign to all brutality and frowardness. So I have written  
to intercede for peace, and have good hope that first God, Who gave him  
lordship over the Bulgarians, will entreat him, and next his own gentleness  
and virtue; and that he will be entreated also by my appeal.

Such is my part and on such hopes I ride. But it is also for your Arch-  
priesthood, who grieves at our common sufferings, at our common disasters,  
at this great tide of sorrows, and on whom the duty to act in this affair  
properly falls, to support my intercession, to conciliate and to supplicate my  
beloved son. You have many arguments which combine to entreat him: first,  
that which my discourse has already spoken of, the inconsolable grief of our  
Christ and God, inasmuch as those who bear the honorable name of Him  
Who was led as a lamb to the slaughter that He might give us that name,  
rage like wild beasts against one another; you have the holy churches, into  
which he goes to commune with God on behalf of himself, his wife, his  
children and indeed of all that nation of which he is lord; you have the holy  
and all-immaculate Body and Blood, which as he eats and drinks he has  
undoubting hopes that he is partaking of sanctification. Represent in his  
presence by your words those things which, even before you speak, he has  
himself seen with his own sight and is aware of: the desolation of so much  
land through which he has passed in place of the beauty seen in it till now, the

- 110 τοῦ νῦν ὠραιότητος, τῶν χωρῶν ὅση ἐκ τῶν σταχύων, ὅση ἐξ ἀμπέλων, ὅση ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρύων ἐλεεινὴν ἀμορφίαν. Ἀνάμνησον αὐτὸν τῆς καταστροφῆς τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ θεοῦ οἴκων, οὓς εὐσεβῶν χεῖρες εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ μετὰ πολλῶν καμάτων ἀνήγειραν. Πρόσθεσ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν σεμνῶν διατημάτων, ἐν οἷς μονάζοντες, ἐν οἷς παρθένοι διὰ παντὸς ὕμνους
- 115 ἀνέπεμπον τῷ θεῷ, καὶ νῦν ἐν ἐρειπίοις λέλειπται κατακείμενα. Πρόσθεσ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς πολυτρόπους τῶν ἀνθρώπων σφαγὰς (οἷμοι τῆς τοσαύτης τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος ἰσχύος), τῶν ἱερέων, τῶν μοναζόντων, ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν, ἐρριμμένα σώματα καὶ μηδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ταφῆς ἠξιωμένα, ἀλλὰ κυσὶ καὶ θηρίοις εἰς βρώσιν προτεθειμένα.
- 120 Καὶ τί λέγω ταῦτα; Ἐχεις πολλὴν καὶ ἀμύθητον | ἐκ τῆς ἀνιστο- C  
ρήτου ταύτης τραγωδίας τὴν εὐπορίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν τοῦ δυσωπου-  
μένου ἡμερότητα καὶ τὴν τελειοτάτην φρόνησιν, εἰς τὸ συγκαταπράξασθαι  
τὴν πρεσβείαν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ κινούμενος ταῖς κοινῶς ἐμέ τε καὶ σὲ ἀπαρ-  
αιτήτως συνεχούσαις ὀδύναϊς καὶ ταῖς ἐχούσαις ἡμᾶς ὀφειλέτας μερί-  
125 μναις ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας καὶ εἰρήνης, ἐπίδειξαι μὲν καὶ τὰ παρ'  
ἑαυτοῦ, πλήρωσον δὲ καὶ ἀνθ' ἡμῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα ὅσα εἰ παρόντες ἂν αὐτοὶ  
διεπραξάμεθα: χεῖρας περίπτυσαι, λαβοῦ γονάτων, εἰ δεήσει καὶ τῶν  
ποδῶν, καὶ ἀπλῶς λόγοις καὶ πράγμασι μὴ ἀπόσχη πάντα ποιῶν, ἕως  
ἂν τῇ ἀνωθεν εὐμενείᾳ πρὸς τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης καλὸν ἢ γλυκεῖα τοῦ ἡμετέ-  
130 ρου τέκνου συνέλθῃ ψυχῇ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξαποσταλῶσι, δι'  
ῶν ἀνακαινισθῆσεται μὲν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, | καταργηθῆσεται δὲ τὰ τῶν D  
πολέμων καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας, ἀπελαθήσεται δὲ καὶ διάβολος ὁ ταῖς κοινὰς  
συμφορὰς Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπορχούμενος, παρρησιάσεται δὲ  
πάλιν ἢ τιμιωτάτη ἀγάπη καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης τίμια πράγματα, ἐξ ὧν εὐφρο-  
135 σύνη καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἀπόλαυσις ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς λαοῖς προσγενήσεται,  
τῶν χαλεπωτάτων δὲ πραγμάτων ἢ πεῖρα καὶ ἡ κατῆφεια καὶ ἡ σκυθρω-  
πότης τῶν προσώπων ἀφανισθῆσεται.

### 13. Τῷ πρώτῳ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ Συμεῶν

Τῶν μεγάλων ἐξουσιῶν οἱ ὑπερέται μεγίσταις ἀρεταῖς, τέκνον ἡμῶν, κοσμοῦνται καὶ κατορθώμασιν, καὶ τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ὅσον καὶ 97  
οἰκειότεροι ὄντες γνωρίζονται. Τοιοῦτόν σε ὄντα ἐπιστάμενοι, καὶ τοῦτο  
5 συνεπιστάμεθα ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων ἐκεῖνα φρονεῖς,  
ἐκεῖνα διανοῆ, ὅσα τῷ μεγέθει πρέπει τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς. Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὕτως

111 ἀκροδρύων Vat.: ἀκροδύων P || 124-125 μερίμναις P<sup>c</sup>: -ας P<sup>1</sup> || 130 ἐξαποστειλῶσι P (P<sup>c</sup>)  
18: P 102r-103r

pitiable defacement of countries, in place of so many crops, so many vineyards, so many orchards. Remind him of the destruction of the holy houses of God, which pious hands with many pains erected to God's glory. Add the ruin of noble monasteries, in which monks, in which virgins continually sent up their hymns to God, but which are now deserted and lying in ruins. And above all the manifold slaughters of men—alas for the mighty power of the evil demon!—the bodies of priests, of monks, of nuns, scattered by, with not so much as the honor of burial but exposed to be the prey of dogs and wild beasts.

Why do I go on? You have a mighty, an untold store of argument from this unheard of tragedy, and above all you have the gentleness of him who is entreated, and his most perfect wisdom, to assist in making my intercession fruitful. So, then, moved by the griefs which must inevitably be afflicting me and you in common, and by those cares for our common salvation and peace which stir us to our duty, do you exert your own powers, and also play my part instead of me, by doing all that I would do myself if I were present: embrace his hands, take hold of his knees, and if it should be needed, his feet also, and, in a word, continue every plea by speech and act until by favor from on High the sweet spirit of my Son shall be won over to the blessing of peace, and men shall be sent out by him through whom the things of peace may be renewed, and the things of war and enmity be canceled, the devil who triumphs in the common disasters of Bulgarians and Romans may be driven away, and most honorable love be again enlarged, and her honorable gifts, from which shall come to both our peoples happiness and the enjoyment of blessings, and the endurance of most cruel hardships and the despondency and the sullen faces shall be removed.

### 13. To the Chief Man of Symeon

The servants of great powers (my Son) are men adorned with the greatest virtues and achievements, and the more so in proportion as they are known to be more familiar in counsel. Knowing you to be such a servant, I know this too, that without my speaking of them you have those thoughts and feelings which befit the greatness of your Virtue. Since I have this



ἔχομεν περὶ σοῦ, εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ γράμματος ἐκινήθημεν  
 μεγάλην τε οὖσαν καὶ διὰ τῆς σῆς φρονήσεως κατορθωθῆναι ὀφείλουσαν.  
 Ἔστι δὲ αὕτη περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἣν ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, περὶ  
 10 τοῦ παῦσαι τὰς σφαγὰς καὶ τὰς χύσεις τῶν αἱμάτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κα-  
 κώσεως ὅση ἐκ τῶν πολέμων γνωρίζεται· ὧν οὐδὲν μεῖζον οὐδὲ φρονίμων  
 ἀνθρώπων καὶ μέγιστον κλέος ἐχόντων ἔργον ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν οἰκειότερον.  
 Περὶ τούτου ἐγράψαμεν καὶ τῷ μεγαλοδόξῳ καὶ πεποθημένῳ ἡμῶν υἱῷ,  
 καὶ οὐκ ἄγνοοῦμεν ὡς ἡ ἐκείνου φιλάγαθος ψυχὴ ἢ πραεῖα καὶ ἡμερος, B  
 15 εἰ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐμῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῇ πικρίας ἐνέθηκε σπέρματα,  
 προσέξει τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις εὐμενῶς. Ὅμως καὶ σὲ κινοῦμεν διὰ τοῦ  
 γράμματος συνεπιλαβέσθαι καὶ ὡς εὖνουν αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκεῖον θεράποντα  
 τὴν ὄντως μεγάλης δόξης αὐτῷ πρόξενον ὑπουργίαν ἐξυπηρετήσασθαι.  
 Ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις, ὡς καθαρὸν σφύζων τὸ φίλτρον πρὸς αὐτόν,  
 20 ὡς τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐφιέμενος τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι τούτῳ σπουδά-  
 ζεις, ἀλλ' οὐδενὶ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ πράγματι ὡς ἐν τούτῳ γνωρισθῆσθαι ἐξυπηρε-  
 τούμενος τὰ εἰς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ τὸ πρὸς αὐτόν φίλτρον ἐπι-  
 δεικνύων καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος διάπυρον πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον δεσπότην.  
 Ἐνθυμήθητι γάρ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κακὰ, τὰ ἐκεῖθεν  
 25 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καταλαμβάνοντα | ἀλγεινά, καὶ πάλιν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης C  
 καλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγγινομένην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ταῦτα  
 συγκρίνων, σκέψαι πόσης αὐτῷ γενήσῃ πρόξενος τιμῆς καὶ δόξης, εἰ θεοῦ  
 συνεπιλαμβάνοντος ἀντὶ τῶν πολέμων, ἀντὶ τῶν σφαγῶν, ἀντὶ τῶν  
 αἰχμαλωσιῶν, ἀπλῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀλέθρου, ἐξυπη-  
 30 ρετήσεις αὐτῷ αὐτὴν τὴν ἔνθεον ὑπηρεσίαν, τὸ ἐπαινέσθαι διὰ τὰ  
 ἀγαθὰ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ δοξάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰ ἐναντία πορίζεσθαι διὰ  
 τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολέμων κακὰ. Οὐ μὴ δεηθῆς λόγων πολλῶν οὐδ' ἀποστραφή-  
 σεταὶ σου τὴν δέησιν ἢ καλῇ ἐκείνου καὶ φιλάρετος ψυχῇ. Μόνον προθυμή-  
 35 <καί> τὴν θείαν εἰρήνην ἐπιζητοῦντα. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ἀπλῶς λέγω, ἀλλὰ  
 πεπεισμένος ἐξ ὧν | ὁ φιλάνθρωπος θεὸς εἰργάσατο· τοὺς γὰρ αἰτίους D  
 τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης μαιφονίας κρίμασιν οἷς αὐτὸς οἶδεν  
 δικαίοις ἐκ μέσου πεποίηκεν, τὴν ἀξίαν δίκην καὶ ἀρμόζουσιν τῇ τοσαύ-  
 τη αὐτῶν πονηρίᾳ ἐπιθεῖς. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἡμεῖς πλέον ἐγνώκαμεν ἐκτεί-  
 40 νειν τὸν λόγον οὐδ' ἐνοχλεῖν σε τῷ μήκει τοῦ γράμματος, ἀλλὰ μόνην  
 εὐχὴν προσεπιτιθέαμεν, ὡς εἴη Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κάκεῖνον τιμῶν  
 καὶ δοξάζων καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ἐκ τοῦ τὴν εἰρή-  
 νην ἐπιτελέσαι, καὶ σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ πλέον οἰκεῖον δεικνύς τῷ οἰ-

25 καταλαμβάνοντα P<sup>1</sup>: καταλαβόντα P<sup>c</sup> || 35 καὶ Jk: om. P || 36 πεπεισμένος Vat.: -ως P

opinion of you, I have been moved to the subject of my letter, which is a  
 great one and deserving of achievement through your Wisdom. It is the  
 subject of peace, which Christ our God gave to us; of the cessation of slaugh-  
 ters and shedding of blood and of other ill-doing, such as arises from warfare.  
 No subject is greater than this, none is a work more proper to men of wisdom  
 and of the greatest glory. On this subject I have written also to my most  
 glorious and tenderly loved Son, and I know that his virtuous soul, gentle  
 and quiet, even though the multitude of my sins has engendered the seeds of  
 bitterness in it, will attend graciously to my words. Nonetheless, I urge you  
 also through this letter to combine with me, and, as his loyal and familiar  
 minister, to take part in this service, which is productive of truly great glory  
 to him. For, in your past affection toward him, out of your desire for his  
 honor and glory, you are in many affairs besides eager to be of service to him;  
 yet in no other affair more than in this will you be seen to serve the cause of  
 his honor and glory, or to display your affection for him and the zeal of your  
 love toward your own master.

Consider (my Son) the evils of war, the griefs that men are suffering  
 from it, and, on the other hand, the blessings of peace and the enjoyment  
 which its begets among men. And, making your comparison, think how much  
 honor and glory you will earn for him if, God helping, instead of warfare,  
 instead of slaughters, instead of captivities, in a word, instead of the great  
 ruin of men, you can serve him in this godly service, so that he shall be  
 praised and glorified for the blessings of peace, and not win the opposite  
 reputation through the evils arising from war. Assuredly, you will not need  
 many words; nor will that noble and virtuous soul turn away from your  
 prayer; only be eager and willing to entreat him, and I am convinced that  
 you will find him ready *and* seeking after divine peace. These are not mere  
 words. I am convinced by what the merciful God has wrought: for those that  
 were responsible for the war and for all that murdering He has by His own  
 just decrees removed from among us, and laid on them a punishment condign  
 and suitable to their great wickedness. For this reason I see fit to extend my  
 discourse no further, nor to trouble you by the length of my letter, but add  
 only a prayer that Christ our God may be honoring and glorifying *your master*  
 both in this life and in the life to come by the conclusion of peace, and that  
 you (my Son) He may make yet more familiar to your proper lord and yet



κείῳ δεσπότῃ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενον, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοιαύτης προαι-  
45 ρέσεως καὶ σπουδῆς τῶν αἰωνίων καταξιῶν ἀγαθῶν.

#### 14. Συμεῶν Βουλγάρῳ

Τέκνον ἡμῶν ποθεινότατον καὶ φίλων ἀρχαίων καὶ νέων ὁ γλυκύ-  
τατος φίλος, ἀκουσον ὡς τέκνον | καὶ φίλος ῥήματα πατρὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς σε 100  
φιλήσαντος καὶ φιλοῦντος καὶ σφίζοντος στοργῆν γνησίαν πρὸς σὲ ἐν ἀγίῳ  
5 πνεύματι, πρόσσχες, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οἷς γράφομεν· πεποίθαμεν γὰρ ἐν  
θεῷ ὅτι τὰ συνευφραίνοντα καὶ συνήδοντα γράφομεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις  
τὸ ὄνομα τῆς φιλίας βεβαιοῦντες. Ἄκουσον, καὶ πάλιν φημί, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ  
ἄνθρωπος, συντόμως εἰπεῖν, εὐαγγέλια ψυχὴν θεοφιλῆ θεραπεύοντα. Εἰ  
γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοσμικὴν ἐξουσίαν, τοῦ σατανᾶ τὰ σκάνδαλα κεκινηκό-  
10 τος δι' ὧν κατὰ τῆς σῆς ἡγωνίσαντο τιμίας ἐμοὶ κεφαλῆς, ἐξετραχύνθης  
καὶ ἄλλως ἢ ὡς ἔστιν εὐχὴ μοι διατίθεσαι, ἀλλ' ἐπίσταμαι ἀκριβῶς ὅτι  
ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τῆς ἐκκλησίας, λέγω δὴ τῷ σπαραγμῷ καὶ τῇ διαστάσει  
τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς, καὶ συνήλγεις καὶ συνεῖχου μεθ' ἡμῶν πικραῖς ταῖς |  
δόδυναίς, τιμῶν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν, παρ' οὗ σοὶ καὶ τὸ B  
15 ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ σφίσεσθαι, καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι ἀποκείσεται σωτη-  
ρία καὶ τιμὴ ἀτελεύτητος, ὡς γε εὐχόμεθα καὶ ἐλπίζομεν.

Εὐαγγελιζόμεθά σοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εὐαγγέλια, ὧν καὶ σοὶ τὸ ἀκοῦ-  
σαι πάντων ἡδύτατον καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ εὐαγγελίσασθαι πρεπωδέστατον πάντων  
καὶ οἰκειότατον· ἦνται ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία, ἐπαύθη τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πονη-  
20 ρευσταμένου ταύτην ἐκταράσσειν ἡ καταιγίς. Ἦνωται δὲ πῶς καὶ ἡ  
καταιγίς πέπαιται; Οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἡμῶν κεχωρισμένοι καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀντε-  
χόμενοι χωρισμοῦ ἀπετάξαντο τῷ οἰκείῳ φρονήματι, μετέγνωσαν ἐφ'  
οἷς ἐφιλονεῖουν, καὶ συνῆλθον χάριτι θεοῦ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ φρονήματι, καὶ C  
ὁ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐζητεῖτο κοινῇ τούτοις συνωμολογήθη· καὶ συντόμως  
25 εἰπεῖν τὸ οἰκεῖον ὁμολογήσαντες πταῖσμα ταῖς ἀγκάλαις προσῆλθον τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας φιλανθρώπως ὑπανοιγείσαις αὐτοῖς. Ἀπέκλειε μὲν γὰρ μέχρι  
τοῦ παρόντος ἡ ἐκκλησία τὰς ἑαυτῆς ἀγκάλας, οἷα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα κάκει-  
νων ἀνθρωπίνως διακειμένων καὶ οὐκ οἶδα ποταῖς αἰτίαις ἀγαπώντων  
τοῦ ἀντιλέγειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα θεοῦ εὐδοκίᾳ γέγονεν ἐκποδῶν,  
30 τῆς θείας μεσιτευσάσης εἰρήνης συνήλθομεν εἰς ἐνότητα καὶ προσελάβο-  
μεν τοὺς τέως ἐξ ἡμῶν δισταμένους ὡς οἰκεῖα τέκνα καὶ ὡς μέλεσιν

more beloved by him, and may for this purpose and zeal accord to you His  
eternal blessings.

#### 14. To Symeon the Bulgarian

My tenderly beloved Son, and sweetest friend of friends both old and  
new, listen as a son and friend to the words of a father who has loved you  
from the beginning, and still loves, and preserves a real affection toward you  
in the Holy Spirit; attend (my Son) to what I write. For I am convinced, in  
God, that I write those things which shall make you rejoice and be glad with  
me, confirming the name of friendship upon the works thereof. Hearken, once  
more, as a man of God, to (in a word) "glad tidings" which shall comfort your  
pious soul: for though when Satan stirred up offenses through which they  
strove against the head that I revere, you were exasperated against our  
secular authority and are disposed otherwise than is my prayer for you, yet  
I know very well that for the suffering of the Church, I mean, for the laceration  
and division of her sons, you shared our grief with us and were afflicted by  
bitter sorrows, thus honoring Christ our God from Whom come your rule and  
your preservation, and with Whom is laid up your salvation in the life to  
come, and honor without end, as I pray and hope.

We bring you tidings (my Son) of great joy, which for you to hear is  
sweet beyond all, and for us to announce is beyond all things fitting and  
proper. The Church of God is united. The storm aroused by him who has  
worked evil from the beginning has ceased to vex her. And how has the union  
come about, and the storm subsided? Those who were sundered from us,  
and, clinging to their separation, were set apart in their own opinion, have  
repented of their obstinacy and by God's Grace have concurred in our  
opinion; and what was sought by the Church has been confessed by them  
in common; and, in a word, having confessed their own error they have  
come into the arms of the Church that were mercifully opened to enfold them.  
For till today the Church has kept her arms closed, since they persisted in  
human error (for such is the condition of man), and, for what causes I do not  
know, chose to be disputatious. But now that, as God has approved it, all these  
disputes are removed, and holy peace has mediated, we have come together  
in union, and have received as our own children those who up till now were

ιδίοις συνήφθιμεν, καὶ λοιπόν ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία μιᾷ κεφαλῇ τῷ  
 πρώτῳ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀναξίτοις, ὅμως δ' οὖν |  
 ἀρχιερατεύειν ἡξιωμένοις, καὶ συναρμολογουμένη καὶ ἀταράχως διευθυ- D  
 35 νομένη, πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν, οἱ τὸ γνωρίζεσθαι μὴ ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ τρό-  
 που, ἵνα μὴ τὸν βίον ἀνώνυμοι διαπερῶσιν, ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν περινοούμενοι  
 κακίας τὸ δῆλοι τυγχάνειν, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῷ οἰκείῳ μερισμῷ λυπεῖν  
 τὴν ἐνότητα οὐ διευλαβοῦνται τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Πλὴν καὶ οὗτοι πάντως,  
 εἰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν εἰσιν τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέως ἡμῶν, ἀγα-  
 40 πῆσουσι τυχὸν μὲν νῦν τυχὸν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο συναρμολογεῖν τῇ ἑαυτῶν  
 κεφαλῇ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρᾶγμα οὐδέν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κείσονται εἰς ἣν ἡ τούτων  
 ἀπόνοια ἐξελέξατο χώραν, ἡ δὲ ἅγια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς ταραττούσης  
 αὐτὴν αἰτίας ἀπῆλλαγμένη ἔχει τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν εὐσταθῆ, εὐχαριστοῦσα  
 Χριστῷ τῷ νυμφίῳ αὐτῆς ὑπὲρ ὧν τε τῶν σκανδάλων ἀπῆλλακται καὶ  
 45 ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ οἰκεία κύκλω αὐτῆς παριστάμενα καθορᾷ τέκνα, ὅσους μὴ | ὁ  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποσλήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῆς μακαρίας οἰκειότητος καὶ νῦν 101  
 ἀποσλήσας τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ πληρώματος δεδύνηται.

Ταῦτά σοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὰ εὐαγγέλια, οἷς πέπεισμαι τὴν σὴν  
 εὐφρανθῆναι ψυχὴν ὅσον ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις παρέχειν  
 50 εὐφροσύνην εἰδόντων. Τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου τίς μοι τῷ λόγῳ συνεπιλήψεται;  
 Τίς συλλαοῦντί μοι τῇ φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ γλυκυτάτῃ ψυχῇ συμπαρέσται  
 κοινωνῶν τῷ λόγῳ; Καὶ ἀναμνήσομέν σε θεοῦ διδόντος οὐμενοῦν ἐπι-  
 λελησμένον τῆς οἰκειότητος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ οἶδα τί περὶ  
 αὐτῶν εἶπω, πλὴν ὅτι κακῶς διαθέσθαι τὰ Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων  
 55 πράγματα διανοηθέντων, εἴτε οἰκοθεν εἴτε ὑπὸ δαίμονος πονηροῦ πρὸς  
 τοῦτο κεκινημένων, τέως παρεξελθεῖν σε βιασαμένων καὶ εἰς πράγματα  
 καταστῆσαι ἃ μηδέποτε οὔτε αὐτὸς ἠλπισας, υἱέ μου φιλανθρωπότατε,  
 οὔτε ἡμεῖς οὔτε τις ἄλλος τῶν | τὴν σὴν γινωσκόντων ἢ ἀκουόντων φι- B  
 ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἡμερωτάτην ψυχὴν. Τίς γὰρ τοῦτό ποτε πρὶν γενέσθαι  
 60 προσεδόκησεν, ὅτι Συμεὼν ὁ διὰ φρόνησιν μεγάλην, ὁ διὰ τὸ θεοφιλῆς  
 εἶναι εἰς μέγα δόξης τὸ Βουλγάρων ἔθνος ἀγαγὼν, ὁ πονηρίαν εἰ τίς ποτε  
 ἀνθρώπων μισῶν, ὁ δικαιοσύνην τιμῶν, ὁ βδελυσσόμενος ἀδικίαν, ὁ κρείτ-  
 των ἡδονῶν, ὁ τὴν γαστέρα κατάγχιον οὐδὲν ἤττον οἷς ἐν ἔρεσιν ἢ ζωῇ, ὁ  
 οἴνου ἀγευστος, ὁ κατ' οὐδὲν παραλλάσσων τῶν ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου ζῆν  
 65 ἐπαγγελλομένων ἢ ἐν μόνῃ τῇ κυβερνήσει τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ δεδομένης  
 αὐτῷ ἀρχῆς—τίς ἂν οὖν προσδοκίαν ἔσχεν ὡς ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ οὕτω θεοφι-

32-34: Ephes. 4.16. || 62: Ps. 118.163.

32 μιᾷ κεφαλῇ Jk: μία κεφαλῇ P || 52 κοινωνῶν P<sup>c</sup>: κοινῶν P<sup>1</sup> || 63 fort. <τῶν> ὡς

divided from us, and have knit ourselves to them as to our own members,  
 and therefore is the Church of God joined together and quietly governed by  
 one Head, our first High Priest and God, and by me who, though unworthy,  
 have been honored with the highpriesthood. There are a few exceptions who,  
 unable to gain an honorable repute and yet unwilling to pass unnoted through  
 life, have resolved, out of their proper malice, to be as notorious as they can  
 by their own factiousness, and therefore do not scruple to injure the union of  
 the Church; yet assuredly even they, if they are of our Head, of our great God  
 and High Priest, will decide either now or later on to be joined together with  
 their proper Head. If they do not, it does not matter. They will lie in the place  
 their madness has chosen for them. But the holy Church of God, freed from  
 the cause that vexed her, has her own order firmly fixed, and gives thanks to  
 Christ her Bride-groom for that she is cleared of offenses, and beholds her  
 own sons standing around her, as many as he who from the beginning has  
 robbed man of his blessed familiarity has, on this occasion, been unable to  
 snatch from the priestly complement.

These are my glad tidings to you (my Son) by which I am convinced  
 that your soul is rejoiced more than by any other of those things that can  
 bring joy to men. But, for what follows, who will support me in what I say?  
 Who will stand by me, and speak with me, and share in my address to your  
 merciful and most sweet soul? And we shall remind you of your proper  
 gentleness, God granting you be not unmindful of it yourself, but, under  
 compulsion of men of whom I hardly know what to say, except that, moti-  
 vated either by themselves or by the evil demon, they resolved to embroil  
 the affairs of Bulgarians and Romans, have been forced for the time to  
 deviate from it, and to resort to measures which neither you yourself had  
 ever envisaged (my most merciful Son), nor we, nor anyone else who knew or  
 had heard of your merciful and most tranquil spirit. For who could ever  
 have anticipated that Symeon, who for his great wisdom, for the favor shown  
 him by Heaven, has led the Bulgarian nation to a height of glory, who more  
 than ever any man detests knavery, who honors justice, who abominates in-  
 justice, who is above sensual pleasures, who stints his belly like a hermit on  
 the mountains, who tastes no wine, who differs from those who profess to live  
 out of the world in nothing except only in his government of the rule granted  
 to him by God—who (*I say*) could ever have anticipated that such a man, so

λῆς ἀνθρώπος εἰς τὰ νῦν καταλαβόντα χαλεπὰ Ῥωμαίους περιστήσει καὶ  
 Βουλγάρους καὶ τὴν | ἄπειρον τῶν αἱμάτων χύσιν καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην ἐρη- C  
 μίαν, οἴμοι, ἐρημίαν ἐκκλησιῶν θεοῦ, διαιτημάτων παρθένων, αἱ πολ-  
 70 λάκις καὶ τὸ ἀναπνεῖν τὸν ἀέρα ἐφείδοντο, μοναστηρίων ἀνδρῶν, οὐ  
 νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν θεὸς ὑμνολογεῖτο καὶ ἐδοξάζετο; Τί με δεῖ λέγειν  
 πόλεων, χώρας ἄλλης, οἴκων, ὅσα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς παραμυθίαν σπου-  
 δάζεται τῆς ζωῆς, τὴν ἄλλην συμφορὰν ὅση τὸ ἀνθρώπινον συνέσχεν,  
 75 καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀντὶ τῆς πρώην Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων εὐζωίας, τὴν  
 ἐλεεινὴν ταύτην μεταβολὴν εἰς ἣν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου κακῶν περιέστη-  
 σεν; Οὐκ ἐχθρῶν τοῦτο διαπραξαμένων, οὐ τῶν ἔξω τῆς μάδρας τοῦ  
 ἀληθινοῦ ποιμένος Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, οὐ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τῆς | κλη- D  
 ρονομίας τῆς πίστεως, ἀλλὰ τίνων; Αἰαῖ τῶν ἐμῶν βαρυτάτων παθῶν,  
 80 φεῦ τοῦ ἐλεεινοῦ διηγγήματος. Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ πατέρας ἐξεβαρβαρώ-  
 θη τὰ τέκνα, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐξεθριώθησαν,  
 οἱ κληρονόμοι τῆς πίστεως καὶ συγκαληρονόμοι τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐξεπολεμώθησαν. Τίς ἂν ποτε ἠλπισεν (καὶ πάλιν ἐρῶ)  
 τοιαῦτα πάθη καὶ τοιοῦτων συμφορῶν πράγματα πρὸ τοῦ ἐν ὄψει ταῦτα  
 85 ἰδεῖν Ῥωμαίους καὶ Βουλγάρους καταλαβεῖν;

Ἄλλὰ γάρ, τέκνον ἡμῶν θεοφροῦρητον, εἰ καὶ κατέλαβεν τοιαῦτα,  
 ὡς εἶθε μὴ ὄφελεν, κατέλαβεν ἐξ ἐπηρείας τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος, κατέ-  
 λαβεν ἐκ φθόνου τοῦ πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποις | φθονοῦντος, μάλιστα δὲ 104  
 Χριστιανοῖς· κατὰ Χριστιανῶν γὰρ μᾶλλον πρὸς φθόνον ἐξάπτεται ὁ  
 90 διάβολος, διότι τούτους οἶδεν πολεμιωτάτους αὐτῷ, διότι παρὰ Χριστια-  
 νῶν ἐκ πάσης ἀπηλάθη τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ Χριστιανοὶ μέχρι καὶ σήμερον  
 τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτοῦ ταπεινοῦσιν, καὶ ἦν κακῶς ὠκοδόμησε τυραννίδα,  
 ταύτην διὰ παντός καταλύουσιν. Διὰ ταῦτα μαινεται κατὰ Χριστιανῶν,  
 διὰ ταῦτα παντοῖος γίνεται εἰς τὸ καθ' ὅσον δύναται ἀντιλυπεῖν καὶ  
 95 συμφοραῖς περιβάλλειν αὐτούς.

Ἦκε μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἶπον, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου κακίας τὰ δεινὰ ταῦτα  
 καὶ πέρα δεινῶν· ἦκε δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο μὲν τῇ ἐκείνου κακίᾳ  
 ὑπουργούντων. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δυστυχούντων εἰς φρένας καὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν  
 μᾶλλον τῶν χειρόνων ἢ τῶν τῶν καλῶν ποιουμένων· οἱ καὶ τὸν πρὸς σὲ ἀνή-  
 100 ραντο πόλεμον, εἴτε | τῷ πονηρῷ δαίμονι συνεργοῦντες εἴτε διὰ φρενῶν B  
 δυστυχίαν τοῦτο βουλευθέντες καὶ τὴν σὴν γλυκεῖαν ψυχὴν οὕτω διαπεθει-

96-97: cf. Demosth., Or. 45.73.

76-77 fort. περιέστησαν

much beloved of God, could be author of the evils which now beset Romans  
 and Bulgarians—the infinite bloodshed, the great devastation, devastation  
 (alas!) of churches of God, of the abodes of virgins who were often thrifty  
 of the very air they breathe, of the monasteries of men in which night and  
 day God was hymned and glorified? What need I say of cities, or of country-  
 side, of houses, things cultivated by mankind for the comfort of life, of the  
 general disaster which has afflicted humanity—widowhood, I say, orphanage,  
 deprivation of brethren, captivity, slavery, and, in a word, in exchange for  
 that former prosperity of Bulgarians and Romans, this miserable alteration  
 which it has undergone owing to the evils of war? This is not the work of  
 enemies, nor of those outside the fold of the true Shepherd Christ our God,  
 nor of aliens to the heritage of the Faith, but of whom? Oh! Oh! for my  
 most heavy sufferings! Alas, for the pitiable story! Sons have become  
 ensavaged against their fathers in Christ, and the sheep of Christ have gone  
 wild against one another, the heirs of the Faith and the coheirs of Christ's  
 glory have been embroiled against themselves! Who would ever have ex-  
 pected—I say once again—that such sufferings, and circumstances so disas-  
 trous, could come on Romans and Bulgarians, until he saw them with his  
 own eyes?

But (my God-guarded Son), if such things have happened (as would  
 God they had not!), they have happened through the malice of the evil  
 demon, they have happened through the envy of him who envies all men  
 generally but Christians most of all: for the devil is incensed to greater envy  
 against Christians because he sees they are his chiefest foes, because by  
 Christians he has been driven out of all the inhabited world, and Christians  
 are still humbling his domination, and continually pulling down that structure  
 of usurpation which he has evilly built. Therefore he rages against Christians,  
 therefore he tries every device, so far as he can, to retaliate on them and  
 overwhelm them with disasters.

So then, as I say, it is from the devil's malice that these fearful, these  
 more than fearful, ills have come upon us; but they have come also from men,  
 who were partly the ministers of his malice, partly out of their own wits and  
 choosing evil for good: who embarked on the war against you, either in  
 partnership with the evil demon, or acting out of delusion of wits, and thus  
 bringing your sweet soul to its present disposition. For it often happens that

κότες. Ἐπεὶ καὶ πέφυκε πολλάκις καὶ μικρὸς σπινθὴρ ἄσβεστον φλόγα ἐξάπτειν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνων ὁ ἐξ ἀφροσύνης ἐμπεσῶν σπινθὴρ εἰς τὴν σὴν καρδίαν ἀνῆψε τὴν μεγάλην ταύτην φλόγα καὶ τέως  
105 ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀκατάσβεστον.

Ἄλλὰ μή, τέκνον μου ποθεινόν, μὴ οὕτω νικήσωσιν τὰ κακὰ, μηδὲ θεοφιλῆς ἀνθρώπος ὅποιος εἶ σὺ καὶ μὴ ἔχων ἐν φρονήσει παρισούμενον τῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸν γενεᾷ καὶ εἰς ψυχῆς εὐγένειαν ἀσύγκριτος, ἀνθρώπων χυδαίων καὶ τί ἄλλο ἢ μηδὲ ὀβολοῦ ἀξίων, ἡττηθῆς τῆς κακίας· μηδ'  
110 ὅτι ἐπίκραναν ἀνθρώποι τοιοῦτοι, διὰ τοῦτο βουληθῶμεν ἀθάνατον ἔχειν πικρίαν κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐξουσίας, ἧς ἐπίστασαι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων εὐεργεσιῶν ἐν ἀπολαύσει γενόμενος. Τί γὰρ πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν C ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν υποχείριον αὐτῆς λαόν, εἰ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, λόγου μηδενὸς ἀνθρωπάρια, εἰς τὸ κατὰ σοῦ ἐξηνέχθησαν θράσος; Τί ταῦτα πρὸς  
115 τὸν βασιλέα τὸν μηδὲν συνειδότα, εἰ ἀνθρώποι τὰ ἐκείνου πράγματα κακῶς διοικοῦντες τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην περὶ σοῦ ἀνελάβοντο; Πλὴν ἐλυπήθης; ἔχεις ἱκανὴν τὴν δίκην κατὰ τῶν λυπησάντων, μᾶλλον δὲ πολὺ τοῦ ἱκανοῦ υπεραίρουσαν. Ὅταν γὰρ τις τὸν ἀδικῆσαι μελετήσαντα κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ὑποβάλλῃ τῆς ζημίας, μὴ λίαν πικρὸς ὢν ἔχει τὸ ἱκανόν· ὅταν δὲ καὶ εἰς  
120 τὸ ἀπειροπλάσιον, πῶς ἔχει χώραν ἔτι χαλεπαίνειν καὶ πλέον λυπεῖν βούλεσθαι τὸν λυπήσαντα; Καὶ οὐ λέγω περὶ τινος τοῦ κατὰ σὲ ἡμέρου καὶ φιλανθρώπου, ἀλλ' οἷος ἂν ἦ ἀφιλόανθρωπος καὶ ἀνήμερος παύσεται πάντως τῆς πικρίας καὶ κατασβέσει τὸ | πῦρ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ σπείσεται D πρὸς τὸν ἀρῆσαι χειρῶν ἀδίκων ἀπονοηθέντα. Ναὶ δὴ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, λήξον  
125 καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ὀργῆς, καὶ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἡμερον ἐπάνελθε, καὶ δὸς παῦσιν ταῖς ἀνθρωποφονίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις συμφοραῖς ὅσαι παρὰ Χριστιανῶν εἰς Χριστιανούς μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος γεγόνασι.

Λέγω σοι ταῦτα, τέκνον μου γλυκύτατον, νῦν μὲν διὰ μέλανος· εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἢ πάντα νοῦν ὑπερέχουσα εἰρήνη, διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ  
130 παρακλήσεως τὴν σὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ διαθήσει ψυχὴν, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ κατὰ πρόσωπόν σοι ἐμφανισθῶμεν καὶ οἰκεία γλώσση ταῦτά τε καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον ἐπιζητήσῃ τὰ πράγματα εἰπωμεν, ἔτοιμοί ἐσμεν πρὸς σὲ ἦκειν, καὶ οὐ δειλιῶμεν τὸ γῆρας οὔτε τὴν ἀσθένειαν οὔτε τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὀδοπορίας ταλαιπωρίαν, ἂν μόνον πρὸς εἰρήνην ἐπινεύειν ἢ σὴ ἀγαπήσῃ ἀρετῇ.  
135 Δήλου τοίνυν ἡμῖν εἰ τοῦτο θεὸς ἐπὶ νοῦν σοι τέθεικεν τὸ μέγα καὶ σωτήριον πρᾶγμα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Βουλγάρους, πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸν ἐμὲ παραγενέσθαι

129: Phil. 4.7.

102 καὶ<sup>1</sup> leg. ὡς? || 108 ἑαυτὸν Wk: -ῶν P || 121 τοῦ P<sup>x</sup>: τὸ P<sup>1</sup> || 122 οἷος P<sup>c</sup>: οἷς P<sup>1</sup> || 134 ἀγαπήσει P<sup>1</sup>: -ῃ P<sup>c</sup>

a small spark kindles an unquenchable flame, and just so the spark of those men's folly, falling into your heart, has kindled this mighty flame which it has hitherto been impossible to quench.

Yet no (my tenderly beloved Son), let not the evils so prevail! Let not a man beloved of God, as you are, a man who has not his equal for wisdom in his generation, a man incomparable for his nobility of soul, be defeated by the malice of wretches not worth a farthing! Because such creatures embittered you, let us not desire that your bitterness shall be eternal against the Roman Empire, from which, as you know, you have received many and great benefactions. How are the Roman Empire and the people subject to it responsible if some worthless pygmies or other were carried away into rashly attacking you? How is the emperor to blame, who knew nothing about it, if those who were badly administering his affairs undertook this same plan against you? But, you were hurt? You have had ample revenge against those who hurt you, indeed far more than ample. For when one subjects the man who has tried to injure him to the penalty that is equal with the crime, he has, if he be not vindictive, an ample requital; but when that penalty is infinitely multiplied, how can the injured persist in his resentment and wish to continue to injure his injurer? I do not speak of anyone as gentle and merciful as you are; but however merciless and harsh he may be, he will certainly leave his bitterness, and quench the fire of his anger, and make his peace with him who was mad enough to raise up unjust hands. Yea (my Son), do you too leave your anger, and return to your native tranquillity, and give pause to the murdering of men, and to those other disasters which are still being inflicted by Christians upon Christians.

I say this to you (my most sweet Son) presently through the medium of the pen; but if Christ our God, Who is the peace that passeth all understanding, shall through His entreaty so dispose your heart, that I may myself appear before your face and with my own voice speak this and whatever else the circumstances shall require, I shall be ready to come to you, and shall not yield to age or sickness or the hardship of the journey, if only your Virtue shall consent to grant peace. Declare then to me whether God has commended to your heart this mighty work of salvation for Romans and Bulgarians, so that I may myself come, in whatever place be possible, and

καθ' ὃν ἂν δυνατὸν ἔστι γενέσθαι τόπον καὶ θεάσασθαι σε τὸ ἐμοὶ ποθει-  
 νότατον θέαμα καὶ συλλαλῆσαι τὰ πρόσφορα καὶ συμφέροντα περὶ τῆς  
 ἐν θεῷ ἀπό γε τοῦ νῦν εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς κοινῆς καταστάσεως· δήλου δὲ  
 140 διὰ τοῦ ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς κατασχεθέντας Ῥωμαῖκούς ἀποκρισιαρίους καὶ  
 τῷ ἦρειν διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν γλώσσης σὺν τῷ γράμματί σου τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν  
 τῆς φιλοθέου σου προαιρέσεως, ἵν' οὕτως μετὰ πληροφορίας ἑαυτοὺς  
 ἐκδεδωκότες προθύμως, εἰ καὶ ὑπὲρ δύνάμιν ἡμῶν τὸ πρᾶγμα, πρὸς τοὺς  
 πόνους | τῆς πορείας, εἴτε πρὸς τὴν Μεσημβρίαν ἢ ἄλλοθι οὐ ἂν ἀρέσῃ κα- B  
 145 ταλάβωμεν. Καὶ ὅσα συμφέρει Βουλγάρους καὶ Ῥωμαίους εἰπεῖν καὶ  
 ἀκοῦσαι, ῥηθήσεται, δι' ὧν λήξει μὲν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, βραβευθήσεται δὲ  
 εἰρήνη, ἐφ' ἣ δοξασθήσεται ὁ θεός, καταισχυνηθήσεται δὲ διάβολος καὶ  
 οἱ τοῦτῳ ἐξυπηρησάμενοι, μεγαλυνθήσεται δὲ καὶ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἐν τε  
 τῷ παρόντι αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι· καὶ βιώσουσιν ἐν ἀναπαύσει καὶ  
 150 ἀπαλλαγῇ τῶν κακῶν ὃ τε ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν χεῖρα δεδομένος λαὸς καὶ οἱ  
 τελοῦντες ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἧτις ἐν θεῷ καὶ διδάσκαλός σοι καὶ ὁδηγός  
 [καὶ] πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἐγένετο, καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθνῶν ἀναλαβομένη πρὸς  
 τὰ πολλῶν κρείττονα καὶ ὑπερέχοντα μετέστησεν, καὶ τοῦ δοξάζεσθαι  
 καὶ σεμνύνεσθαι καὶ ὄντως τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀρχικὴ μοῖρα γνωρίζεσθαι τὰς  
 155 ἀφορμὰς ἐμπαρέσχετο.

## 15. Τῷ αὐτῷ

C

Τὰ γράμματά σου, θεοτίμητε ἡμῶν υἱέ, δεξάμενοι χαρᾶς ἀληθοῦς  
 καὶ πνευματικῆς ἐπλήσθημεν ἡδονῆς, καὶ ἐπηυξάμεθα, εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοί,  
 ἀνθ' ὧν οὕτω πρόθυμος ἐγένου εἰς πρόσωπον ἐλθεῖν τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινό-  
 5 τητος, ἀξιοθῆναί σε τοῦ προσώπου θεατὴν γενέσθαι μετ' εὐπαρρησιάστου  
 συνειδήσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅταν ἐρῇ τοῖς ἀξίοις τῆς  
 μακαρίας ἐκείνης φωνῆς· «Δεῦτε, οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, κληρο-  
 νομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.»  
 Τοῦτο μὲν ἠυξάμεθά σοι καὶ εὐχόμεθα, διότι ἐμφανισθῆναι αὐτίκα τῇ  
 10 δηλώσει τῷ ἡμετέρῳ προσθυμῆτης προσ|ώπῳ· παράσχοι δὲ ὁ αὐτός D  
 κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἡ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν εἰρήνη, ἡ ἀγάπη,  
 ἡ ἀλήθεια, ἡ σωτηρία ἡμῶν, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον προσεὔξασθαι ὑμῖν διὰ

15: 7-8: Matth. 25.34. || 11: Phil. 4.7.

152 καὶ<sup>1</sup> del. Jk

15: P 106v-108r || 12 ὑμῖν Vat.: ἡμῖν P

may behold you, the sight most longingly desired by me, and talk over with  
 you what may be suitable and profitable concerning the peace which, in God,  
 shall ensue, now at last, and our common condition. Declare it by the dispatch  
 of the Roman envoys whom you have detained, and by the coming, in their  
 mouths and with a letter from you, of the proclamation of your God-loving  
 purpose; so that, thus assured, I may set out with eagerness (even though in  
 respect of the hardship of the journey the undertaking be beyond my strength)  
 either for Mesembria, or come wherever else you will. And all that is of use  
 for Bulgarians and Romans to say and to hear shall be said, and thus the  
 things of war shall cease and peace be accorded to us: at which God shall be  
 glorified, and the devil shamed and those who have ministered to him; and  
 your name shall be magnified in the present age and in the age to come; and  
 they shall dwell in rest and freedom from evils, both the people that is given  
 to be beneath your hand and they who are beneath the empire; which  
 empire has been, in God, your teacher and guide unto salvation, which  
 raised you out of your ancient customs and changed you to those that are  
 far better and superior, and gave you occasions to be glorified and exalted,  
 and to be known truly as a princely portion of Christ.

## 15. To the Same

On receipt of your letter (my Son honored of God), I was filled with  
 true and spiritual joy, and prayed, albeit a sinner, that, because you have  
 been so ready to come and meet my Humility, you may be found worthy,  
 with a frank and clear conscience, to behold the face of our Lord Jesus Christ,  
 when He shall say to those who are worthy of that blessed utterance: "Come,  
 ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom that has been prepared for you  
 from the beginning of the world." This was and is my prayer for you, since  
 by your declaration you are ready to show yourself at once to my face. And  
 may the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the Peace which passeth all  
 understanding, our Love, our Truth, our Salvation, grant that I may pray

βίου παντός, ὅσαι τῆς ταπεινῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν αἱ βραχεῖαι ἡμέραι, ὑπὲρ  
 ὧν καὶ ἔτι πρόθυμος κατανεύειν ὀφθῆσθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις οὐδὲ  
 15 ἤκοντες πρὸς σὲ φθνεζόμεθα σὺν θεῷ τῷ διδόντι λόγον συνέσεως ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς κοινῆς εὐζωίας καὶ ἀναπαύσεως τοῦ Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων  
 γένους.

Ἄλλ' οὕτω μὲν ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ γράμματος, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐξ ἱερᾶς  
 ἀπάρχεται ἡμῖν εὐχῆς ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν, καὶ ἂ μεταξὺ τοῦ γράμματος  
 20 ἐνεφέρετο, χάριν τοῦ μὴ ὀχληροὶ γενέσθαι τῷ μήκει τῶν λόγων, μάλιστα  
 ὅτι ἐλπίζομεν θεοῦ βουλομένου στόμα πρὸς στόμα λαλῆσαι, περιττὸν  
 ἡγησάμεθα γράφειν. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ μόνον ὡς ἀναγκαῖον γράφομεν, ἡγαπη- 108  
 μένε μου υἱὲ καὶ δεδοξασμένε, ὡς καὶ τὸ γῆρας ὀπίσω ρίπτομεν καὶ τὸ  
 ἀσθενὲς παρορῶμεν τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπίπονα καὶ λυπηρὰ  
 25 καὶ τὴν ὄλην ταλαιπωρίαν οὐχ ὑπολογιζόμεθα, ἐὰν μόνον πληροφορίαν  
 παράσχῃς ἡμῖν ὅτι παρακέκληται ἡ σὴ τιμία ψυχὴ μὴ ἀτιμάσαι τὸν κόπον  
 ἡμῶν, μηδὲ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἣν ποιήσεται πρὸς σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, γηραιὸς  
 πατὴρ καὶ συντετριμμένος, ἀνήκοον ἀποστρέψῃς καὶ παραλελογισμένην.  
 Ποιήσομαι δὲ πάντως πρεσβείαν καὶ σοί, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐπαφελῆ, καὶ τοῖς  
 30 Ῥωμαίοις οὐ παντάπασι ἐπιβαρῆ καὶ ἀφόρητον.

Εἰ οὖν, ὡς εἶπον, πάντως οὕτως παρακέκλησαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ, δεῦτερον δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἐμφρονεστάτης διασκέψεως, καὶ τρί-  
 τον, εἴ τίς σοι λόγος καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινότητος, ὑπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας |  
 δεήσεως, ἐλεύσομαι πρὸς σέ καὶ ψυχῇ πτερούμενος καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ B  
 35 τῶν βαρυνόντων πάντων τὴν ἐμὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸ γῆρας ἐπιλεησμένος.  
 Εἰ δ', ὅπερ ἀπευχόμεθα, ἔτι κάκεινα τὰ προλαβόντα σκάνδαλα (ἀλλὰ μὴ  
 συγχωρήσῃ θεός) ἐν τῇ σῇ διαμένουσι ψυχῇ, καὶ αἱ βουλαὶ καὶ σκέψεις  
 αἱ ἀθλίους εἰργάσαντο Ῥωμαίους καὶ Βουλγάρους, καὶ ἔτι περὶ τῆς  
 Ῥωμαϊκῆς βασιλείας τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἐν σεαυτῷ λογισμοὺς φέρεις, αὐτὸν  
 40 σοὶ προβάλλομαι μεσίτην, αὐτὸν ἄγγελον τὸν τῆς βουλῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ  
 πατρὸς ἄγγελον, ἣν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπακτόνου δαίμονος ἐκπολεωμέ-  
 νοις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἠγγειλεν, καὶ τῇ φιλανθρώπῳ ἀγγελίᾳ ἔπαυσε μὲν τὸν  
 αἰώνιον πόλεμον, ἐξείλεν δὲ τὸ τῆς ἐχθρας μεσότοιχον, καὶ εἰς ἐνότητα  
 καὶ εἰρήνην | συνήγαγε τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. Ἄλλ' αὐτὸν σοὶ προβάλλομαι C  
 45 εἰς δυσώπησιν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν κύριον τῶν κυρίων,  
 τὸν βασιλεῖα τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ ἐξουσιάζοντα πάσης ἐξουσίας, φανε-  
 ρὰν ἡμῖν τὴν σὴν ποιῆσαι προαίρεσιν δι' ὧν ἀντιπέμψεις γραμμάτων·

21: 2 Ioann. 12; 3 Ioann. 14. || 40-41: Isai. 9.5. || 41-42: Ioann. 8.44. || 43: Ephes.  
 2.14. || 45-46: 1 Tim. 6.15.

27 ποιήσεται Jk: ποιῆσαι P (ποιεῖται Mai) || 29 σοὶ P\*: οὐ P<sup>1</sup> || 41 ἣν P\*: ἣν P<sup>1</sup>

yet more for you as long as I live, on each one of the few days remaining of  
 my humble existence, because, beyond this, you shall have been found also  
 ready to accede to the words which, when I come, I shall say to you, with the  
 help of God Who giveth the word of understanding, on behalf of the common  
 well-being and relief of the race of Bulgarians and Romans.

Thus, then (my Son) I begin my letter with the exordium of a holy  
 prayer; but for the rest and about those matters which were contained in  
 the body of your letter, I have thought it unnecessary to write, in order not  
 to be tedious in the length of my discourse and, especially, since I hope, if  
 it be God's will, to discuss them with you by word of mouth. But this one  
 thing I write, as it is essential (my beloved and glorious Son): I will cast old  
 age behind me, will disregard the weakness of nature, will count as nothing  
 the toils and pains and all the hardship of the journey, if only you will give  
 me your assurance that your honorable soul has been prevailed on not to  
 make a mock of my labors, and to dismiss unheard and neglected the inter-  
 cession which an aged, broken father *will* make to you, my Son. I shall  
 assuredly intercede with proposals which will be both profitable to you (my  
 Son), and not wholly burdensome and intolerable to the Romans.

If then, as I say, you are thus absolutely prevailed on, first by God,  
 second by your most prudent reflection, and third—if you have any regard  
 for my Humility—by my prayer, I will come to you as on the wings of soul  
 and body, forgetting all those clogs that lie heavy on my life and old age.  
 But if, which I pray is not so, those former offenses still lodge in your soul  
 (God forfend it!), and those designs and plans which have made Romans and  
 Bulgarians wretched, and if you still adhere to your old thoughts about  
 empire over the Romans, then I propose to you as Mediator, as Messenger,  
 Him Who was Himself the Messenger of the will of God His Father, which  
 He announced unto men who by the man-slaying demon had been embroiled  
 with one another from the beginning, and with His message of mercy stopped  
 the everlasting war, and removed the middle wall of enmity, and brought  
 mankind together in unity and peace. It is He, our Lord Jesus Christ, the  
 Lord of lords, the King of kings, the Powerful over every power, Whom I  
 nominate to entreat you to declare your purpose to me in your answering

ὥστε με μήτε κόπον ὑπομεῖναι διακενῆς μήτε παραγεγονότα ματαίους  
 φθέγγασθαι λόγους εἰς αἰσχύνην μὲν τῆς ἐμῆς πολιᾶς, εἰς γέλωτα δὲ  
 50 τῶν πολλάκις φιλοῦντων κατακερτομεῖν καὶ γελᾶν τὰ ἡμέτερα — οἶδας  
 δὲ φρόνιμος ὢν θεοῦ χάριτι ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων (οἷμοι τῆς ἀνθρω-  
 πίνης ἐλεεινότητος) τοιαύτης ὑπάρχουσι διαθέσεως — τυχόν δὲ καὶ εἰς κα-  
 τάκριμα τῆς σῆς τιμωτάτης ψυχῆς. Τὸ γὰρ μάτην κινῆσαι ἄνθρωπον  
 γέροντα, ἐξησθενημένον, ἀρχιερέα, εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιον, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σοῦ  
 55 προσώπου τοῦτον ἀγαγεῖν, εἶτα διακενῆς | ἀποστρέψαι μάταιον ὑπομε-  
 μνηκότα πόνον καὶ κάματον, γέλωτα δεδειγμένον τοῖς προαίρεσιν  
 ἔχουσιν καταγελαῖν ἡμῶν, σκέψαι, τέκνον μου ἡγαπημένον, μὴ οὐκ ἔστιν  
 ἀκατάκριτον τῇ σῇ φιλοθέῳ ψυχῇ. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐρρωμένον σε διαφυλάξει  
 Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀπὸ πάσης κακώσεως ὀρωμένης τε  
 60 καὶ ἀοράτου ὑψηλότερον συντηρῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ  
 ἀναπαύσεως καὶ δόξης τὴν κοινωνίαν παρεχόμενος.

## 16. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν, υἱέ μου θεοφρούρητε, ἀναγκαίως κεινίημαι,  
 τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων καθ' ἐκάστην νυττόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν, αἰ  
 διὰ τὰ κοινὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων συνέ-  
 5 χουσιν ἡμᾶς, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν φοβεράν τιμωρίαν, ἐὰν ἐπὶ  
 τοσοῦτοις κακοῖς σιγῶντες | διατελέσωμεν. Σκοποὶ γὰρ τεθέντες, εἰ καὶ 109  
 ἀνάξιοι, τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας, οὐ δυνάμεθα σιωπᾶν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ  
 αἷμα τῆς σφαγῆς Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀπαιτήσῃ ὁ κρίμα-  
 σιν οἷς οἶδεν θεὸς σκοπὸν καταστήσας ἡμᾶς. Διὰ τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ πλειστάκις  
 10 γράψαντες παρελογίσθημεν, ὅμως καὶ νῦν γράφομεν, δεόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ  
 τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι προσσχεῖν σοι δοῦναι  
 τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ῥῖψαι τοῦτον εἰς παραλογοισμὸν, οἷα ἐπὶ τῶν  
 προλαβόντων συμβέβηκεν.

Γράφω δέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οὐχ οἷα πρότερον μόνον περὶ εἰρήνης σε  
 15 δυσωπῶν, ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον ἀγωνιῶν καὶ πενθῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν μελ-  
 λόντων κινεῖσθαι κακῶν μεταξύ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων. Πάλιν γάρ  
 (οἷμοι τῆς ἐπηρείας τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος) στρατευμάτων πα[ρασκευῆ B

16: 6-9: Ezech. 33.1-9.

50 οἶδας P<sup>e</sup>: -α P<sup>i</sup>16: P 108r-110v || 2 τὸ Vat.: τῷ P || 17 ἐπηρείας P<sup>x</sup>: πονηρίας P<sup>i</sup>

letter: so that I may not undergo my labor in vain, nor present myself only  
 to speak to no purpose, to the shame of my grey hairs and to the jest of those  
 who frequently delight in ridiculing and jesting at what we do—you, who are  
 wise by God's grace, know that there are many men (alas for human misery!)  
 so disposed—and even perhaps to the condemnation of your own most  
 honorable soul. For to summon in vain an old man, decrepit, an archbishop  
 (though unworthy), and to bring him as far as to your presence, only to  
 dismiss him empty-handed, after he has endured pain and toil for nothing,  
 and been made a jest to those whose set purpose it is to ridicule me—think  
 (my beloved Son) that this is not to be excused in your God-loving soul. For  
 the rest, Christ our God keep you well, in this life preserving you above the  
 reach of all seen or unseen harm, and in the world to come granting you to  
 share in His repose and glory.

## 16. To the Same

Once more I am driven by necessity to write to you (my God-guarded  
 Son), partly because I am daily pierced to the heart by the griefs which  
 afflict me over the common sufferings and disasters of Romans and Bulgar-  
 ians, and partly because of the dreadful punishment beyond the grave if I  
 continue silent on such great evils. Set as I am to be the watchman (though  
 unworthy) over the salvation of men, I cannot be silent, lest He Who by His  
 inscrutable judgments has made me that watchman may require of me the  
 blood of the slaughter of Bulgarians and Romans. And so, although I have  
 very often written and been brushed aside, yet now I write once again,  
 beseeching God Who is the Author of all blessings that He will grant you  
 even now to attend to my discourse and not to reject it and brush it aside,  
 as has happened to its predecessors.

And I write (my Son) not as formerly to entreat you about peace alone,  
 but, in another fashion, to express my agony and sorrow concerning the evils  
 which are about to be stirred up between Roman and Bulgarians. For once  
 again—alas for the malice of the wicked demon!—there is preparation of



καὶ πανταχόθεν συλλογὴ καὶ κίνησις μυριάνθρωπος, οἷαν οὐ δύναμαι  
 παραστήσαι τῷ λόγῳ. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στενάζω καὶ ὀδύρομαι προβλέπων  
 20 καὶ κατανοῶν ὅσα ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης κινήσεως τῶν στρατοπέδων μεταξύ  
 'Ρωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων συμβήσεται χαλεπά, ὧν πάντως ἡ σύμβασις  
 κοινὴ Χριστιανοῖς συμφορὰ καὶ πικρὸν ἄλγος Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ  
 περιποιησαμένῳ ἑαυτῷ εἰς κληρονομίαν τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν γένος διὰ  
 τοῦ αἵματος τῆς ἁγίας πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ. Εἴτε γὰρ τὸ Βουλγάρων ἔθνος  
 25 ἀπολωλέναι γένοιτο, τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν περιγίνεται τὸ ἀλγεῖν·  
 εἴτε ὁ 'Ρωμαϊκὸς λαός, οἷα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράγματα, εἰς ὄλεθρον πε-  
 ριστῆ, καὶ οὕτως ἡ πάντων κεφαλὴ Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 ὀδυνώμενος ἔσται. Εἴτα οἱ τῶν τοσούτων αἴτιοι συμφορῶν τίνα ἔξουσιν  
 προσδοκίαν; Ποίαν καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ ζωὴν διανύσουσιν, εἴ γε τὸ ζῆν  
 30 αὐτοῖς περιέσται; Καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι βίῳ πορευόμενοι, μετὰ ποίας  
 ἐλπίδος ἐκεῖ πορεύονται; Πῶς τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ παραστήσονται;  
 Πῶς τὴν ἐκδεχομένην ὑπομενοῦσιν αὐτοὺς τιμωρίαν; Τίνα εὐρήσουσιν  
 ἀπολογίαν; Τίνα πρόφασιν προβαλοῦνται τῆς τοσαύτης τῶν Χριστιανῶν  
 ἀπωλείας;  
 35 Ταῦτά με συνέχει, τέκνον ἐμόν, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν νυκτί· διὰ C  
 ταῦτα σπαράσσομαι τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ σιγᾶν μὴ δυνάμενος τὸ γράμμα σοι  
 διαπέμπομαι. Ἀναλόγισαι, υἱέ μου, ἄξια ποιῶν τῆς σῆς μεγάλης συνέ-  
 σεως, τὰς χύσεις τῶν αἱμάτων 'Ρωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων, αἱ τὴν γῆν  
 ἐμόλυναν ὅτε ὁ παγχάλεπος ἐκεῖνος συνέστη πόλεμος μεταξύ τῶν γενῶν  
 40 ἐκατέρων. Ἐνθυμήθητι ὅση τότε συμφορὰ Βουλγάρους καὶ 'Ρωμαίους  
 ἀπῆντησεν, καὶ μὴ βουληθῆς ἔτι τοιαύτην ἡμέραν ἀποτρόπαιον ἐπιθεῖν.  
 Μὴ τοῦτό σε δόξῃ ἐπαίρειν ὅτι Βούλγαροι μὲν, εἰ καὶ πλεῖστοι μαχαίρας  
 ἔργον γεγόνασιν, ὅμως ὑπερεγένοντο, 'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ τὴν ἤτταν καὶ τὸ  
 ἔλαττον ἀπηνέγκαντο· οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῦ πολέμου τεταγμένα τὰ ἔργα, ἀλλ'  
 45 ἔχουσιν ἄδηλον τὴν ῥοπὴν καὶ πολλὰς τὰς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα | μεταβολὰς. Μὴ D  
 πάλιν οἴου τὴν νίκην μετὰ σοῦ γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος ὧν σκοπεῖ καὶ  
 τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, διότι πολλοὶ ἐστῶτες, ὡς ἐνόμιζον, ἐπ' ἀσφαλείας, ἔπεσον  
 πτώμα ἐξαισίον, καὶ πολλοὶ κείμενοι ἀνωρθώθησαν· πολλοὶ νενικηκότες  
 καὶ δόξαντες εἶναι ἀκαταμάχητοι αὐθωρὸν ἠττηθέντες ἀπώλοντο.  
 50 Οἶδα ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων, τέλειος ἐν φρονήσει τυγχάνων,  
 ταῦτα γινώσκεις· πλὴν καὶ ἡμεῖς γράφομεν οὐκ ἔξω γράφοντες τοῦ εἰκό- 112  
 τος. Δός μοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, τὴν σὴν εὐσύνετον ἀκοήν, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸ τῆς

23-24: Act. 20.28. || 47-48: Iob 20.5; 37.16. || 52-53: cf. Prov. 23.26.

29 ποίαν P<sup>c</sup>; -α P<sup>1</sup> || 46 fort. γενήσεσθαι || 47 ἔπεσον P<sup>x</sup>; ἐπιπτον (ut vid.) P<sup>1</sup>

military forces, and from every side muster and mobilization of tens of  
 thousands, such as I cannot describe. And for this I sigh and mourn, for I  
 foresee and realize how many cruelties among Romans and Bulgarians will  
 result from such a mobilization of forces. Their clash must be the common  
 disaster of Christians, and bitter grief to Christ our God, Who purchased the  
 race of the Christians for His Inheritance through the Blood of His holy Side.  
 For whether the nation of the Bulgarians is doomed to be destroyed, grief  
 must be the portion of our Christ and God; or whether the Roman army (as  
 may happen in war) meets with destruction, here too the Head of all, our  
 Christ and God, will be grieving over it. What then must the authors of  
 such disasters expect? What sort of life will they live here on earth, if they  
 survive? And, travelling to the life that is to come, with what hope shall  
 they travel thither? How shall they stand before God's face? How shall they  
 abide the punishment that awaits them? What defense shall they find? What  
 excuse shall they put forward for so great a destruction of Christians?

This afflicts me (my Son) by day and by night. By this my soul is  
 lacerated; and, unable to keep silent, I send you this letter. Reflect (my Son)  
 as befits your great wisdom, on the bloodshed of Romans and Bulgarians  
 which polluted the ground when that most cruel battle was joined between  
 their two races. Consider how great a disaster then came upon Bulgarians  
 and Romans, and do not desire to see the repetition of that ill-omened day.  
 Do not seem to be elated because the Bulgarians, though very many of them  
 fell by the sword, nonetheless won the day, while the Romans met with defeat  
 and loss: for the operations of battle are not always regulated; its balance is  
 uncertain, and there are many shiftings to and fro in either direction. Do not  
 conclude that the victory is again yours, but, as a man, consider human  
 fortunes. Many who stood, as they thought, in security have fallen a headlong  
 fall; and many who were prone have risen again; many who have conquered  
 and thought themselves invincible have that same hour been defeated and  
 destroyed.

I know that, in the perfection of your Wisdom, you know this without  
 my telling you: yet it is not out of place for me to write it too. Give me (my  
 Son) your intelligent hearing, or rather, before your hearing, your wise and



ἀκοῆς τὴν σὴν φρονίμην καὶ φιλότιμην ἐμοὶ ψυχὴν. Δώσεις δὲ προσέχων  
 τοῖς ἐμοῖς ῥήμασιν, ἀκούων λόγους πατρὸς καὶ πατρικῶς συμβουλευόντος  
 55 καὶ συμφερόντως, ὡς γε πεποιθήμεν ἐν θεῷ, καὶ πρὸς σὴν δόξαν καὶ ἐν  
 τῇ παρουσίᾳ ζωῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ, ἐν ἣ μάλιστα ἡ δόξα ἐπέραστος τοῖς  
 ὄντως ἐπιποθοῦσι τοῦ δοξάζεσθαι. Μὴ βουληθῆς τὴν συγκίνησιν τῶν  
 νῦν στρατευμάτων εἰς παράταξίν σοι καθισταμένην ἰδεῖν, μηδὲ πάλιν πο-  
 60 λυάνθρωπον σφαγὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων γενέσθαι, μηδ' ὡσπερ ἀνα-  
 καινισμὸν ἰδεῖν ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου τῶν συμφορῶν, μὴ ποτε πρὸς με-  
 ταμέλειαν καταστῶμεν ὅτε τυχὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ἀπαντήσεται ὕψους.  
 Φρονίμων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ, καὶ μάλιστα ὁποῖος ἀβ' τὸς εἶ, προορᾶν καὶ Β  
 προασφαλίζεσθαι τῶν κακῶν τὴν ἐπέλευσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπιρρίπτειν ἑαυτοῦς  
 ὡσπερ μύουσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰς τὴν πεῖραν αὐτῶν. Δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖς,  
 65 τέκνον ἐμόν, πλούτου καὶ λαμπροῦ ὀνόματος; Ἐξεστὶ σοὶ πειθόμενῳ  
 τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις μὴ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀποτυχεῖν. Καὶ πρόσσχες οἷς  
 λέγομεν. Κρίμασιν οἷς ἐξεπίσταται ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῆς βασιλείας  
 ἐνίδρυσεν, ὡς γε καὶ αὐτὸς οἴμαι διέγνωσ, τὸν κύριον Ῥωμανόν' συνάφθητι  
 κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν αὐτῷ, εἴτε πρὸς ἄρσενά παῖδα ἐκείνου θυγατέρα προσαρ-  
 70 μόζων, εἴτε πρὸς τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκείνου υἱὸν εἰς νυμφίον δεχόμενος.  
 Καὶ τούτου γινόμενον οὐδενὸς ἀποτεύξῃ τῶν καταθυμίων, ὅσα πρὸς  
 δόξαν τὴν πρέπουσαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἀφορᾷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ  
 Βουλγάρων γένει καὶ ὑπὸ σὲ τελοῦντι | λαῶ. Ἐπεζήτεις πρὸ τούτου C  
 κηδεῦσαι βασιλεῖ, καὶ τὴν σὴν ἐξάλτησιν παρὰ φαῦλον ἐποιήσαντο οἷς  
 75 ἔδοξε τοῦτο ποιεῖν· νῦν ἐξεστὶ σοὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ κηδεῖα σεμνύνεσθαι. Ἐπε-  
 θύμεις συγκηδεστής γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως, νῦν τοῦτό σοι φέρων  
 χαρίζεται ὁ καιρὸς. Καὶ μηδὲν σοὶ δόξη ἐναντίον τὸ νεωστὶ τοῦτον πρὸς  
 τὸ ὕψος τῆς βασιλείας ἀναδραμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνο κατανοῶν διὰ τῶν  
 πραγμάτων, ὅτι ὡσπερ χειραγωγούμενος ὑπὸ θεοῦ εὐκόλως οὕτως καὶ  
 80 ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν κατέστη, προθυμότερος  
 γενοῦ πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ γένους συνάφειαν. Γεγόνασι πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς,  
 ἀλλ' ἔσχον τινὰ παρακολουθοῦντα τῆς βασιλείας ἀνάξια· οὗτος δέ, καθὼς  
 ἔφην, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χειραγωγηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἤλθεν ἀρχήν.  
 Εἰ δέ μοι καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν κατάστασιν εἰς ἐνθύμησιν ἀναλα- D  
 85 βεῖν βουληθῆς, πλεον γνώσῃ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐδοκίαν. Οἶδεν  
 γὰρ σου ἡ τελειότης ὅσον πόνον ὁ κύριος Λέων ὑπέστη ὁ βασιλεύς, εἴτα καὶ  
 οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα διοικήσαντες, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶδον τέλος τῆς  
 ἑαυτῶν σπουδῆς, ὅτι μηδ' ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, βούλημα τοῦ θεοῦ· τούτου δὲ  
 καταστάτος ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων τῆς διοικήσεως, ἐλύθη μὲν

57 βουληθῆς P<sup>c</sup>: -εις P<sup>1</sup> || 70 θυγατέρα P<sup>x</sup>: -αν P<sup>1</sup> || 79 οὕτως P<sup>x</sup>: οὗτος P<sup>1</sup> || 85 βουληθῆς  
 P<sup>c</sup>: -εις P<sup>1</sup>

most dear heart. And this you shall do by heeding my words, and listening  
 to the discourse of a father who gives fatherly and profitable counsel, as with  
 God's help I believe I do, and such as promotes your glory both in this life  
 and in that which is to come, in which glory is especially coveted by those  
 who truly desire to be glorified. Do not desire to see this mobilized mass of  
 troops drawn up in battle array, nor again that manifold slaughter of Romans  
 and Bulgarians, nor a repetition of the disasters of that field, lest one day we  
 repent when perhaps repentance will be unavailing. It is the duty of wise men,  
 and especially of such as you, to foresee and guard against the onset of evils,  
 and not to hurl themselves blindly forward to meet them. Do you desire  
 glory, my son? Riches and a bright name? If you will be ruled by me, you  
 may attain your desire. Now attend to what I say. God by His inscrutable  
 Judgments has established on the throne of the empire (as I dare say you  
 have heard yourself) the Lord Romanus: join yourself to him in a marriage  
 relationship, either uniting your daughter to one of his sons, or else allowing  
 your son to be bridegroom of his daughter. If you do this, you will attain all  
 your desires, both regarding the glory and felicity suitable to yourself and  
 also for the whole Bulgarian race and the people whom you govern. You were  
 demanding formerly a marriage alliance with the emperor, and your demand  
 was rejected by those who saw fit to do so: now it is in your power to be  
 exalted by such a marriage alliance. You desired to be the relative by marriage  
 of the emperor of the Romans: now opportunity brings you this gift. Think  
 it no obstacle that he has but recently ascended to the height of empire, but  
 rather conclude from the facts that he was led by the hand of God and was  
 thus so easily—more so than almost any other—set on the throne. Let this  
 make you the more ready for this connection of your race with his: many  
 have been made emperors, yet there have been some things attaching to  
 them that were unworthy of empire. But he, as I say, attained to this rule as  
 though guided by the very hand of God.

If, moreover, you will take the condition of the Church into consider-  
 ation, you will better realize the favor of God shown to this man. Your  
 Honor is aware how much toil was undergone by Lord Leo the emperor, and  
 then by those who governed our commonwealth after him; but they did not  
 see the fulfillment of their efforts, since this was not, it seems, the will of  
 God. But when he, *Romanus*, was appointed to govern our state, then those

90 ἐκεῖνα τὰ πολυχρόνια σκάνδαλα καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πολὺς κλύδων καὶ  
 τάραχος, καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων ἐν γαλήνῃ καὶ εἰρήνῃ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁρᾶται,  
 καὶ οἱ μαχόμενοι καὶ διεστῶτες τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χάριτι συνῆλθον  
 πρὸς ἔνωσιν· πόθεν ἐτέρωθεν ἢ πάντως τῆς θείας ἡμῖν συναραμένης  
 προνοίας καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις εὐδοκησάσης καταπραχθῆναι; 113

95 Ταῦτα προστεθείκαμεν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς εἰδῆς ὅτι μὴ ἀθεεὶ ἐγχε-  
 χείρισται τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ ἵνα τοῦτο εἰδῶς ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 εἶχες ἐπὶ τὸ κηδεῦσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔφρουν νῦν εἰ βούλοιο  
 τελειουμένην ἕξις καὶ καταστῆς ἀληθῶς εἰς ἔνωσιν τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ βασιλείᾳ,  
 καὶ διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνώσεως πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπά, πάντα δὲ τὰ ὀδυ-  
 100 νηρὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων ἐκποδῶν γένηται, πᾶσα δὲ ἄνεσις καὶ  
 ἀπόλαυσις καὶ ὅση τὸν βίον τοῦτον ἡδονὴ φαιδρύνει ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς  
 γένεσιν ἐπιδαφιλευθήσεται. Καὶ γὰρ τῶν τέκνων ὑμῶν εἰς γάμον συνα-  
 πτομένων πεποιθήσιν ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὡς πᾶν εἴ τι καλὸν καὶ ἡδὺ  
 καταλήψεται ὑμᾶς, εἴ τι δὲ ἐναντίον καὶ ἀνιαρὸν διαφεύξεται, μηκέτι  
 105 χώραν ἔχοντος τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος ἢ τῶν μιμουμένων τὴν ἐκείνου πο-  
 νηρίαν ἀνθρώπων τὰ οἰκεῖα πράττειν καὶ ἐνεργεῖν.

## 17. Τῷ αὐτῷ

B

Εἰ καὶ πολλάκις ἐγράψαμεν τὰς κοινὰς ἀποδυσρόμενοι συμφορὰς  
 ὅσαι Βουλγάρους καὶ Ῥωμαίους συνέχουσιν, υἱέ μου ἠγαπημένε καὶ  
 μεγαλόδοξε· εἰ καὶ πολλάκις ἐδυσωπήσαμεν καὶ συχνὰς προσηνέγκαμεν  
 5 παρακλήσεις, καὶ προσελθεῖν τῷ ὠτίῳ σου οὐκ ἐξεγένετο τοῖς λόγοις  
 ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ χαμαὶ τούτους ἀπέριψας καὶ οὔτε ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ  
 πατρὸς ἐδυσώπησέν σε τὸ γῆρας οὔτε ἀρχαία φιλία οὔτε τὸ τῆς ἱερω-  
 σύνης αἰδέσιμον ἦν εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιοι κατηξιώθημεν φέρειν, οὔτε, τὸ πάντων  
 ἀναγκαιότατον, αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύομεν, ὑπὲρ ἀγάπης,  
 10 ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ ἀνακοπῆς αἱμάτων Χριστιανικῶν χύσεως καὶ σφαγῆς C  
 (καίτοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης σου ἀρετῆς καὶ τὰ θεῖα λόγια  
 μελετῶν οὐκ ἄγνωστὸς ἂν πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς ὁ κύριος ἔλεγεν· «Ὁ ἀθετῶν  
 ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ,» ὧν ἡ διαδοχὴ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν εἰς ἡμᾶς

103 : 2 Cor. 3.4.

17: 12-13: Luc. 10.16.

long-standing offenses were dissolved, and that mighty tempest and distur-  
 bance of the Church; and, instead, the affairs of the Church are seen to be in  
 calm and peace, and those who fought and were divided have come together  
 in union by the Grace of the Holy Spirit. How can this have come about  
 except by the undoubted assistance of Divine Providence, Which has  
 approved that it should be performed in these days?

I add this so that you may know that it was not without God's favor  
 that the scepter of empire was put into his hand, and, knowing this, may  
 now, if you will, perfect the desire you have had from the beginning for a  
 marriage alliance with the emperor of the Romans, and may be truly in union  
 with the Roman Empire. And through this union all the cruelties and pains  
 of Romans and Bulgarians shall be cast out, and all ease and felicity, and  
 every pleasure that gladdens this life, shall be enjoyed in rich abundance by  
 both races. For when your children are joined in marriage, then I believe in  
 God that every blessing and joy will light upon you, and what is opposite  
 and painful will vanish away, there being no longer a place for the evil demon,  
 and for those men who imitate his wickedness, to do and to effect their own  
 works.

## 17. To the Same

Though I have often written to lament the common disasters which  
 afflict Bulgarians and Romans (my beloved and most glorious Son), and  
 though I have often entreated, and preferred numerous requests, yet my  
 words have not succeeded in gaining a hearing: you have cast them to the  
 ground, and you have not been prevailed on either by the old age of a  
 humble, and sinful, father, or by our ancient friendship, or by respect for the  
 priesthood with which (though unworthy) I have been honored, or yet by  
 that most pressing of all arguments, which is the very matter for which I now  
 intercede—for love, for peace, for cessation of Christian bloodshed and  
 slaughter; and yet (my Son) as a student, along with your other virtues, of  
 the Divine Words, you are not ignorant of what Our Lord said to His dis-  
 ciples: "He that rejecteth you, rejecteth me," and their succession has come

κατέβη τοὺς ἀχρείους, οἷς κρίμασιν ἐπίσταται ὁ θεός· ἀλλὰ γάρ, εἰ καὶ  
 15 πλειστάκις ὑπὲρ οὕτω μεγάλου πράγματος καὶ σωτηριώδους Ῥωμαίους  
 τε καὶ Βουλγάρους εἰς κενὸν ἐδυσώπησα, τί ποιήσω; Πάλιν ἀναγκάζομαι  
 δυσωπεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἐτέθη ἐν τοιαύτῃ τάξει τοῦ μεσίτης εἰρήνης εἶναι, τοῦ  
 πάσῃ δυνάμει τοὺς διεστῶτας συνάπτειν, τοῦ σκοπεῖν τὰ σκάνδαλα τοῦ  
 ἐχθροῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ ἀπαγγέλλειν τοῖς ἐπιβουλευομένοις τὴν  
 20 ἐκ τούτων προσγινομένην βλάβην. | Οὐαὶ γάρ μοι ἐστὶν ἐὰν μὴ οὕτω D  
 φρονῶ, ἐὰν μὴ τοῦτο πράττω, ἐὰν μὴ φέρω ταύτην τὴν διηνεκῆ σπουδὴν.  
 Φρίττω τὴν ἀπειλὴν ἣν ἠπέλιπεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ πλάστῃ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 τεθειμένοις εἰς τὴν ὑψηλὴν ταύτην σκοπιὰν καὶ τῷ ὕψει ἀνάλογον ἐχούσῃ  
 τὸν κίνδυνον. Δοκῶ μοι, τέκνον μου εὐσεβέστατον, κἂν τέως τῷ ἐπιτήρῳ  
 25 τούτῳ βίῳ συναναστρέφομαι, τῷ ἐκεῖθεν παρίστασθαι κριτηρίῳ καὶ  
 τοὺς λόγους ἐξαπαιτεῖσθαι τῆς διακονίας ἣν διακονεῖν προσετάχθημεν  
 καὶ τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην καταδίκην τρέμω καὶ ἀπαραίτητον ἦτις ἐκδέχεται  
 τοὺς ῥαθυμότερον πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην συνάγοντας τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ  
 30 θεοῦ ἡμῶν τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος εἰς τὸ ἐχθραίνειν ἀπενεχθέν-  
 τας.

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ὀδυρόμενος | γράφω, διὰ τοῦτο πάλιν τῆς πρὸς 116  
 σὲ δέησεως ἐπιλαμβάνομαι. Καὶ γάρ (οἷμοι) τὰ μέλλοντα πάλιν Χριστιαν-  
 οῖς ἀπαντῶν μικροῦ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς θεωρῶ, καὶ συγκέχυμαι ὄλος ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ ἀπευκταίου ἐκείνου θεάματος καὶ τῶν σκυθρωπῶν πραγμάτων, ἃ  
 35 εὐχομαι πρὶν ἰδεῖν τῆς παρουσίας ζωῆς ἐξελεθεῖν. Καὶ γάρ καὶ τὸ ἐνὸς  
 ἀνθρώπου μόνον σφαγὴν ἰδεῖν, ὅστις ἂν ἦ ὁ ὑποπίπτων τῇ σφαγῇ,  
 ἐλεεινὸν θέαμα· πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐλεεινὸν ἄνθρωπος ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου σφαζόμε-  
 νος τοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς μετέχοντος πλάσεως, τοῦ τελούντος ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν  
 φύσιν, τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πηλοῦ γεγονότος, τοῦ τὸν αὐτὸν κεκτημένου  
 40 πλάστην καὶ χορηγὸν τῆς παρουσίας ζωῆς καὶ συνάγοντα πάλιν ὅταν  
 ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ ἐξ Ἰσοῦ τὸ πλάσμα πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ζωὴν; Ὅταν δὲ οἱ σφά-  
 ζοντες καὶ σφαζόμενοι οὐ μόνον | καθ' ὃν εἴπομεν λόγον ἔχουσι κοινο- B  
 νίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρες τυγχάνωσιν καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀδελφοί, ναὶ δὴ καὶ  
 κληρονομία τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν τοῦ τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ πλεу-  
 45 ρᾶς τὸ ἀσύγκριτον τοῦτο τίμημα δεδωκότος, ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἐξωνήσῃται καὶ  
 κληρὸν οἰκεῖον ἀποδείξῃ· ὅταν οὗτοι κατ' ἀλλήλων ὀπλίζωνται, ὅταν τὴν  
 γῆν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας μιαινῶσι ταῖς σφαγαῖς, τί ἂν τις εἴποι; Ποῖος Ἰερε-  
 μίας θρηγήσει τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη; Ποῖα ἐξισωθήσεται δάκρυα τῇ οὕτω  
 χαλεπῇ συμφορᾷ;

50 Ταῦτα, καὶ πάλιν φημί, κινεῖ με πρὸς τὸ γράφειν καὶ δυσωπεῖν,  
 ὅτι σπαράσσομαι τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν ἐσομένων πραγμάτων ἐνθυμούμενος

down from His time even until today upon me the worthless, by God's  
 inscrutable Judgments. But, though I have often entreated to no purpose on  
 behalf of a matter so great and so salutary for Romans and Bulgarians, what  
 am I to do? I am compelled to entreat once more, since I have been put in  
 this office to be the advocate of peace, to use all my power to unite those who  
 are divided, to guard against the offenses and plots of the enemy, and to  
 warn those against whom he plots of the harm that comes from them. Woe  
 to me if I do not so feel, do not so act, do not keep alive my zeal perpetually!  
 I quail at the threat which my God and Creator has uttered to those whom  
 He has placed on this lofty vantage point, the danger of which is proportionate  
 to its eminence. I seem to myself (my most pious Son), though I move still  
 in this mortal life, to stand at the Tribunal that is beyond it, and to be re-  
 quired to give account of the ministry which I have been ordered to perform;  
 and I tremble at that awful and inevitable condemnation which overtakes  
 those who are too remiss in bringing together into the peace of Christ our God  
 those who have been perverted by the evil demon into enmity.

And so, now also, I write in sorrow; and so, once more, I resume my  
 supplication to you. For—alas!—I can almost see before me the things which  
 are once more to fall on Christians, and I am all confounded by that horrible  
 vision and by the melancholy disasters which I pray to leave this life sooner  
 than behold! To see the slaughter of one single man, whoever may be the  
 victim, is a pitiful sight. How is it not pitiable when one man is slaughtered  
 by another, who shares in the same Creation, who is of the same nature, who  
 is moulded of the same clay, who has the same Creator and Furnisher of this  
 present life, Who shall, in His good time, gather together all His Creation  
 equally into the life hereafter? But when slaughterers and slaughtered are  
 partners not only in the way I have described, but are fathers and sons and  
 brothers of one another, yea, and are the Inheritance of Christ our God,  
 Who has paid the price of the Blood of His holy Side (this incomparable  
 benefit), that He might redeem us and make us His own Portion—when  
 these people arm themselves against one another, and pollute the earth and  
 their hands with slaughter, then what can one say? What Jeremiah shall  
 lament such sufferings as these? What tears shall be equal to a disaster so  
 cruel?

This—I repeat—drives me to write and to entreat, for I am lacerated  
 in my soul when I reflect on what is to overtake us. I cannot be silent and

τὴν ἀπάντησιν, καὶ οὐ δύναμαι σιωπᾶν οὐδ' ἐν ἡμερίᾳ διατελεῖν. Πάλιν γὰρ στρατοπέδων συγκίνησις καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐκστρατεία καὶ λαοῦ ἀναριθμήτου συνέλευσις, οὐς οὐκ οἶδα ποία ὑποδέξεται | χώρα ἢ τίς χωρήσει C  
 55 τόπος εἰς ἐν συνελθυθότας. Εἶτα ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ὁ στρατηγῶν, οὐκ ἐξηγούμενος τοῦ τοσοῦτου πλήθους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δορυφορίας. Αὐτὸς γὰρ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πολέμου, αὐτὸς ἐξηγεῖται τῶν στρατοπέδων, αὐτὸς ἀναλαμβάνει τὰ ὅπλα καὶ συστρατιώτης ἅμα καὶ συναγωνιστῆς καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης καθίσταται.  
 60 Τοιαύτης οὖν γινομένης τῆς παρασκευῆς, τοιαύτης τῆς συγκινήσεως, οὕτω μυριολέκτου στρατιᾶς ἐφορμώσης, τί δεῖ λογίζεσθαι ἡμᾶς; Ποταπὴν ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν; Οἶδα μὲν οὖν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡ σὴ ἐπίσταται σύνεσις ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὠρισμένος ὁ πόλεμος οὐδ' ἐπίδηλόν ἐστι μεθ' ὧν ἡ νίκη γενήσεται, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδήλοις κεῖται τὸ τέλος. Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἄδηλον, 65 κἂν τε ὑπὸ | Ῥωμαϊκῆς μαχαίρας τὸ Βουλγαρικὸν ἀναλωθῆσεται, κἂν D τε ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν Βουλγάρων Ῥωμαῖοι κατατμηθῆσονται, Χριστιανικὰ αἵματα ὑπὸ Χριστιανῶν χέεται καὶ γῆ τοῖς Χριστιανῶν αἵμασι μολύνεται καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν, οὗ λαὸς ὑμεῖς τε καὶ οὗτοι περιούσιος καὶ τέκνα καὶ κληρονομία, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν σφαζομένων ὀδυνήσεται ἀπωλεία.  
 70 Ἡ οὐ τοῦτο νομίζεις ὅτι μεγίστη ὀδύνη τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν, ἂν τε Βούλγαροι ἂν τε Ῥωμαῖοι ἔργον μαχαίρας γενήσονται; Καὶ τίς ὅλως εἰς ἄγνωσαν τοῦτου καθίσταται; Τίς οὐχὶ συνομολογήσει τὴν κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐπανάστασιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν διὰ μέσων τῶν φιλανθρώπων σπλάγγων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὴν πληγὴν διελαύνειν;  
 75 Ἀβῶμεν εἰκόνα πατὴρὸς πολυπαιδίᾳ χαίροντος, | εἶτα ἐξαίφνης 117 τῆς κατ' ἀλλήλων τῶν παιδῶν ἐπαναστάσεως. Πῶς οὗτος διάκειται, ὅταν ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰρηνεύειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁμονοεῖν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τέκνα βλέπει ἔχθραν ἀλαξάμενους καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀλλήλων σφαγῆς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ξίφη βάπτοντας; Οὐ μεταβαλεῖ τὴν χαρὰν εἰς θρήνους; Οὐχὶ κοπετὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ῥηθῆναι λόγῳ ποιήσεται; Οὐ χανεῖν ἑαυτῷ τὴν γῆν εὐξεται μᾶλλον ἢ βλέπειν 80 τὸν ἥλιον; Εἶτα πατέρες μὲν οἱ μηδένα κόπον εἰς τὴν ἡμῶν κατεβάλλοντο γενεσὶν ἃ εἶπον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὀφθήσονται πάσχοντες ὅταν ὀρῶσι τὰ τέκνα πόλεμον πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀραμένους, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὃς ἵνα κτήσεται ἡμᾶς, ἵνα υἱοποιήσῃ, τῶν πατρικῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε κόλπῳ 85 καὶ σαρκὸς μετέσχεν καὶ αἵματος παραπλησίως ἡμῖν καὶ σταυρὸν | ὑπέστη B

68: Tit. 2.14; cf. Exod. 19.5; Deut. 14.2. || 80: Hom., *H.* 4.182. || 84: cf. Ioann. 1.18; Phil. 2.7.

62 ἔχειν P<sup>c</sup>: -ει P<sup>1</sup> || 66 κατατμηθῆσονται P<sup>1</sup>: -σονται P<sup>x</sup> || 75 χαίροντος P<sup>c</sup>: -α P<sup>1</sup> || 76 οὗτος Jk: ουτ(ως) P || 77 βλέπη Vat. || 81 κατεβάλλοντο P<sup>x</sup>: -λλ- P<sup>1</sup>

stay quiet. Once again there is mobilization of forces, recruitment everywhere, the mustering of an army without number, which I know not what country may contain, or what place be wide enough for it when it is all met together. Moreover, above all this, the commander and marshal of this great host is none other than the Emperor himself, at the head of all his guards. He is the battle-commander, he the marshal of his forces; he is taking up his arms, and is at once their fellow soldier, their fellow competitor and the arbiter of their contest. When such is the preparation, such the stir, such the unnumberable muster of the force that is on the move, what must we consider, or of what mind must we be? I know (my Son) that your Wisdom is aware that a battle is not a foregone conclusion, nor is it patent with which side victory will be, but that the outcome rests in uncertainty. But what is not uncertain is this: whether the Bulgarian force shall be destroyed by the Roman steel, or whether the Romans are cut to pieces by that of the Bulgarians, Christian blood will be spilt by Christians, and the earth will be polluted with blood of Christians, and our Christ and God, of Whom you and these are the Peculiar People and Sons and Inheritance, will sorrow over the destruction of the slaughtered. Or do you not think that it will be a most heavy sorrow to our Christ and God if men, whether Bulgarians or Romans, fall by the sword? Who can there possibly be who know it not? Who will not confess with me that the rising up of Christians against one another transfixes the merciful heart of our Saviour?

Let us picture a father who rejoices in many children, and then that his children suddenly rise against one another. What will *he* feel when he sees his own children, instead of being in peace and harmony, converting these to enmity, and bathing their own swords in one another's throats? Will he not change his joy into lamentations? Will he not beat his breast with an agony not to be described? Will he not pray for the earth to gape, rather than that he should behold the sun? And if fathers who have had no pains in begetting us must necessarily and obviously suffer what I have described, when they see their sons moving war against one another; shall not Christ our God, Who to win us, to adopt us, emptied Himself from His Father's Bosom, and took on flesh and blood like us, and endured the Cross and death that He

καὶ θάνατον ἵνα υἱοὺς ἀπεργάσῃται, ὁρῶν τὰ οἰκεῖα τέκνα, Βουλγάρους φημί καὶ Ῥωμαίους, οὕτω κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐκμεμηνότας καὶ ἐπιληησμέ-  
 νους μὲν τοῦ τοιοῦτου πατρὸς καὶ τῆς υἰότητος, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἀδελφικῆς  
 σχέσεως εἰς θηριώδη καὶ ἀνήμερον διάθεσιν καταστάντας, οὐ μᾶλλον  
 90 ἀσυγκρίτους ἔσται φέρων τὰς ὀδύνας; Οὐ πολλῶ κεντεῖται δριμυτέρῳ  
 ἀλγήματι; Ἐχει πολλὴν εὐπορίαν ὁ λόγος, υἱέ μου ποθεινότατε καὶ φίλε  
 καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο οἰκειότερον ὄνομα καὶ γλυκύτερον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἐκ τῶν  
 ἀνθρωπίνων προσφέρειν σοι τὴν παραίνεσιν εἰς τὸ συνιδεῖν ὡς τοιαῦτα  
 πράττομεν κατ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ὅπλα κινουῦντες ὅλα πᾶς ἀνθρώπος τίθησιν  
 95 εἰς ἄράν, | καὶ τοὺς τῶν κακῶν τούτων ἐργάτας ἀλάστορας ἤγηται. Τίς ἄρ  
 γὰρ φρονήσει κοσμοῦμενος, τίς ἐπιστάμενος τὴν φύσιν, τίς γνωρίζων  
 τὸν πλάστην, τίς ἀπλῶς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ὑπάρχων καὶ λογισμοὺς  
 φέρων ἀνθρωπίνους, ὁρῶν τοὺς τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ μιᾶς πίστεως ὄντας, τὸν  
 αὐτὸν θεὸν σεβομένους, ὅπλα κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐπαίροντας (ἐῶ γὰρ νῦν  
 100 λέγειν τέκνα πρὸς πατέρας, πατέρας πρὸς τέκνα, καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς  
 πολεμοῦντας), οὐ σκυθρωπὴν ἀναλαμβάνει διάθεσιν καὶ πάσας ἀράς  
 ἀφίησιν κατὰ τῶν οὕτως εἰς ἀπάνθρωπον προαίρεσιν ἐλάσαντων;

Ἐχει μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἶπον, ἐκ τῶν κάτω καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πολλὴν ὁ  
 λόγος παράκλησιν εἰς τὸ λῆξαι μὲν ὑμᾶς τῶν σφαγῶν καὶ τῶν πολέμων,  
 105 ἐπιστραφήναι δὲ πρὸς τὴν σωτήριον καὶ θεῖαν εἰρήνην. Ἄλλὰ σύ μοι,  
 τέκνον ἐμόν, κατάλιπε τὰ κάτω καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων παρ-  
 αινέσεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ τὸ σὸν ὄμμα τῆς ὀπτικωτάτης ψυχῆς  
 ἔπαρον πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ κατὰστηθι πρὸς ἀναθεώρησιν τῶν ἁγίων Δ  
 δυνάμεων ἔσαι τῷ Χριστῷ παρεστήκασιν, ὅτι καὶ αὐταὶ σκυθρωπάζουσι,  
 110 καὶ εἰκότως ὁρώσαι γὰρ τὸν δεσπότην ὀδυνώμενον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τοῦ  
 λαοῦ αὐτοῦ (λαὸς γὰρ ἐκείνου ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ἡμεῖς), ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν  
 τέκνων καὶ ἀδελφῶν (καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὡς πατὴρ εἰς τάξιν ἔθετο τέκνων καὶ  
 ὡς ἀδελφοὺς συγκληρονόμους παρέλαβεν) εἰς πεῖραν τοῦ τοιοῦτου πάθους  
 115 τῶν κακῶν, οἷς ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθρωποκτόνος διάβολος Ῥωμαίους ἐφιλοει-  
 κησεν καὶ Βουλγάρους περιβαλεῖν, οὐ λαμβάνομεν λογισμὸν τὸν πρέ-  
 ποντα Χριστιανοῖς; Οὐκ ἐπιστρεφόμεθα πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς; Οὐκ ἐννοοῦμεν  
 τὴν τοῦ πονηροῦ κακομηχανίαν δι' ἧς λυμαινεται ἡμῶν, καὶ πρὸς ἐπανόρ-  
 θωσιν τῶν οἰκειῶν κακῶν ἀνανήψομεν;

might make us His sons, when He sees His own children, I mean Bulgarians  
 and Romans, thus enraged against each other and forgetful of this Father  
 and of their Sonship, and, instead of brotherly love, putting on the condition  
 of wild and savage beasts—shall not He suffer pains that are altogether  
 incomparable? Shall He not be pierced by grief far more bitter? My dis-  
 course is at no loss for instances (my most tenderly beloved Son, my friend,  
 or if there be among men any name closer and more sweet than these)—  
 instances drawn from human affairs, wherewith to support my exhortation,  
 to the end that you may see that in moving arms against one another we are  
 doing those things that every man execrates, and looks on the authors of  
 these evils as fiends. For who is there that is adorned with wisdom, that is  
 conversant with nature, that knows his Creator, that—in a word—belongs  
 to human kind and reflects as a human being, who, at sight of those who  
 are of one and the same Faith and who reverence the same God raising their  
 arms against one another—I forbear now to speak of sons warring against  
 fathers, fathers against sons, brothers against brothers—does not put on a  
 sullen disposition and launch every imprecation against those who have thus  
 given rein to their inhuman purpose?

My discourse may, as I have said, draw from human and earthly ex-  
 amples much exhortation to persuade you to leave slaughters and battles,  
 and to return to salutary and divine peace. But (my Son) do you leave aside  
 lowly and human examples, and the exhortations and arguments which arise  
 from them, and raise the eye of your most perspicacious soul to Heaven,  
 and review the holy Powers that stand at the side of Christ, how they are  
 themselves saddened, and not without reason: for, at sight of the Lord  
 grieving over the destruction of His people (for His people you and we are),  
 over the destruction of children and brothers (for as Father He has enrolled  
 us as sons, as Brethren He has made us heirs with Him), they are made to  
 feel the same grief. What say you, when our evils rise even up to Heaven,  
 evils wherewith the original man-slayer, the devil, has obstinately striven to  
 encompass Romans and Bulgarians? Shall we not reflect as befits Christians?  
 Shall we not return to ourselves? Shall we not recognize the wicked devices  
 of the evil one, wherewith he lays us waste, and shall we not return to our  
 senses for the healing of our own evils?

114–115: cf. 2 Paral. 28.9. || 115: Ioann. 8.44.

95 fort. ἤγηται (Jk) || 106 κατάλιπε Wk: -λειπε P || 116 λαμβάνομεν P<sup>x</sup>: -ωμεν P<sup>l</sup>

120 Ἡβουλόμην ἐπὶ πλεον ἐκτείνειν τὸ γράμμα· καὶ γὰρ πέφυκέν πως 120  
 ὀδυνωμένη καρδιά τῇ μακροτέρᾳ διεξόδῳ τῶν λόγων ὡσπερ ἀναπνεῖν καὶ  
 κουφίζεσθαι τοῦ πιέζοντος βάρους· ἀλλὰ τοῦ λόγου παραστήσαντος ὡς  
 καὶ μέχρι τῶν οὐρανῶν αἱ μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων ἔφθασαν  
 συμφοραί, ἔγνω τὸ λόγου τὸ μῆκος ἐπισχεῖν. Τοῦτο μόνον φημί, τοῦτο  
 125 παρακαλῶ, τοῦτο δυσωπῶ, δός μοι τὴν σὴν ἀκοήν, ἣν ἔδει καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς  
 ἡμῖν παρασχεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν συνέβη τὰ τοσαῦτα χαλεπά. Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ  
 πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι δός μοι (καὶ πάλιν ἐρωῶ) τὴν σὴν, υἱέ μου  
 ἔρασματώτατε, ἀκοήν, καὶ δέξαι ταπεινοῦ πατρὸς συμβουλήν καὶ εἰσῆγγη-  
 σιν· πεποιθᾶμεν ἐν θεῷ ὡς οὐ μεταμεληθήσῃ τοῦτο ποιῶν. Δέξαι ταπει-  
 130 νοῦ ἀρχιερέως δυσώπησιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ | κοινοῦ δυσωποῦσαν συμφέροντος B  
 καὶ περὶ μνήμης καὶ ὀνόματος τοῦ σὲ δοξάζειν ἐν γῆ καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ μέλ-  
 λοντος τὴν σπουδὴν ποιουμένην. Μὴ τὴν ἀναρίθμητον ταύτην στρατιάν  
 πάλιν προσπελάσαι τοῖς τῶν Βουλγάρων βουλευθῆς ὀρίοις, μηδὲ γυμνώ-  
 σαι τὰ ὄπλα πατέρας πρὸς τέκνα καὶ τέκνα πρὸς πατέρας, οὐς τὸ παν-  
 135 ἄγιον πνεῦμα τῇ τοιαύτῃ συνῆψεν σχέσει· μηδὲ τὴν στυγητὴν ἐκείνην  
 ἡμέραν καὶ ὥραν θελήσωμεν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἣ τοῖς Χριστιανῶν αἵμασι καὶ πάλιν  
 ἢ γῆ μολυνθήσεται. Ὡς γὰρ ἄνωθεν εἴπομεν, εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀμφιβάλλεται  
 ἢ νίκη μεθ' ὧν στήσεται, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἀμφίβολον, ὅτι αἵματι μυρίῳ  
 ἢ γῆ φουραθήσεται καὶ δάκρυα ἕμβρους νικῶντα Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥω-  
 140 μαίων κατακλύσει τὰ πρόσωπα. Naί, τέκνον ἐμόν, πείσθητι | συμβουλή C  
 ταπεινοῦ γέροντος, οὐ μᾶλλον Ῥωμαίων ἢ Βουλγάρων τὴν σωτηρίαν  
 ἐπιζητοῦντος οὐδ' ἦττον φλεγόμενου τὰ σπλάγχνα καὶ κηδομένου τῆς  
 τῶν Βουλγάρων εὐζωτίας καὶ εὐπαθείας ἢ τοῦ λαοῦ ὧν ἀρχιερατεύειν  
 ἐλάχομεν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ταῖς φροντίσιν ἀδιαλείπτως ἐπαγρυπνοῦμεν.  
 145 Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν παρ' ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ὄπλα κινηθῆναι εἰς παρὰ-  
 κλησιν καὶ δυσώπησιν τῆς σῆς ἐμφρονεστάτης εἰρημένα ψυχῆς τοσαῦτα.  
 Πεποιθᾶμεν δὲ τῷ πάντων βασιλεῖ καὶ θεῷ, παρ' οὗ πᾶσα ἐξουσία καὶ  
 ἀρχή, δι' οὗ ὁ αἰώνιος καταλέλυται πόλεμος καὶ εἰρήνη τῷ κόσμῳ δεδώ-  
 ρηται, ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὰ λείποντα ἐν τῇ σῇ λαλήσει καρδίᾳ καὶ αὐτός σε δι'  
 150 ἑαυτοῦ τὸ καλὸν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀναδιδάξει καὶ πείσει | πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν D  
 κατάστασιν ἐπανελεθεῖν, καὶ ἀγαπήσαι μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν ζωὴν ἐφ' ἧς ὑμᾶς  
 κατέστησεν διὰ τῆς ἁγίας κολυμβήθρας καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀναγεννήσεως,  
 ἐνώσας ὡς υἱοὺς πατράσι τῷ Ῥωμαίων γένει, μισῆσαι δὲ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πονη-  
 ροῦ ἐπεισελθόντα σκάνδαλα καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων σκανδάλων ἰδοῦ  
 155 χρόνος ὅσος ὀλεθρίως Ῥωμαίους καὶ Βουλγάρους διέθηνεν. Τοσοῦτον

123: 2 Paral. 28.9. || 147-148: Rom. 13.1.

132 ποιουμένην P<sup>1</sup>: -ου P<sup>c</sup> || 151 ὑμᾶς Jk: ἡμᾶς P

I had wished to extend my letter: for a grieving heart may somehow find respite and relief from its crushing burden in the longer outpouring of words. But now that my discourse has made plain how the disasters of Roman and Bulgarians have reached up to the Heavens themselves, I see fit to curb the length of it. This only I say, I beseech, I entreat, that you give me your hearing, as you should have given it in the beginning—for then these great cruelties would not have been enacted—but, if not before, yet grant me at this present time, I say once again, your hearing (my most desired Son), and accept the counsel and representation of a humble father. I am convinced, in God, that you will not repent of so doing. Accept the entreaty of a humble Archpriest that pleads for the common advantage, and is anxious for the memory and fame that shall glorify you on earth and in Heaven. Do not insist on advancing this infinite host once again to the Bulgarian borders, nor compel fathers to bare their swords against sons, nor sons against fathers, whom the All-holy Spirit has joined together in that relationship. Let us not desire to see that hateful day and hour in which the earth shall again be polluted with the blood of Christians. For, as I have said above, although it be doubtful with whom victory shall rest, yet this is certain, that the earth shall be imbrued with the blood of tens of thousands, and tears more numerous than rain shall wash the cheeks of Bulgarians and Romans. Yea (my Son), be persuaded by the counsel of your humble father, who pursues the salvation of Bulgarians no less than of Romans, whose burning care is for the well-being and prosperity of Bulgarians as much as of the folk of whom he is appointed Archpriest; in his anxiety for whom he watches unceasingly.

Thus have I made my plea, in supplication and entreaty of your most wise heart, not to set your arms in motion. And I trust to the universal King and God, from Whom cometh every dominion and rule, through Whom the eternal warfare was dissolved and peace has been granted to the world, that He will speak in your heart what here is deficient, and will Himself in His own way instruct you in the blessings of peace, and prevail on you to return to the old state of things, and to embrace that way of life in which he set you through holy Baptism and its Regeneration, uniting you to the Roman race as sons to fathers; and teach you to hate the offenses that have proceeded from the evil one, and all the consequences of these offenses. See how long a time it is that has kept Romans and Bulgarians at deadly strife with each

δὲ καὶ ἔτι προσθεῖς ἀποπαύσομαι, ὡς εἰρήνης σὺν θεῷ γινομένης ὃ ἂν  
 βούλη Ῥωμαίους ἐπιζητεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς τῶν ὕπλων καταθέσεως, εἴτε γῆν  
 εἴτε φόρους εἴτε τι ἕτερον, δῆλον ἡμῖν ποιήσον· μόνον φορητὸν ἔστω τὸ  
 ζητούμενον καὶ μὴ τῶν λίαν βαρυνόντων καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν· καὶ πᾶσαν  
 160 ποιήσομαι πρεσβείαν, πᾶσαν ἰκεσίαν, πᾶσαν μηχανὴν συγκινήσω πρὸς  
 τὴν σὺν θεῷ κυβερνώσαν | τὰ Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν τε καὶ ἐξουσίαν, μέ- 121  
 χρις ἂν τὸ ζητούμενον παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τέλος προέλθοι. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰ-  
 ρήνης, ὃ τὸ μεσότοιχον τῆς ἐχθρας πόνοις καταλύσας οἰκείοις, ὃ τὰ διε-  
 στῶτα ἐξ αἰῶνος συνάψας, αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἐπηρεῖα δαίμονος ἐκπο-  
 165 λεμωμένους εἰς εἰρήνην καταστήσει καὶ τὴν ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ ἐνότητα,  
 καὶ δοίη τῶν ἐκ ταύτης μὲν φυομένων ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ ἡδυνόντων τὴν  
 ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀπαλλαγὴν δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐχθρας καὶ τῶν σκανδάλων χαλε-  
 πῶν τε καὶ θλίψεων.

## 18. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἦκεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἡγαπημένον, ἦκεν, εἰ καὶ βραδύ-  
 τερον, ἢ πληροφορία τῆς σῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς | ἀγάπης· ὄντως γὰρ ἐπληροφό- B  
 ρησας τὴν ἡμετέραν ταπεινώσιν ὅτι σφίσεις ἔτι διάθεσιν υἱοπρεπῆ πρὸς  
 5 ἀχρεῖον μὲν πατέρα, ποθήσαντα δὲ τὸν υἱὸν πόθῳ ἀληθινῷ καὶ πνευμα-  
 τικῷ. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὑπελάμβανον ἐν τῷ βραδύνειν τὸν ἀποκρισιάριον  
 ἡμῶν ὡς ἔθου παρὰ φαῦλον ἡμᾶς καὶ οὐκέτι σφίζεται παρὰ σοὶ ἡ θερμὴ  
 ἐκείνη ἀγάπη καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἡ στοργή. Ἄλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἡμεῖς μὲν  
 ἐπλανώμεθα, σὺ δέ, τέκνον μου γλυκύτατον, ἐφύλαττες παρὰ σεαυτῷ  
 10 ἄσβεστον τῆς ἀγάπης τὴν λαμπάδα, καὶ νῦν ἔδειξας ὅτι σφίζεται διὰ τῆς  
 τοῦ γράμματος καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀποκρισιάριου ἀποστολῆς καὶ ἡλεγχῆς τὴν  
 ἡμετέραν ὑπόνοιαν. Καὶ χάριν ὁμολογῶ τῷ θεῷ, τέκνον μου ἡγαπημένον,  
 ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ἠλέγχθην πεσὼν εἰς τοιαύτην ὑπόνοιαν, σὺ δὲ τὸ λαμπρὸν  
 τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης, | ὅτε θεὸς τὴν σὴν ἐκίνησε καρδίαν, ὥσπερ πάντοτε, C  
 15 καὶ νῦν διέδειξας.

Ἄλλ' ἡ τοῦ σοῦ γράμματος ὑποδοχὴ οὕτω, τέκνον μου ἡγαπητόν,  
 διέθηκεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοιαύτης γλυκύτητος κατέστησεν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν.  
 Ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομεν πρὸς σέ, υἱέ μου ἡγαπητέ, ὅτι παρεμίγη καὶ  
 λύπη τις τῇ τοῦ γράμματος ἡδονῇ καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκεν τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν χαί-

162-163: Rom. 15.33; 16.20; Phil. 4.9; 1 Thess. 5.23; Hebr. 13.20. || 163: Ephes. 2.14.

other! One more thing, and I have done. If peace comes by God's aid, then,  
 in return for laying down your arms, you may demand what you will of the  
 Romans—whether land or tribute or anything else, merely declare it (only,  
 let your demand be tolerable, and not such as is crushing and beyond our  
 power), and I will make all intercession, all supplication, will move every  
 artifice toward the Majesty and Dominion that now, under God, governs the  
 Roman state, until that which is demanded by you be accorded. And may the  
 God of peace, Who by His own labors has destroyed the middle wall of  
 enmity, Who has joined that which was eternally divided, Himself once again  
 restore to peace and unity in the Holy Spirit those that are embroiled by the  
 malice of the demon; and grant to them the enjoyment of those good and  
 pleasant things arising therefrom, and deliverance from the cruel offenses  
 and woes which are begotten of enmity!

## 18. To the Same

I have received (my beloved Son), though somewhat tardily, the  
 assurance of your affection for me; for you have in fact assured my Humility  
 that you still retain the feelings of a son toward your father, who, though  
 worthless indeed, has yearned after his son with a true and spiritual tender-  
 ness. For I was supposing, when my messenger was delayed, that you had  
 ignored me, and that you no longer retained that warm love and affection of  
 the spirit. But it seems that I was mistaken; and that you (my most sweet  
 Son) still kept unquenched the lamp of love, and have now shown it to be  
 alive by the dispatch of your letter and of my messenger, and thus have  
 proved my suspicion to be wrong. And I offer thanks to God (my beloved Son)  
 that I have been proved wrong in entertaining this suspicion, and that you  
 have now again, as always, displayed the brightness of your love, when God  
 moved your heart to do so.

Such then (my beloved Son) has been the effect on me of the receipt of  
 your letter, and such the sweetness it gave me to taste. At the same time I  
 will not conceal from you (my beloved Son) that the pleasure of your letter  
 was not unmingled with some pain, which did not permit my heart to rejoice



20 ρειν ἐπὶ τῷ γράμματι καθαρῶς. Διὰ τί; "Ὅτι ἐγράψαμεν τὴν εἰρηνικὴν  
σου παρακαλοῦντες καρδίαν, παυθῆναι μὲν τὰ σκάνδαλα τοῦ πονηροῦ,  
ἀνακαινισθῆναι δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνην Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων· καὶ  
οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὕτως, ἀλλὰ δηλωθῆναι ἡμῖν παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν θεοδωρήτου  
δόξης ἀπλῶς καὶ καθαρῶς τὰ πράγματα δι' ὧν προβήσεται ἡ εἰρήνη, καὶ  
25 ὥστε μὴ ἀμῆχανον καὶ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὴν αἴτησιν, ἀλλὰ τοιαύτην ἥτις καὶ  
Βουλγάρους ὠφελήσει καὶ Ῥωμαίους οὐκ ἀπολέσει. Σὺ δέ, τέκνον D  
ἡμῶν, καταλιπὼν τὰ περὶ τούτου γράφειν ἔγραψας τοῦ ἐμοῦ γήρους  
κατειρωνεύμενος ὡς οὐκ ἀδύνατα ἐπιζητεῖς· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν τεθνηκότων  
Βουλγάρων τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπιζητεῖς, ἀλλὰ ζητεῖς πράγματα ὧν ἔστι  
30 δυνατὸν τὴν τελείωσιν προελθεῖν. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἐκεῖνο ὑπέφαινες, τὸ  
τὸν ἤδη παρὰ θεοῦ εἰς τὸν θρόνον ἀνηγγεμένον τῆς βασιλείας ἐκεῖθεν  
ἀναχωρεῖν. Καὶ τί τοῦτου ἀδυνατώτερον, τέκνον ἡμῶν; Πῶς ἔχει λόγον  
τὸν δικαιομασίαν οἷς οἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τῆς μεγάλης αὐτοῦ κληρονομίας τὴν  
κυβέρνησιν λαχόντα, τοῦτον ἐκστῆναι τῆς κυβερνήσεως; Μὴ, τέκνον ἐμόν,  
35 μὴ κατειρωνεύου τῆς ἐμῆς πολιᾶς· ἐπίστασαι γὰρ καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἐμῶν  
λόγων ὅτι ἀδύνατος αὕτη ἡ ἐπιζήτησις. Κατάλιπε οὖν ταύτην | καὶ μὴ 124  
ὡς δυνατὴν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι λογιζομαι (οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνατὸν οὐμειοῦν τοῦτο  
γενέσθαι), πρὸς ἄλλα δὲ μετὰβῆθι ἐξαιτήματα, ὅσα φύσιν ἔχει τὸ πέρασ  
λαμβάνειν· οἷόν τι λέγω, χρυσοῦ ποσότητα, ἱματίων, τυχόν δὲ καὶ γῆς  
40 τι μέρος. Τούτων, εἴ τίς σοι θεῖος λογισμὸς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρήνης ἐμπε-  
ριστρέφεται, ὃ βούλει δῆλον κατὰστησον ἡμῖν. Ἐγὼ λέγω, τέκνον ἐμόν,  
τοῦτο εἶναι ἀντὶ παντός κέρδους, τοῦτο ἀντὶ πάσης προσκλήσεως, τὸ  
βουληθῆναι τὰς τῶν αἱμάτων ἀναστεῖλαι χύσεις· τί γὰρ τοιοῦτον πρὸς  
ἀνθρώπων Χριστιανὸν καὶ θεοφιλῆ, καὶ μάλιστα οἷος σὺ τυγχάνεις, τέκνον  
45 ἐμόν, τὸ καταπράξασθαι τοῦτο, καὶ κερδῆσαι ἀνακοπὴν τῶν σφαγῶν,  
ἀπόπαυσιν τῶν πολέμων, λῆξιν χύσεως αἱμάτων Χριστιανικῶν; Πλὴν  
ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ μεγάλου τούτου κέρδους καὶ | ἀσυγκρίτου καὶ κέρδη ἕτερα B  
προσγιγνώμενα, ὃ φθάσας εἶπον, χρυσοῦ ποσότητα, ἱματίων, ἢ καὶ γῆς  
τινος μέρος ἐπίδοσις, ὅση τυχόν δυνατὴ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὠφελεῖν καὶ Ῥωμαίους  
50 μὴ ζημίαν ἐπάγειν ἀφόρητον. Ναί, τέκνον μου καὶ ἀνδρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ,  
πρὸς τοιαύτην ἀπόβλεψον εἰρήνην, πρὸς τοιαύτην μετάθου γνώμην, καὶ  
ἄφες ἐκεῖνους τοὺς λογισμοὺς, οἳ μηδὲν συμβάλλονται πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην,  
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐρεθίζουσι τοὺς πολέμους καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς.  
Ἐμνημόνευε τὸ γράμμα καὶ περὶ τῶν εὐνούχων, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἡ τῶν  
55 κακῶν αἰτία· καὶ φανερόν τοῦτο καὶ πᾶσιν ἐγνωσμένον καθέστηκεν. Καὶ  
τί, τέκνον μου, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὰ τῶν εὐνούχων; Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν κακῶς πεφρο-

absolutely at that letter. Why so? Because I had written to beg your peace-  
able heart to put an end to the offenses of the evil one and to renew the  
original peace between Bulgarians and Romans; and not simply this, but also  
that your God-given Glory should declare, simply and straightforwardly, the  
conditions on which peace might be concluded, and that your demand should  
not be impracticable and impossible, but such as should benefit the Bulgarians  
while not ruining the Romans. But you (my Son), avoiding such matters as  
these, have written, in derision of my old age, that "you are not demanding  
the impossible, since you are not demanding the resurrection of the Bulgarian  
dead; you are only asking for those things which can be brought to pass."  
In so saying, you referred to the abdication from the throne of the Empire  
of him whom God has already raised upon it. Yet what is more impossible  
than this (my Son)? How is it reasonable that he who by God's inscrutable  
decisions has attained the government of His great Inheritance should  
abdicate that government? Nay, my Son; do not mock my gray hairs: for  
you know without my telling you that your demand is impossible. Abandon  
it therefore, and cease to regard it as possible of achievement, for it is utterly  
out of the question. Change your demands to others, which are in their  
nature attainable: such, for example, as a sum of gold, or of raiment, perhaps  
even a portion of territory. If there is in your heart any divinely inspired  
regard for the peace of Christ, let us know whatever of these things you  
desire. I tell you (my Son) that beyond all gain, beyond all acquisition, is the  
desire to put an end to the shedding of blood: for what, in the eyes of a  
Christian man, beloved of God, and especially of one such as you, can equal  
the performance of this, and the winning of a cessation of slaughter, and a  
respite from wars, and an end to Christian bloodshed? But, along with this  
mighty and incomparable gain, let other gains be added, as I have just said,  
a sum of gold, or raiment, or even the grant of some portion of territory,  
such as may perhaps be of advantage to you while not causing intolerable  
loss to the Romans. Yea (my Son, thou man of God), let such be the peace  
at which you aim, such be your altered purpose, and leave those thoughts  
which contribute nothing to peace, but only excite wars and slaughters!

Your letter also mentioned the "eunuchs" as the cause of evils from our  
side: and this is obvious and notorious to everybody. But what (my Son)  
have we to do with what those eunuchs did? These men, out of their malice,



νηκότες συνετάραξαν και συνέχεαν, ὡσπερ τὰ κοινὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, οὕτω και τὴν κοινήν ἀγάπην και ὁμόνοιαν Ῥωμαίων και Βουλγάρων. Ἄλλ' οὐ χρὴ κληρονόμους ἡμᾶς εἶναι τῆς ἐκείνων | κακίας, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄ C  
 60 κακῶς ἐξ ἀφροσύνης ἐκείνοι διέθησαν, ταῦτα τὴν τε σὴν φρόνησιν και τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων διάσκεψιν διορθώσασθαι. Ἐξεμάνησαν ἐκείνοι; Μὴ γένοιτο τὴν ἐκείνων μανίαν μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς. Ἄδικα ἐκείνοι κατὰ σοῦ ἐμελέτησαν; Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐστράφη εἰς κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν ἡ ἀδικία αὐτῶν. Ἀρξέσθητι τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσει και ἀπόδεξαι τὴν ἐκδί-  
 65 κησιν ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κατεπράξατο, και μὴ ἐπιμένῃς διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἄνοιαν ἢ μανίαν, εἰ βούλει, τὸν ἐκδικήσαντά σε παραλυτῶν. Ἡ οὐ νομίζεις, τέκνον ἡμῶν, παραλυπεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν και θεὸν ἡμῶν τοσοῦτου φόνου ἐνεργηθέντος τοῦ περιουσίου αὐτοῦ λαοῦ, τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Χριστιανῶν λέγω γένους τοῦ τε Βουλγαρικοῦ | και Ῥωμαϊκοῦ; Ἡ D  
 70 οὐ λογίζῃ ἀλγεῖν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐρημιά, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτων πόλεων, ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν μοναστηρίων, ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων τούτων ἀφανισμῷ; Ναὶ οἶδα, τέκνον ἐμόν, ὡς οὐδὲν σε διαλανθάνει τούτων· καλῶς οὖν ποιῶν και ὅπερ ἐν τῷ σῶι γράμματι ἀπεμνημόνευσας, τὴν μίμησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ και θεοῦ  
 75 ἡμῶν δεῖξον και ἐνταῦθα παρὰ σοῦ τιμωμένην, και ῥῖψον εἰς λήθην ὅσα παρὰ τῶν εὐνοῦχων λελύπησαι, και γενοῦ σεαυτοῦ και τῆς ἰδίας πραότητος και τῆς εἰρηνικῆς καταστάσεως, και στρέψον εἰς πένθος τῷ πονηρῷ δαίμονι ὅσα ταῖς κοιναῖς δυστυχίαις Ῥωμαίων και Βουλγάρων ἐπευφράνθη και ἐξωρῆξασατο. Πausάσθω τῶν ὅπλων ἢ κινήσις κατὰ τῶν ἀδελ-  
 80 φῶν και πατέρων, στήτησαν οἱ στεναγμοὶ και τὰ δάκρυα ὅσα Ῥωμαίων και Βουλγάρων μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἐξεκενώθη και ἔτι διαμένει κενούμενα. Ναὶ, τέκνον ἐμόν, ναὶ τῶν φίλων ὁ φίλτατος, αἰδέσθητι τὴν διὰ χρόνου τοσοῦτου πρὸς σὲ γινομένην δέησιν ἡμῶν, δυσωπήθητι τὸν σπα-  
 85 ραγμὸν τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν, δεῖς ἰδοῦ τέταρτον ἔτος νύκτα και ἡμέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ πᾶσαν ὥραν, οὐκ ἀνίησι διαζαίνων ἡμᾶς. Γράφω ταῦτα (λάβε θεὸν αὐτὸν τῶν λεγομένων ἐγγυητὴν) οὐκ ἔλαττον φροντίζων τῆς τῶν Βουλγάρων σωτηρίας και τῆς σῆς τιμῆς ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων και τῶν σὺν θεῷ βασιλεύειν λαχόντων αὐτῶν.

Εἴ τις οὖν ἐστὶ σοὶ λογισμὸς θεόθεν και φρόνημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ και  
 90 θεοῦ ἡμῶν τοῦ εἰρηνικοῦ και ἀμά|χου περὶ τοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην ἣν διεσπά- 125  
 ραξεν ὁ τῆς ἔχθρας γεννήτωρ διάβολος πάλιν ἀνακαινισθῆναι, γράψον ἡμῖν ἀπλᾶ και σαφῆ τὰ πράγματα δι' ὧν ἡ εἰρήνη θεοῦ βουλομένου εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἐπανήξει· και μὴ γράφῃς οἷα γράφεις ἀμφίβολα και ἀδύνατα,

disturbed and confounded both the government of the Roman state and also the mutual peace and concord of Romans and Bulgarians. But we should not be made the heirs of their wickedness; rather is it for your wisdom and for Roman deliberation to correct the evil consequences of their folly. Were they madmen? God forbid that we should imitate their madness! Did they devise injustice against you? You know (my Son) how their injustice has recoiled upon their heads. Rest content with the judgment of God, and accept the vengeance which God has wrought upon them and do not, because of their folly or (if you like) madness, insist on grieving our Christ and God when such a massacre is perpetrated of His Peculiar People, of His Inheritance—I mean, of the race of Christians, both Bulgarian and Roman? Or do you not consider that His merciful heart grieves over this great devastation of men, and of those many cities, at the multitude of Churches, at the multitude of monasteries, at the destruction of all these? Of course, I know (my Son) you are perfectly aware of all this: therefore, act well, and show that the "imitation of Christ our God" (to which you referred in your letter) is honored in this matter also by you, and leave to oblivion the harm that was done you by the eunuchs, and return to yourself and your own gentleness and your peaceable state, and convert to lamentation the joy and triumph of the evil demon over the common misfortunes of Romans and Bulgarians. Let there be an end to the stirring of arms against brothers and fathers! Let there be an end of the sighs and tears which have until now poured from Romans and Bulgarians, and still continue to pour! Yea, my Son, yea, my best of friends, respect the supplication I have made to you during this long time, be moved by the laceration of my heart that now, in the fourth year, night and day, even every hour, ceases not to tear me. I write this—and take God Himself as surety of what I say—with no less care for the salvation of the Bulgarians and for your honor than for the Romans and for those appointed under God to govern their Empire.

If any thought has been sent you by God, any purpose of Christ our God, the gentle, the peaceable, as touching the renewal of the peace which the devil, the father of enmity, has torn up, then write to me, simply and clearly, the terms by which peace, God willing, may return to herself. But do not write the sort of vague and impossible demands that you wrote before:

λέγω δὴ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὕψους τῆς βασιλείας κατάβασιν τοῦ παρὰ θεοῦ πρὸς  
 95 ταύτην ἀναβεβηκότος. Καὶ ἔτι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἄνθρωπον ἄξιον τῆς σῆς  
 δόξης, ἀγαπῶντα εἰρήνην, ἀλήθειαν τιμῶντα ἐξαπόστειλον, δηλονότι καὶ  
 ἐντεῦθεν ἀποστελλομένου ὁμοίου καὶ ἰσοτίμου ἀνδρός, δι' ὧν οἱ λόγοι τῆς  
 εἰρήνης τρανώς τῇ τε σῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βα-  
 σιλευσί παραστήσονται. Καὶ τότε θεοῦ εὐμενοῦς γινομένου, ὥς γε εἰ καὶ  
 100 ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐλπίζομεν, ἡ εἰρήνη προβήσεται· ἐπεὶ (εἰ) ὥς γε νῦν λόγοι ἄσα-  
 φεῖς καὶ | ἀμφίβολοι ἀλλήλους δέχονται, οὐδὲν σωτήριον οὐδὲ κοινω-  
 φελὲς γενήσεται.

Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν ὅλως ἐνθύμιον εἰρήνης ἐν τῇ σῇ καρδίᾳ στρέφεις,  
 ἀγαπητέ μου υἱέ, ἱκανὰ τὰ εἰρημένα· εἰ δ' ἄπαξ οὗτος ὁ λογισμὸς τὴν  
 105 σὴν κατέχει καρδίαν, ὥς ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἰδρυθῆση βασι-  
 λείας, καὶ τοιαύτην ἔδοξας οὐκ οἶδα ἕθεν τὴν πληροφορίαν λαβεῖν ὅτι  
 τοῦτο ἔδοξεν τῷ θεῷ, κατάλιπε τὰ δεδογμένα τῷ θεῷ καθὼς ἐκεῖνος  
 οἶδεν καὶ βούλεται ἀγαγεῖν εἰς πέρας, καὶ μὴ πολέμοις καὶ σφαγαῖς νόμιζε  
 τυχεῖν τοῦ βουλήματος· ἃ γὰρ ὄριστα παρὰ θεῷ ἀμήχανον μὴ πρὸς πέ-  
 110 ρας ἐλθεῖν. Ἐκεῖνον οὖν προσδέχου ὅπερ νομίζεις παρ' αὐτοῦ ὄρισθαι  
 τὸ ὄρισμένον σοι παρασχεῖν. Καὶ τί χραίνεις αἵμασι τὴν γῆν καὶ τότε  
 Χριστιανικοῖς; Τί πορθεῖς ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ; | Τί ἄλλα ἢ μηδὲ θέμις λέ-  
 γειν ἡμᾶς, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ποιεῖς, δι' ὧν καὶ λύπην θεῷ προ-  
 ξενεῖς καὶ σεαυτὸν οὐκ ἔξω κρίματος καθιστᾷς;

115 Τὸ ἐντεῦθεν προσκείσθω εὐχὴ τῶν διηνεκῶς ἡμῖν ἀναφερομένων  
 θεῷ· εἴης ἡμῖν ἐρρωμένος καὶ φρονῶν καὶ διανοούμενος ὅσα πρὸς τὴν ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ἐπανάγει σε θείαν εἰρήνην, τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἀγίου βαπτίσματος δεδομέ-  
 νην Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Βουλγάροις· καὶ ὅσα πρὸς πολέμους καὶ σφαγὰς  
 ἐρεθίζει, ταῦτα σὺν τῷ πονηρῷ δαίμονι καὶ τούτων ἐργάτῃ τῆς σῆς  
 120 ἀπελαύνων τιμίας καὶ φρονίμης ψυχῆς.

### 19. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Τοῦ ἀποκρισιarioῦ ἡμῶν, λέγομεν δὴ τοῦ ἀποσταλέντος μοναχοῦ  
 παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινότητος, ἐπ' ἀναστρέψαντος, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἡγαπη-  
 μένον, μετὰ τῶν σῶν γραμμάτων, εἰπόντος δὲ καὶ οἰκεία γλώσση ὅσα  
 5 ἡμῖν ἀπήγγειλεν, ἀντεγράφη πάλιν ὅσα καὶ οἱ λόγοι ἀπήτουν καὶ τὸ σὸν

100 εἰ Jk: om. P || 105 ἰδρυθῆση P<sup>1</sup>: -υθ- P<sup>c</sup> || 107 κατάλιπε P<sup>c</sup>: κατάλιπε P<sup>1</sup> || 113  
 ἐπιτελεῖσθαι P<sup>x</sup>: ἐπιτελεῖσθαι P<sup>1</sup> || 115 τῶν ... ἀναφερομένων P<sup>c</sup>: τὴν ... -ην P<sup>1</sup>

I mean, deposition from the top of Empire of him who has been elevated to  
 it by God. And, moreover (my Son), send a servant worthy of your Glory,  
 one who loves peace and honors truth, and we of course will send from our  
 side a similar person of equal standing; and through these men the peace  
 conditions shall be set out distinctly to your Magnificence and to the Emperors  
 of the Romans. And then, if God is gracious, as (though a sinner) I hope, the  
 peace will go forward: because if, as things are now, one lot of obscure and  
 dubious conditions succeeds another, nothing salutary or of common advan-  
 tage can come about.

If you are really considering peace in your heart (my beloved Son),  
 then what I have said is enough; but if you have once for all got it into your  
 head that you are to be established on the throne of the Roman Empire,  
 and believe that you have the assurance (whence, I do not know) that this  
 is God's will, then leave God's will to Him to accomplish as He decides and  
 sees fit, and do not suppose you can attain your end by battles and slaughters.  
 What God has determined cannot be avoided. Wait, therefore, until He  
 presents you with what you believe He has determined. Why foul the earth  
 with blood, and Christian blood at that? Why sack the churches of God?  
 Why be responsible for the commission of crimes which it is improper for me  
 even to mention (my Son), through which you bring sorrow to God, and  
 guilt upon yourself?

Let me add a prayer from among those which I send up continually to  
 God: "May you be well in body, and think and resolve on those things that  
 lead you back to the former, divine peace, that through holy Baptism was  
 given to Romans and Bulgarians; and cast out from your honorable and  
 prudent soul those things which provoke battles and slaughters, together  
 with the evil demon who is the author of these!"

### 19. To the Same

When my messenger—I mean, the monk dispatched to you by my  
 Humility—returned (my beloved Son) with your letter, and had given me  
 his oral report, I wrote back again what his report required and what your

ἐπεζήτει γράμμα, καὶ ἀπεστάλη πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν θεοτίμητον ἐξουσίαν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μοναχοῦ. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν, ὡς νομίζομεν, τὴν Βουλγαρίαν κατέλαβεν καὶ ἔστιν διάγων ἐκεῖ· σοῦ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέρη ταῦτα ἐξεληλυθότος, οὐκ οἶδαμεν πότε γενήσεται ἀμφοτέροις ἐνωθῆναι καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν ὑμῶν θεοτίμητον ἐξουσίαν τὰ γραφέντα σοι παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κομίζομενα. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐδεήθημεν τοῦ παρόντος γράμματος, καὶ γράφομεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὴν σὴν ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον παρακαλοῦντες φρονίμην ψυχὴν παυθῆναι τὰς τῶν αἱμάτων χύσεις, σβεσθῆναι τῆς ἔχθρας τὴν πυρκαϊάν, ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς | ἀνῆψεν ὁ τῆς ἔχθρας γεννήτωρ διάβολος, καὶ 128 βραβευθῆναι πάλιν μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων τὴν μακαρίαν εἰρήνην, τὴν δοθεῖσαν κληρὸν Χριστιανοῖς παρὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν· καὶ γραφῆναι καὶ δηλωθῆναι ἡμῖν, εἴ γε παρακέκληταί σου ἡ θεοφιλὴς ψυχὴ πρὸς τὸν ἀνακαινισμόν τῆς εἰρήνης, μὴ πάλιν ἐκεῖνα οἷα πρότερον ἐδηλοῦτο ἀδύνατα ὄντα καὶ ἀτέλεστα, ἀλλ' ὅσα δυνατὰ καὶ 20 πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐκβῆναι οὐκ ἀνεμπόδιστα.

Τί οὖν ἔστιν ὁ φημι; Μὴ δηλώσης, καταλιπέτω τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ πρὸς τὸν θρόνον ἀναβεβηκώς τῆς βασιλείας, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀμήχανον· μὴ γράφῃ τοῦ δεῖξασθαι σε βασιλέα καὶ κύριον τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὸν λαόν, ἀμήχανον γὰρ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐδεὶς τοῦ- 25 τον τὸν λόγον ἀνέχεται ἀκοαῖς παραδέξασθαι· ἀλλὰ γράψον χρυσοῦ λαβεῖν ποσότητα, ἱματίων, ἣ καὶ γῆς ἐπίδοσιν μέρους, ὅση δυνατὴ καὶ Βουλγάρους ὠφελεῖν καὶ Ῥω|μαίοις μὴ ἐπάγειν ζημίαν ἀφόρητον. Ναί, B τέκνον μου καὶ ἀνθρῶπε τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸς τοιαύτην ἀπόβλεψον εἰρήνην, πρὸς τοιαύτην μετάδου γνώμην· καὶ ἄφες τοὺς λογισμοὺς οἱ μὴδὲν 30 συμβάλλονται πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐρεθίζουσι πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς. Στήτωσαν οἱ στεναγμοὶ καὶ τὰ δάκρυα ὅσα Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἐξεκενώθη (οἱμοὶ τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν) καὶ ἔτι διαμένει κενούμενα. Ναί, υἱέ μου ἠγαπημένε καὶ τῶν φίλων ὁ φίλτατος, αἰδέσθητι τὴν διὰ χρόνου τοσοῦτου πρὸς σὲ γινομένην 35 δέησιν ἡμῶν, δυσωπήθητι τὸν σπαραγμὸν τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν, ὃς ἰδοῦ τέταρτον ἔτος νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ πᾶσαν ὥραν, οὐκ ἀνίησι διαξάινων ἡμᾶς. Γράφω ταῦτα (λάβε θεὸν αὐτὸν μάρτυρα τῶν | λεγομέ- C νων) οὐκ ἔλαττον φροντίζων τῆς τῶν Βουλγάρων σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς σῆς τιμῆς ἢ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν βασιλευσίν λαχόντων αὐτῶν.

40 Εἴ τις οὖν ἐστὶν σοι λογισμὸς τῆς σωτηρίου εἰρήνης, τέκνον ἡμῶν, γράψον ἡμῖν ἀπλᾶ καὶ ἀναμφίβολα· καὶ πάντως, εἰ τούτου δεήσει, αὐτὸς

15-16: cf. Coloss. 3.15 || 16-17: Ioann. 14.27.

21 καταλιπέτω P<sup>c</sup>: -λειπ- P<sup>1</sup>

letter demanded, and sent my letter off to your God-honored Lordship by the hand of the same monk. I believe he reached Bulgaria and still is there; but you had left for these parts, and I do not know when the two of you may be able to meet, and your God-honored Lordship to learn what I wrote to you, of which he is the bearer. For this reason I have to write the present letter; and I write (my Son), as I did before, to beg of your wise heart to put a stop to the bloodshed, to quench the flame of enmity, which was kindled in the beginning by the devil, the father of enmity, to accord once more between Romans and Bulgarians that blessed peace which was allotted to Christians by Christ our God and Saviour, and to write to us and declare, if your pious soul is moved toward a renewal of peace, not again those impossible and unattainable conditions put forward before, but proposals which are possible and which can be fulfilled without hindrance.

I mean this: do not declare, "let him who has risen to the throne of the Empire abdicate his Empire," because that cannot be done; do not write that "the lords and people of the Roman Empire are to accept you as emperor and lord"; nobody could listen to such a proposal. Write instead that you will accept a quantity of gold, or raiment, or even the grant of a portion of territory, such as may be of advantage to the Bulgarians while not causing intolerable loss to the Romans. Yea (my Son, thou man of God), let such be the peace at which you aim, such be your altered purpose, and leave those thoughts that contribute nothing to peace, but only excite wars and slaughters. Let there be an end of the sighs and tears which have until now poured from Romans and Bulgarians (alas for my sufferings), and still continue to pour! Yea, my beloved Son, yea, most dear of dear ones, respect the supplication I have made to you during this long time, be moved by the laceration of my heart that now, in the fourth year, night and day, even every hour, ceases not to tear me. Take God as Witness to my words that I write this with no less care for the salvation of the Bulgarians and for your honor than for the Romans and those appointed to be their emperors.

If you have any thought of a salutary peace (my Son), write to me simply and unambiguously; and, if need be, I will myself certainly come to

ἐγὼ ἐλεύσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δηλονότι πρὸς Ἡράκλειαν ἐρχομένου σου ἢ πρὸς Σηλυμβρίαν, καὶ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης κοινολογήσομαι, καὶ σὺν θεῷ εἰπεῖν ὅσα δυνατὰ ἐστὶν ζητούντων ὑμῶν παρασχεθήσεται. Καὶ πάλιν  
45 ἀνακαινισθήσεται ἡ εἰρήνη, καὶ οἱ πατέρες πρὸς τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ τέκνα πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὡσπερ ἐστὶν ὀφειλόμενον διατεθήσονται, ἀπολαύοντες τῶν τῆς ἀγάπης καλῶν καὶ ζωῆν ἀπηλλαγμένην ἔχοντες τῶν χαλεπωτάτων συμφορῶν ἃς ἐξεγέννησεν ὁ τῆς ἐχθρας πατὴρ διάβολος καὶ ἡ τῶν D ἐκείνου σκανδάλων ὀλεθριωτάτη ἐπισπορά.

50 Τὸ λοιπὸν εὐχὴ προσκείσθω ἡμῖν, ἣν προσφέρομεν διὰ παντός τῷ θεῷ καὶ σοῦ ἀγνωστοῦ· εἴης ἡμῖν ἐρρωμένος, καὶ ὑπεράνω τῶν παγίδων τοῦ πονηροῦ διπτάμενος, . . . ὅσα κληρονόμον σε ἀναδείξει τῆς αἰωνίου καὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἀπολαύσεως καὶ ἀκατάκριτον παραστήσει τῷ φρικτῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

## 20. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἡλιζον, υἱέ μου δεδοξασμένη, τοῖς σοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυγχάνων παραψυχὴν εὔρειν τοῦ σπαράσσοντος ἄλγους· ἀνέμενον ἦκειν μοι παραμύθιον τῆς | διαξαινούσης με νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν δδύνης. Ἐνεθυμούμην 129  
5 γὰρ ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ πρότερον δι' ὧν ἐγράψαμεν πολλάκις παρεκλήθη σου ἡ ψυχὴ, ἀλλὰ γε νῦν δι' ὧν προεθυμήθην πρὸς σέ παραγενέσθαι καὶ γήρους καταφρονῶν καὶ ἀσθενείας καὶ πόνων τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας, ὅτι παρακληθήσῃ καὶ προσδέξῃ με δυσωποῦντα καὶ οὐχ ὑπομενεῖς ἀποστρέψαι διακηνῆς τὴν πρὸς σέ πεποιημένον πορείαν, γενήσεται δὲ μᾶλλον  
10 ἢ πρὸς σέ ἀφιξίς ἡμῶν ἀπόπαισις τῶν τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος σκανδάλων ἀ ἐφιλονείκησεν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων μεταξὺ ἐμβαλεῖν. Ταῦτα δὲ ἡλιζον οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ προηγουμένης αἰτίας εὐλόγου· ἐνεθυμούμην γὰρ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ὅτι ἀπελεύσομαι πρέσβυς καὶ τὴν ἰκεσίαν φέρων, οὐ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον οἷοι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ | πρὸς B  
15 ἄνθρωπον ἐκ θεοῦ λαβόντα ἔθνοους ἐξουσιάζειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολὺν ἐν συνέσει, πολὺν ἐν διανοήσει, καὶ εἰδότα κρίνειν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν παρουσίαν ὅση τίς ἐστίν· ὅτι, καὶ εἰ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἀλλ' οὖν ἀρχιερεῖς οἴου καὶ ὅσου λαοῦ, ὁποίας πόλεως τῆς ἀρχιερατεύεσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῖν λαχούσης, ἡλικίας ἐξουσίας πατὴρ εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιος προβέβλημαι, ἣν μόνην ἐπὶ γῆς ὁ

43 σιλυμβρίαν P || 52 lac. indic. Wk (ex. gr. ἐκεῖνα καὶ φρονῶν καὶ πράττων, cf. Epp. 6, 9, 70, 72)

20: P 118r-122r || 4 ἐνεθυμούμην P<sup>c</sup>: ἐνθυμ. P<sup>1</sup>

you, that is, provided you are coming to Heraclea or to Selymbria, and will negotiate the peace with you, and, under God, all your demands that are possible shall be granted. And peace shall be renewed again, and fathers shall be disposed toward their sons, and sons toward their fathers, as they ought to be: enjoying the blessings of love and living a life freed from the most cruel disasters which the devil, who is father of enmity, and the most fatal spawn of his offenses, have engendered.

For the rest, let me add the prayer which I offer continually to God, even though you know it not: "May you be well in body, and soaring above the snares of the evil one, *doing those things* that shall make you heir of the eternal kingdom and felicity, and appear guiltless at the fearful Tribunal of Christ our God!"

## 20. To the Same

I had hoped (my glorious Son) to find in your letter some comfort for my lacerating grief; I was expecting some comfortable remission to come to me of the grief that tears me night and day. For I reflected that, even though your heart had not as yet been moved by my frequent letters, yet now at least you would be touched by my readiness, in despite of old age and sickness and the toils of the journey, to come to you, and that you would receive my entreaty and would not have the heart to reject, as nothing, my journey to you; but rather, I thought, my coming to you will bring a respite from the offenses of the evil demon, which he has persisted in implanting between Romans and Bulgarians. This was no mere idle hope, but one based on reasonable antecedent grounds: for, I thought to myself, I shall go as an envoy and suppliant, not to a man such as are many others, but to a man who has received from God the lordship over a nation, and therefore one who is mighty in wisdom, mighty in intelligence, who knows how to estimate my presence at its true worth: and he can appreciate of what, and of how great, a people I am (though a sinner) the Archpriest, what that City is which has been allotted me for its Archpriest, and of what a mighty realm I am (though unworthy) appointed to be father, a realm which Christ has set as His sole

20 Χριστός ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔθετο ἐξουσιάζειν. Ἄλλ' ἐνενόουν ὅτι πρὸς τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον μέλλων πρεσβεύειν τελέσω τὴν πρεσβείαν, δια-  
πράξομαι τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον, καὶ ἀνασώσωμαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπολωλυῖαν  
πρῶτων μὲν δαίμονος συσκευῆ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων κακοβουλία, καὶ  
χαίρων ὑποστρέψω, φέρων μὲν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν θεῶ, ἐκδιηγούμενος δὲ |  
25 πᾶσι τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν, καὶ μεγαλύνων τοῖς ἐπαίνοις αὐτήν, εἴπερ τίς ἐστίν C  
λόγος ταπεινοῦ γέροντος καὶ ἀρχιερέως τοὺς σοὺς διεξιόντος ἐπαίνους·  
φέρων δέ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν μοίρᾳ κέρδους, ὃ πάντων κερδῶν ἐμοὶ τιμιώτα-  
τον, τὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην.

Nῦν δὲ οὐχὶ ταῦτά μοι τὸ σὸν ὑπισχνεῖται γράμμα, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκ  
30 τῶν ῥημάτων ἄλλα διδάσκομαι, ὅτι ματαιοπονήσω, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐκτελέσω  
τῶν δι' ἃ κοπιᾶν προαιροῦμαι, οὐδ' ἀπαντήσῃ μοι παρὰ σοῦ χάρις, οὐδὲ  
δυσωπηθήσῃ ὁ ἀγαπητός μου υἱὸς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς γῆρας, οὐδὲ ταπεινοῦ  
ἀρχιερέως αἰδεσθήσῃ παρουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἠγήσῃ με τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι πρὸς  
σὲ παραγεγόνασι πρέσβεις μηδὲν διαφέρειν. Ἔϊτα βουλόμενος οὕτω με  
35 δέχεσθαι, οὕτω με, τέκνον ἠγαπημένον, τὸν πατέρα, τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τὸν  
γέροντα τιμᾶν, προτρέπεις ἤκειν, παραδαρρύνεις καταφρονῆσαι γῆρους D  
καὶ πόνων καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ὅσα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡμῖν ἀπαντήσῃ; Τί πρὸς  
ταῦτα εἶπω; Τί διανοήσομαι; Τίς ποτε υἱὸς ὠφθη πρὸς πατέρα μνηῶν  
«Ἦκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὦ πάτερ, ἵνα τοὺς σοὺς λόγους φαυλίσω· ἐλθέ, ἵνα  
40 μηδὲν ὦν ἐπιζητεῖς ἀνύσης, ἵνα πόνον ἀκερδῆ ὀφθῆις ἀναδεξάμενος»;  
Οὐκ ἤκουσα μέχρι καὶ σήμερον τοιούτους πέμποντα λόγους υἱόν. Καὶ  
πάλιν φημί, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἄξια ταῦτα τῆς σῆς μεγαλονοίας, τῆς σῆς θαυ-  
μαζομένης φρονήσεως, μνηῶν τῷ πατρὶ ὅτι «Ταλαιπωρίαν ματαίαν  
ἀναλαβοῦ, πάτερ, καὶ ἦκε πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ἵνα κενὸς ὑποστρέφων τῶν σῶν  
45 ἐλπίδων ὄνειδος εἶης ἅπασι τοῖς ταῦτα μανθάνουσιν»; Ἀφίημι γὰρ τέως  
τὸ σὸν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οἷα οἱ πανταχοῦ γῆς ἄνθρωποι περὶ σοῦ ἐροῦσιν,  
ὅταν εἰς ἀκοὴν | ταῦτα λάβωσιν.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὁ λόγος μεθ' οὗ ἡμᾶς προσκαλῆ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν  
παρορμαῖς, ὡς θαυμαστός καὶ λίαν ἐπαινετός. Λέγεις γὰρ ὡς οἱ ἀπόστο-  
50 λοι, τρέχοντες ἐπ' ἀδήλοις καὶ τὸ ἐκβησόμενον οὐκ ἐιδότες, ὅμως ἔτρεχον  
καὶ ἐκοπίων διὰ τὴν ἀνωθεν μισθαποδοσίαν. Ἀγαπῶ τὴν παραίνεσιν,  
τέκνον μου ἀγαπητόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν λέγεις συνομολογεῖς ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς  
κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι προθυμούμεθα κοπιᾶν. Πῶς γὰρ  
ἄλλως ἀποκείσεται ἡμῖν ὁ μισθός, εἰ μὴ κατὰ θεοῦ βούλησιν ὁ κόπος  
55 ἡμῶν; Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοις ἦν ὁ κόπος ἀρέσκων θεῶ, διότι κατὰ τὸ  
θέλημα τούτου ἐκοπίων, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον τὸν μισθόν, οὕτω

representative upon earth to dominate over them that are on the earth. I said to myself that, as I was to be envoy to such a man as this, I should succeed in my embassy, should effect what was to the common advantage, should restore the peace which had been destroyed, first by the wiles of the devil, and then by the foolishness of men, and should return rejoicing, thanking God, publishing your virtue to all, extolling it with my praises (if the catalogue of your praises in the mouth of a humble old man and archpriest be of any value), and myself bearing back for my reward something which is to me the most prized of all rewards—concord and peace between Romans and Bulgarians as these were in the beginning.

But, as it is, your letter gives me no such promise: to judge from its words, it tells me, on the contrary, that my labor will be in vain, that I shall not effect those things for which I have chosen to labor, that I shall not meet with grace from you, that my beloved Son will not be moved by his father's age, will not respect a humble archpriest's attendance on him, but will look on me as no different from any other envoy that comes to him. Having in mind thus to receive me, thus to honor me (my beloved Son), your father, the Archpriest, the old man, do you incite me to come? Do you encourage me to disregard old age and the toils and hardship which I shall meet with on the journey? What am I to say to that? What am I to think? What son was ever known to send to his father, saying: "Come to me, my father, so that I may set your words at naught. Come, so that you may achieve none of your objects, that you may find your labor in vain"? I never till now heard of a son who sent such a message. I ask once again (my Son), is it worthy of your greatness of heart, of your celebrated wisdom, to send word to your father: "Undergo hardship for nothing, father, and come to your son, so that you may return cheated of your hopes, to be the shame of all who know of it"? I leave aside for the moment your own reputation (my Son), and what men everywhere will say of you when they hear of this.

Then again, the phrase with which you invite me, and encouraged me on my way, how excellent and truly commendable it is! You say: "The Apostles, hastening upon doubtful errands and not knowing what the event would be, nonetheless hastened and labored, for the reward that should be from Above"! I accept that exhortation (my beloved Son); for by your words you confess that it is according to the will of God that I am, as they were, ready to labor. How else shall my reward be laid up, if my labor be not according to God's will? For just as their labor was pleasing to God, because they labored according to His will, and they received from Him their reward,

πάντως και ὁ ἡμέτερος κόπος, εἰ μισθὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνομεν παρὰ  
 θεοῦ, | καθὼς εὖ φρονῶν ὁμολογεῖς, κατὰ βούλησιν γίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ. B  
 Εἶτα οὐ φοβῆ τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀποδέχεται, ὡς κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ  
 60 γινόμενον θέλημα (πῶς γὰρ ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν, τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐδίδου μι-  
 σθόν; ) μὴ ἀποδεχόμενος σὺ μηδὲ τιμῶν, ὡς περ ἐστὶν πρέπον, και παρ-  
 ἔχων συγκατάθεσιν εἰρήνης δι' ἣν κοπιῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἀποστρέφεις κοπιῶν-  
 τας διακενής; Καὶ πῶς ἔχει λόγον, θεὸν μὲν ἀποδέχεσθαι τὴν ἐμὴν  
 65 δὲ φιλόθεον ὑπάρχοντα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, μὴ τῷ θεῷ βουλήματι συντρέχειν,  
 ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν ἐναντία, και ὄνπερ ἐκεῖνος πόνον ἡμῶν ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
 γινόμενον ἄμισθον οὐκ ἔξ, σὲ τοῦτον ὡς φαῦλον παρορᾶν και οὐδενὸς  
 ἄξιον λόγου νομίζεις; Σκέψαι εἰ ἄξιον τοῦτο φιλοθέου | ψυχῆς. C

Και οὐχ ἐτέρωθεν τοῦτο συνάγεται ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ τῶν σῶν ἀληθῶς  
 70 φρονίμων λόγων. Ἐφης γάρ, και καλῶς ἔφης, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐκ  
 θεοῦ ὁ μισθὸς ἐδίδοτο κοπιῶσιν, κἂν πρὸς οὐς ἀπήεσαν ἐνίοτε μὴ πείθειν  
 ἠδύναντο. Ἀλλὰ τίνες οἱ μὴ πειθόμενοι, και τοῦτο εἰπέ· πάντως ἐρεῖς  
 ὅτι ὅσοι μὴ ἤδεισαν κατὰ θεοῦ βούλησιν εἶναι τὸν κόπον τῶν ἀποστόλων,  
 οὐδ' ἀξίους αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦντο μισθαποδοσίας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κολάσεως και  
 75 τιμωρίας· διὰ τοῦτο ἐδίωκον και ἐτιμωροῦντο αὐτούς. Ὁ δὲ ὁμολογῶν  
 ἐμὲ λήψεσθαι μισθὸν πάντως πρότερον ὁμολογεῖ ὅτι ἀποδέχεται κο-  
 πιῶντας ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς και τούτου χάριν δίδωσι τὸν μισθόν· και θεὸς μὲν  
 ἀποδέχεται τὴν ἐμὴν ταλαιπωρίαν και | ἀνταμείβεται τῆς δικαίας κρι- D  
 σεως αὐτοῦ τῇ μισθαποδοσίᾳ, σὺ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὢν οὐκ ἀποδέχῃ; Ὁ  
 80 δεσπόζων οὐρανοῦ και γῆς οὐκ ἀτιμάζει τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν (πῶς γάρ, εἰ  
 ἀτιμάζει, δίδωσι τὸν μισθόν; ), σὺ δέ, εἰ και δεσπόζεις λαοῦ ἕσου ποτὲ  
 και δεσπόζεις, ἀλλὰ γε μετ' ὀλίγον γυμνὸς μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων παρ-  
 ἴστασθαι μέλλων τῷ δεσπότη τῶν ὅλων, παρ' οὐδὲν τίθης τὴν ἡμετέραν  
 ταλαιπωρίαν; Και ποῦ προσῆκον τοῦτό γε ἢ τῇ συνέσει σου ἢ τῇ φιλοθείᾳ  
 85 σου ἢ τῇ ἄλλῃ βοωμένη τῶν τρόπων σου καταστάσει; Ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνατρέ-  
 ποντες λέγομεν τὸ σὸν πρόβλημα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπομιμνήσκοντες  
 και δίδόντες ἀφορμὴν φρονίμου θεοῦ χάριτι ὄντι φρονιμωτέρῳ γενέσθαι.

Βούλομαι σε, υἱέ μου ἡγαπημένε, και ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ προσαγαγεῖν  
 σεαυτὸν, και ὡς περ | εἰ παρόντων ἡμῶν ἤκουες ἂν νουνεχῶς τῶν λεγο- 133  
 90 μένων, οὕτω φυλάξαι τὸ νουνεχὲς τῷ λόγῳ. Πλὴν οὐκ ἀγνωεῖν οἰόμεθά  
 σε ἃ μέλλομεν γράφειν, μᾶλλον δὲ φέρομεν ὑπόληψιν ὡς ἐπίστασαι ταῦτα  
 και χωρὶς τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων, διότι σπουδαῖον ὄντα ὑπολαμβάνω και εἰς

even so my labor too, if, as you rightly admit, I am rewarded for it by God,  
 must be in accordance with His will. But then, are you not afraid not to  
 accept and respect my labor, which is acceptable to God as being according  
 to His will (how, else, should He reward me for it?), by accepting and  
 respecting it as you ought; and not to consent to the peace for which I labor?  
 No, you rebuff me, and I labor in vain. Yet how is it reasonable that God,  
 for His part, should accept my hardships and reward them with a share of  
 His own Goodness, while you (my Son) the lover of God, act not in compliance  
 with, but in opposition to, the Divine Will? And that, while He will not  
 leave unrewarded the labor which I undergo for His sake, you despise it as  
 cheap and regard it as unworthy of consideration? Think whether this be  
 worthy of a soul that loves God.

This is not derived from elsewhere than from your own most truly wise  
 discourse. You say, and rightly enough, that God rewarded the Apostles for  
 their labors, even though sometimes they could not persuade those to whom  
 they went out. Yet ask me also, who were those who were not persuaded?  
 Doubtless you will say, those who did not know that the Apostles' labor was  
 according to the will of God; and thought them worthy of no reward, but  
 rather of castigation and punishment, and for that reason they persecuted  
 and punished them. But he who admits that I shall be rewarded, admits a  
 fortiori that God accepts my labor and for that reason rewards it. Shall God  
 then accept my hardship and recompense it with the wages determined by  
 His just Judgment, and shall you, who are man, not accept it? Shall He,  
 That is Lord of heaven and earth, esteem my labor (for, if He despise it, how  
 doth He reward it?); and shall you, who, however numerous may be the folk  
 of whom you are lord, yet must in a little while stand with all men naked  
 before the Lord of all, set my hardship at nought? How is this consonant  
 with your wisdom, your piety, and your other much vaunted qualities of  
 character? I say this not as subverting your high appointment (my Son),  
 but as giving reminder and occasion for you, who are wise by God's grace, to  
 become wiser still.

I would like you (my beloved Son) to attend to my discourse yet  
 further; and, as though I were present, and you were listening judiciously  
 to what I was saying, so to continue your judicious attention to that dis-  
 course. I believe you are not ignorant of what I am about to write, indeed  
 I imagine that you know it without my telling you, since I imagine that,  
 with your seriousness of character, you apply the same seriousness to your

τὸ τὰς ἱστορίας ἀναλέγειν τῶν παλαιῶν τὴν αὐτὴν διασφύζειν σπουδὴν.  
 Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀγνοεῖς, ὅμως καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πρὸς εἰδόμενα ἐν ὑπομνήσεως  
 95 τάξει προστίθημι. Ἐκράτει τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν σκήπτρων Ἀρκάδιος, καὶ  
 πολὺς ἦν Γαῖνᾶς ἐκεῖνος ἀπείρω πλήθει ταύτην δὴ τὴν γῆν πυρπολῶν καὶ  
 αἰχμαλωτίζων, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς, πάντα τόπον οὗ ἂν ἐπίοι καλύπτων τῷ  
 πλήθει, καὶ οὐκ ἦν χεῖρας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνταίρειν, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τοὺς  
 100 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀφιεμένους σκηπτούς. Ὡς οὖν | ἐν τοιοῦτοις πράγμασιν ἀπῆγε-  
 σαν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβεῖαι τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκεῖνος ἀπέφραττε τὰ ὄτα καὶ  
 πρὸς πάντα λόγον ἀνένευεν, ἀκαμπτός τις ὢν καὶ ἀμείλικτος. Ἀντέπρατ-  
 τε γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία ὑφ' ἧς ἐκινεῖτο καὶ ἦν ἀκατάσχετος ἐν ταῖς σφαγαῖς  
 καὶ τοῖς φόνοις, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς. Ἦλγει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχιε-  
 105 ρεὺς, ἐσπαράσσετο τὴν ψυχὴν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀχρεῖοι καὶ ταπεινοί·  
 οὗτος δὲ ἦν Ἰωάννης, ὃ Χρυσόστομος τὸ ἐπώνυμον. Ἀλγῶν οὖν διε-  
 νοήθη πρᾶγμα γελῶμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς· τὸ δὲ ἦν ἀντὶ πάντων ἑαυτὸν  
 δοῦναι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γαῖνᾶν ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀνήμερον ἐκεῖνου παρακα-  
 λέσαι ψυχὴν καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸ ἄσβεστον πῦρ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ τῇ δρόσῳ  
 110 λῶν δέ, ὥσπερ ἔφην, πολλοί. Τίς γὰρ ἠλπίζεν ἐπισχεθῆναι τοῦ Γαῖνᾶ  
 τὴν ὀρυμνίαν, τοῦ μυρίου ἐκεῖνου πλήθους τὴν κίνησιν, ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς γυμνοῦ  
 καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο φέροντος πλὴν τὴν τῶν λόγων παραίνεσιν; Ὅμως παρα-  
 γίνεται πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ μόνον περιπτύσσεται τοῦ-  
 115 νοῖς, παῦσαι ἀνθρωπίνους αἵμασι ποτίζων τὴν γῆν, ἐνθυμήθητι ὅτι οὐ  
 πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ὑποδέξεται σε κόλποις. Ἀρχων λαοῦ  
 κατέστης, οὐχ ἵνα πρὸς φόνους ἄγῃς, ἀλλ' ἵνα τῆς αὐτῶν προνοῆ σωτη-  
 ρίας. Τί πρὸς ἄλλοτριαν ἐλαύνεις χώραν; Ἀρκέσθητι τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ δεδο-  
 μένῃ σοι. Τί πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπιζητεῖς ἢ μὴ ἀσφαλῶς ἴσως ἔξεις; Κατάλιπε  
 120 τοὺς Ῥωμαίων | τόπους τῆς ἀξίας τυχῶν φιλοφρονήσεως, καὶ πρὸς τὰ Δ  
 οἴκοι ἐπάνελθε.» Εἶδεν τὸν ἀρχιερέα ὁ Γαῖνᾶς, ἤκουσε τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων,  
 καὶ αὐτίκα δυσωπεῖται, καὶ καταλείπει μὲν τὸ ἄγριον καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον,  
 γίνεται δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμερότητος, παύει τὰς τῶν αἱμάτων χύσεις  
 τοῖς προλαβοῦσι κακοῖς ἀρκεσθεῖς καὶ συμβαίνει πρὸς εἰρήνην τῷ βασι-  
 125 λεῖ, λαβόμενος μὲν τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, φιλοφρονηθεὶς δὲ ὅσον ἦν  
 ἄξιον, καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία ἐπαναστραφεῖς.

Οἶδα ὅτι γινώσκεις ταῦτα, καὶ λυποῦμαι ὅτι πρὸς ἄνθρωπον εἰδόμενα  
 καὶ δύνανται ἔχοντα διδάσκειν τὸ καλὸν ἑτέροις ταῦτα φθέγγομαι. Πλὴν  
 ἀναγκαῖον ἠγγασάμην τὸ γράφειν, ἵνα καὶ ἀφ' ἧς γνώσεως σὺ φέρεις καὶ

study of ancient history. But even though you are not ignorant, I yet append  
 this story in the form of a memorandum to one who is aware of it. Arcadius  
 held the Roman scepter, and that mighty Gaïnas, with an infinite multitude,  
 was burning and enslaving this land, even as you are now, and covering  
 every spot which he invaded with his multitude; and it was not possible to  
 resist him any more than thunderbolts loosed from heaven. When, in these  
 circumstances, the Emperor's embassies approached him, he stopped his ears,  
 and rejected every proposal, for he was inflexible and irreconcilable; the  
 desire by which he was motivated worked against them; and he was uncontrollable  
 in slaughters and murders, even as you are. The Archpriest of God  
 was grieved at this, and was lacerated in his soul, like my worthless and  
 humble self. He was John, surnamed Chrysostom. In his grief he resolved on  
 a plan which most people derided, and this was to offer himself on behalf of  
 all, and to go to Gaïnas, and to plead with that unquiet spirit, and to try to  
 allay the unquenchable fire of his wrath with the dew of discourse. Such was  
 the plan of the Archpriest: and, as I have said, many people derided it: for  
 who could expect that the impetuosity of Gaïnas and the movement of his  
 infinite multitude could be checked by a naked man, armed with nothing but  
 verbal exhortation? However, he went to the man, and did nothing more  
 than embrace him, and say: "Sir, be content with the horrors done till now,  
 cease to water the earth with human blood, consider that in a little while she  
 shall receive you into her own bosom. You are set up to be prince of a people,  
 not so that you may lead them to murder, but so that you may provide for  
 their salvation. Why do you invade a foreign land? Be content with the land  
 which God has given you. Why seek greedily after what you can perhaps not  
 securely retain? Accept proper gifts, and leave the Roman territories, and  
 return home." Gaïnas looked at the archpriest, and listened to his words, and  
 was at once prevailed on, and abandoned his savage and inhuman pursuit,  
 and adopted a humane gentleness and, content with the evils that had gone  
 before, ceased from the shedding of blood, and came to peace with the  
 Emperor, embracing the knees of the Archpriest, and being presented with  
 suitable gifts, and returning to his own country.

I am aware that you know this, and I am sorry to speak so to one who  
 knows and has the capacity to teach virtue to others. But I thought it  
 essential to write it, so that, both from your own knowledge and from my



130 ἀφ' ὧν ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, αὐτὸς κατὰ σεαυτὸν γενόμενος καὶ τὸν Γαῖνᾶν  
ἐκεῖνον κατὰ διάνοιαν | παραστησάμενος, ἐννοήσης εἰ πρόπον τῇ σῇ με- 136  
γαλοδόξῳ ἀρετῇ ἐκεῖνου ὀφθῆναι λειπόμενον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὑποθέσει. Ὁ  
μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔδεθῆτο πρεσβείας δευτέρας, ἀλλ' ἅπαξ μόνον προσελθόντι  
ἐπέσθη τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ρίπτει καὶ τοὺς πολέμους παύει, οὐχ  
135 ἡγησάμενος πρόπον αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι τῷ θυμῷ οὐδ' ὡς περ θηρίον μόνον  
ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἰδίας ὀρμῆς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐπέσχετο ἐκεῖνο τὸ ψυχώλεθρον  
ὄρημα οἷον τινι χαλινῷ τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως λόγοις· ἡμεῖς δὲ  
παραγενέσθαι πρὸς σὲ μέλλοντες μετὰ τοσαύτας προλαβούσας δεήσεις  
ἀπόφασιν ἐδεξάμεθα μηδὲν πλέον ἕξειν παραγενόμενοι ὧν καὶ ἀπόντες  
140 ὠφθημεν δεηθέντες. Τί λέγεις, υἱέ μου τετιμημένε, συνετώτατε ἀνθρώ-  
πων; Ὁ δόξης εἶπερ τις ἄλλος ἔφασιν κεκτημένος, ὑπομένεις ἡττᾶσθαι B  
τῆς τοῦ Γαῖνᾶ ἐπιεικείας καὶ ἡμερότητος; Ὁλοῦς ἀνέχη δεύτερος ἐκεῖνου  
ἀπελέγχεσθαι; Ἐγὼ ἀντὶ σοῦ ἐρυθριῶ καὶ αἰσχύνομαι. Εἶτα οὐκ ἐνθυμῆ-  
τάς ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέμψεις, ὅταν εἰς σύγκρισιν ἢ σὴ τιμωρίας, εἶτε  
145 τῷ βίῳ παρόντος σου εἶτε καὶ τεθνηκότος, παρὰ τῶν εἰδόντων τὰς ἱστο-  
ρίας προάγησθε; Τίς γὰρ δὴ Βουλγάρων ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ μετέπειτα  
ἐσομένῳ καιρῷ, διηγήσεως τοιαύτης ἀκούων, ὅτι σκανδάλων μεταξὺ  
Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων γεγονότων πρεσβύτης ἀρχιερεὺς ὀρμήθη  
πρεσβευτῆς γενέσθαι εἰς τὸ παῦσαι τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλων πολέμους, συνα-  
150 γαγεῖν ἀμφοτέρω τὰ γένη πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν εἰρήνην, ὃ δὲ τῶν Βουλγάρων  
δεσπόζων οὐκ ἠξίωσε δέξασθαι τὴν πρεσβείαν, οὐ κατηγορήσει καὶ  
εἶποι κατὰ σοῦ ὅσα ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ | ἀν φαίην (μηδὲ συγχωρήσοι θεός), C  
ἐκεῖνοι δὲ πάντως ἐροῦσι καὶ πλείονα λυθέντος τοῦ φόβου τοῦ λέγειν  
ἕκαστον περὶ σοῦ ὅπως ἔχει φρονήσεως· ὅπου γε καὶ νῦν, ἵνα μὴ λέγω  
155 πάντες, ἀλλὰ πολλοί, ὡς γε ἀκούομεν, τοῦ σοῦ λαοῦ, τοῦ σοῦ γένους,  
μέμφονται τοῦ ἀπαύστου πολέμου καὶ τοῖς γινομένοις ἐπιστενάζουσιν.  
Αἰσθάνομαι πλέον τοῦ δέοντος εἰπῶν· ἀλλὰ τί πράξω; Εἰς τοῦτο,  
εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιος, προκεχειρίσμαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ, μεσίτης εἰρήνης, διδάσκαλος  
εἰρήνης. Καὶ μέχρις ἂν ἡ πνοὴ ἐπαρκῆ, ταῦτά μοι φθέγγεσθαι ἀνάγκη  
160 διὰ παντός, καὶ μάλιστα νῦν ὁπότε τέκνα πρὸς πατέρας, ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφοὺς  
κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐκμανέντες ἀποσφάττουσιν· ὅτε τὸ ἐν σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ὡς περ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιλαθόμενον κεφαλῆς ἐφ' ἣ συνηρμο- D  
λογήθη, καθ' ἑαυτὸ στασιάζει καὶ τὰ τῶν μαινομένων οἱ τὰ οἰκεῖα  
κατεσθίουσι μέλη ἐπιτελεῖ. Ναὶ δὴ καὶ σοῦ χάριν τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ νέου  
165 φίλου ἡμῶν καὶ υἱοῦ, κἂν μὴ πείθωμεν, κἂν εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ρίπτώμεθα, τὸν

161-163: Ephes. 4.16.

130 λέγομεν Vat.: -ωμεν P|| 149 fort. <καὶ> συναγαγεῖν

narration, you might return to yourself and put this Gainas in your mind's  
eye and reflect whether it becomes your very glorious Virtue to appear  
inferior to him in this matter. For he needed no second embassy, but was  
persuaded by the single visit of the archpriest, and threw down his arms,  
and stopped the fighting, thinking it did not become him to yield to his  
wrath, nor, like a mere wild animal, to cling to his own fury, but rather was  
his soul-destroying fury checked by the bridle—as it were—of the arch-  
priest's peaceable words; but I, who was on the point of coming to you after  
so many previous requests, have received your decision that I shall by my  
presence get no nearer to those things which I have been praying for in my  
absence. What say you (my honored Son, most wise of men)? Can you, most  
ambitious of men for glory, endure to be worsted by the kindness and  
gentleness of Gainas? Can you by any means endure to be proved his inferior?  
I blush, I am ashamed for you! Do you not consider the censures of men,  
when your Honor, either in your lifetime or after you are dead, is brought  
into comparison by those who know history? What Bulgarian or Roman in  
the time hereafter, at hearing this story—that, when offenses had arisen  
between Romans and Bulgarians, an old man and high-priest set out as  
ambassador to stop the mutual warfare, to bring together both races into  
their former peace, but the Bulgarian lord did not deign to receive his  
embassy—will not condemn you and say that of you which I for my part will  
not mention? God forbid it! And no doubt they will say yet more when every  
man is free from fear to say exactly what he thinks of you, when even now, I  
do not say all, but as I hear, many of your own people and your own race  
are blaming you for the ceaseless warfare, and murmur over what is going on.

I am sensible of having said more than I should. But what am I to do?  
For this was I appointed (though unworthy) by God, to be the advocate of  
peace. And so long as my breath shall last, these things I must by all means  
speak, and above all now, when sons are set against fathers and brothers are  
slaughtering brothers in their rage against one another; when the single Body  
of Christ our God, as though forgetting its own Head to which it is joined,  
is at feud with itself, and acts like those madmen who devour their own limbs.  
Indeed, it is for your own sake also, for you, my old and young friend and Son,  
that I prolong my discourse, even though I do not win you over and am



λόγον ἐκτείνομεν· ὃν εὐχομαι καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον ἐκεῖνα πράττειν ὅσα μέλλει πάσης ἐλευθερόν σε μέμψεως ἀνακηρύττειν καὶ ἐν τῇ μακαρίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων ζωῇ τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἀπογεγραμμένοις συναριθμηθῆναι.

Ἔλεγεν δὲ τὸ γράμμα τῆς ὑμῶν τιμιότητος καὶ περὶ ἀλλαγίου καὶ διερχόμενος τὸν τόπον τοῦ γράμματος ἐπὶ πλέον ἐδάκρυσα ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ὁ διάβολος ὥστε Χριστιανούς ποιῆσαι Χριστιανῶν ἀνταλλάττεσθαι, ὥσπερ εἰ τὸ ἐν σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ κινημένον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μελῶν ἐπιζητεῖ ποιεῖσθαι ἀνταλλαγὴν. Τί λέγεις; Πῶς νομίζεις τὴν κεφαλὴν ἡμῶν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔχειν; Ἐγὼ νομίζω πλέον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὑπομένειν τὰς ὀδύνας. Πλὴν ἐπεὶ τοιαῦτα ἔλεεινὰ καὶ δυστυχῆ Ῥωμαίους καὶ Βουλγάρους κατέλαβε πράγματα, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὁ πονηρὸς ἔλαβε κράτος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως εἰρήνης μεσιτεούσης ἕκαστον Βούλγαρον καὶ Ῥωμαῖον φιλικῶς <καὶ> ἀδελφοπρεπῶς εἰς τὰ οἰκεία ἐπανελθεῖν· εἰ οὖν τοσοῦτον ὥσπερ εἶπον ἐκράτησε τὸ κακὸν καὶ ἀμήχανον διὰ τῆς φιλίας καὶ γλυκυτάτης εἰρήνης πάντας ὅσους ἢ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐπήρεια τῶν οἰκείων ἐποίησεν ἀναστάτους ἀπλῶς οὕτω καὶ ἀδελφικῆ ἀπολύσει πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία πάλιν ἐπανατρέχειν, ἀλλὰ τοιαύτης δεῖσθε ἀνταλλαγῆς ἣν ἢ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπίσταται ψῆφος, φρίττοντες μὲν καὶ θεόν, αἰδούμενοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς μετέπειτα ἐσομένους ἀνθρώπους, ἢ Ῥωμαϊκῆ συγκατανεύει πολιτεία. Προβήσεται δὲ πάντως τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀλλάγιον ὥσπερ ἐστὶν νόμος | τῆς τῶν ἀλλαγίων καταστάσεως· οὐκοῦν δεήσει καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν τινὰς τὰ ἐνταῦθα καταλαβεῖν καὶ πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς παραγενέσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ὥστε κοινῆς γενομένης σκέψεως τοῦ πῶς δεῖ καταλλαγῆναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ὑπαλλάττεσθαι κατὰ τὸ καλῶς ἔχον καὶ συμφέρον καὶ Βουλγάρους καὶ Ῥωμαίους οὕτω γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀλλάγιον.

## 21. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Πολλάκις ἐγράψαμεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ (πῶς εἶπω;) διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγένετο ἡμῖν ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ὠφελείας τῶν λόγων· πολλάκις ἐσείραμεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς καρδίας σου, υἱέ μου ποθεινότατε, καὶ (πάλιν φημί) διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐθερίσαμεν οὐς ἐποθοῦμεν καρπούς. Πλὴν ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο σιωπήσω ἀπελπίζων, ἀλλὰ γράφω καὶ νῦν | τῆς χρηστοτέρας ἐλπίδος γενόμενος καὶ φέρων ἐπὶ θεῷ τὴν πεποί- C

172 ἑαυτοῦ Vat.: -ὁ P || 179 καὶ Mai: om. P  
21: P 122r-126v

swept aside; for you I pray that you may act in this life in such a way as shall proclaim you devoid of all censure, and make you to be numbered in the blessed life of the saints with those who are there enrolled.

Your Honor's letter also spoke of an exchange of prisoners; and as I read that passage in it I was yet more full of tears that the devil had so much prevailed as to make Christians to be exchanged for Christians: as though the single body of a man, after rebellion against itself, were demanding an exchange of its own members. What say you? How do you think our Head, Christ our God, regards this proposal? I believe He endures at this present worse agonies than He did upon the Cross. However, since all this misery and unhappiness has overtaken Romans and Bulgarians, and the evil one has obtained such power, and it is impossible that peace should intercede and each Bulgarian and Roman return in a friendly and brotherly spirit to his own home—if (I say) the evil has gone so far and it cannot be that in dear and most sweet peace all those whom the malice of the evil one has evicted from their homes should, thus simply and on a brotherly disbandment, return to them again, and you are asking for the kind of exchange which involves counting enemy heads, then, in the fear of God and out of regard for generations hereafter, the Roman Government agrees to this. But such an exchange must of course be negotiated according to the law which governs the procedure of exchanges. It will therefore be necessary that envoys from you should come here, and Romans go to you, so that after mutual discussion as to the correct procedure of the exchange of those who are to be exchanged, the business can be concluded in a manner suitable and advantageous to Bulgarians and Romans.

## 21. To the Same

I have often written to you (my Son), and—for my sins, I suppose—I have not gained anything by what I wrote: I have often cast my seed on the soil of your heart (my most tenderly loved Son), and (I repeat) for my sins have not reaped the harvest I desired therefrom. Yet I shall not on this account give up hope and be silent: and I write again now with better hope, and in the belief (under God) that I shall gather some salutary and profitable

θῆσιν ὡς καρπώσομαι τι τῶν σωτηρίων καὶ ὠφελίμων. Καὶ εἴη ὁ πάντων  
 αἴτιος τῶν καλῶν τὴν ἐλπίδα πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἔχων καὶ διδούς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀφ'  
 10 ὧν γράφομεν ὠφελήθηναί καὶ τῷ πνευματικῷ μου υἱῷ ἐξ ὧν τοῖς τοῦ  
 πατρὸς γράμμασι προσομιλεῖ. Ἐκινήθημεν δὲ πρὸς τὸ γράφειν τῷ σῶ  
 γράμματι ἐντυχόντες καὶ εὐθύς ἐκ προοιμίων εὐρόντες ἐπαγγελίαν θεοῦ  
 ταπεινώσιν μιμούμεν, ἐξ ὧν ἔλεγες ὅτι μιμούμενος θεὸν ἄνδρα τα-  
 15 τεινὸν καὶ εὐτελεῖ οὐκ ἀπεστράφη, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἤγαγες καὶ  
 τῆς σῆς ἡξίωσας ὀμιλίας, δι' οὗ καὶ τὸ γράμμα πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα ἀπέ-  
 στείλας. Αὕτη γοῦν ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῆς ταπεινώσεως προετρέψατο | ἡμᾶς D  
 γράφειν, ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμηθέντας ὅτι ψυχὴ ἀπαξ ταπεινὸν φρόνημα κτησα-  
 μένη καὶ πρὸς θεοῦ μίμησιν ἀποβλέπουσα πᾶν ὃ τι καὶ προπέπονθε παρὰ  
 20 τινος λυπηρόν, τοῦτο ἔασει, καὶ τὸ πικρὸν τῆς καρδίας κενώσει καὶ τὸ  
 φιλόνηκον ἀποθήσει, καὶ καταστήσεται μὲν καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ [καὶ] πρὸς  
 τοὺς πρόποντας λογισμοὺς, ἀκούσεται δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων εὐμενῶς τὰ ὠφέ-  
 λιμα καὶ σωτήρια ὑποτιθεμένων.

Γράφομεν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα οἷα γράφομεν· καὶ εἰ μὲν τις γένηται ὠφέ-  
 λεια, εὐχαριστήσομεν τῷ τῆν ὑμετέραν φρονίμην ψυχὴν οὕτω διαθέντι  
 25 καὶ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἀμαρτωλοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ πατρὸς πείσαντι δέξασθαι 140  
 σωτηριώδη παραίνεσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ὠφελήσωμεν, καὶ οὕτως εἴργασται τὸ  
 ἡμέτερον καὶ ὁ χρεωστοῦμεν πληροῦμεν. Τὸ δὲ σόν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὡς  
 φρόνιμος κατανοεῖ, εἰ ἔστιν καὶ παρὰ θεῷ ἀκατάκριτον καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις ἀνεπίμωμον. Ἀλλὰ καλὴ τοῦ γράμματος ἡ ἀρχὴ· «ταπεινώσιν μι-  
 30 μούμενος θεοῦ» ἤγαγες κατὰ πρόσωπον ἄνθρωπον ταπεινόν, καὶ οὐκ  
 ἐπῆρέν σε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐδὲ σεαυτοῦ ἡγήσω ἀνάξιον ὀμιλήσαι  
 οἰκείῳ στόματι τῷ ἀσυγκρίτως ἀπολειπομένῳ τοῦ σοῦ μεγέθους τῆς δό-  
 ξης. Τοῦτο ἐπαινετόν, καὶ ἦν ἀκόλουθον καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τοῦ γράμματος τῆ  
 αὐτῆ συνυφανθῆναι ταπεινότητι καὶ μὴ παρεξελθεῖν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ (ὡς  
 35 ἔφη) μιμήσεως. Νῦν δὲ ἄλλον ἔχει χαρακτῆρα τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ γράμ-  
 ματος· οὐ ταπεινότητος, οὐκ ἐπιεικειᾶς, οὐ φιλανθρωπίας, ἀλλὰ τινος B  
 ἐτέρας διαθέσεως. Φεῦ τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος τοῦ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 διαφθονομένου καὶ ἀεὶ τὴν οἰκείαν κακίαν προσεπιμιγνύειν φιλονει-  
 κοῦντος τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. Καὶ πολλάς μὲν τὸ γράμμα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, πε-  
 40 ριπλοκάς ἐδήλου ἡμῖν, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐντεῦθεν στρέφεται, νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖθεν·  
 εἷς δὲ ὁ σκοπὸς αὐτῷ, τὸ βούλεσθαι τὴν ὑμετέραν προαίρεσιν μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι  
 τοῖς ἰδίοις μηδ' ἐμμένειν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεδομένοις ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπιπηδᾶν  
 πράγμασιν ἄλλοτρίοις (καὶ τότε τίνων; πατέρων τῶν γεννησάντων

reward. And may the Author of all good realize my hope, and grant to me  
 the profit of what I write, and to my spiritual Son the profit of his knowledge  
 of his father's letter! I have been moved to write by reading your letter and  
 finding in its very first words a profession which "imitates the humility of  
 God": since, you say, in imitation of God, you have not turned away one  
 who was humble and lowly, but brought him before your face, and deigned  
 to speak with him; and by his hand you have dispatched your letter here.  
 This profession of humility has induced me to write, considering that a  
 soul that has once learned humility, and is turned toward the imitation of  
 God, will forget all the pain it has suffered at anyone's hands in the past,  
 and will empty out the bitterness of its heart, and will put away quarrel-  
 someness, and will of itself adopt a fitting state of mind, and will listen when  
 others kindly put forward counsels of profit and salvation.

So much then for my motive in writing this: and if profit comes from  
 it, I shall offer thanks to Him Who has so disposed your wise heart, and has  
 prevailed on it to accept the salutary exhortation of your humble and  
 sinful Archpriest and father. If I profit nothing, yet even so I have done my  
 part, and am performing my duty; but for your part (my Son), reflect in  
 your wisdom whether it be guiltless before God and blameless before men.  
 However, the beginning of your letter was good: "imitating the humility of  
 God," you brought before you a humble man, nor were you elated by the  
 majesty of your rule, nor did you regard it as beneath you to speak personally  
 with one who was so immeasurably inferior to the greatness of your glory.  
 This was commendable, and it was logical to expect that the rest of your  
 letter would be composed with the same humility, and that you would not  
 deviate from (as you put it) that "imitation of God." But, as it is, your letter  
 goes on in a different tone: a tone not of humility, or kindness, or mercy,  
 but of another disposition. Alas for the evil demon who has from the begin-  
 ning envied the good, and still strives to mix his native malice with it! Your  
 letter (my Son) reveals several complications to me, and twists now this way  
 and now that; yet its purpose is single, that it is your resolve not to be  
 content with your own, not to abide by what was given you in the beginning,  
 but to usurp the property of others—(yes, and whose? of the fathers that

ὑμᾶς) καὶ προνομίῳ βασιλείας ἢ πᾶν ἔθνος ὑπὸ πόδας ἔθηκεν· καὶ οὐδὲν  
45 ἔθνος ἐξ οὗ τὸ Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἐγνωρίσθη ἠδυνήθη καυχῆσασθαι μὴ  
οὐχὶ τὸν αὐχένα κλῖναι αὐτῷ.

Εἰρήνην ἐπιζητεῖς· καλὸς ὁ λόγος, δεῖξον καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῷ λόγῳ  
ἀκόλουθον. Ἡ εἰρήνη οὐ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφίεται, οὐ τοῖς μηδὲν προσ-  
ήκουσιν ἐπιτηδᾶ, | οὐ χεῖρας αἶρει πρὸς ὄπλα, οὐ παρέχει προφάσεις C  
50 πολέμων, οὐ χαίρει χύσεσιν αἱμάτων, οὐκ οἶδεν αἰχμαλώτους ἀνθρώπους  
ποιεῖν. Εἰ τοιαύτην εἰρήνην ποθεῖς, εἶη Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὸ οἰκεῖον  
αἷμα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τοῦ κόσμου κενώσας τὸ σὸν θέλημα, μᾶλλον δὲ  
τὸ κοινὸν καὶ Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων, ἐκπληρῶν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς ταύτην  
οὐ βλέπεις τὴν εἰρήνην, τί τοῦ ῥήματος ὄφελος, ὅταν τὰ πράγματα τυγ-  
55 χάνη πολέμια; Κατάθες τὰ ὄπλα, παύσθωσαν τῶν αἱμάτων αἱ χύσεις,  
τῶν αἰχμαλώτων αἱ συμφοραὶ, τῶν ὄρφανῶν, τῶν χηρῶν τὰ δάκρυα, ἢ  
ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν, τοῦ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων βούλεσθαι ἄρχειν. Ταῦτα  
γενέσθω, καὶ ὄντως εἰρήνη θεῷ ἀρέσκουσα βραβευθήσεται. Τὸ δὲ D  
λέγειν τοὺς πατέρας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς δουλείας τοῦ σκότους μετὰ γε θεὸν  
60 ἐλευθερώσαντας ὑμᾶς, τούτους ὑποχειρίους λαβεῖν, πῶς ἐστὶν εἰρήνης,  
ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῶν πώποτε πολεμιωτάτων καὶ μηδέποτε εἰρήνην εἰδόντων;

Ἄλλὰ λέγεις, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οὕτω βούλεσθαι τὸν θεόν. Μέχρι  
τίνος τῶν ἀπατεῶνων προσέξεις τοῖς λήροις φρόνιμος ὢν; Ἔως πότε  
παραχωρήσεις τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ φθέγγεσθαι πνεύματος  
65 ταῖς σαῖς ἀκοαῖς τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν ἐπαντλεῖν; Οὐκ ἐστὶν τοῦτο, τέκνον  
ἡμῶν, ἀληθές, οὐδὲ βούλεται τοῦτο θεός, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθρωποκτό-  
νος διάβολος, ὁ αἰεὶ χαίρων ταῖς στάσεσιν, ταῖς μάχαις, τοῖς πολέμοις,  
ταῖς ἀνδροφονίαις, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο κακὸν ἐν τῷ ματαίῳ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
πων γνωρίζεται, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα καὶ βουλόμενος καὶ διαπραττόμενος· 141  
70 ἐκεῖθεν ταῦτα (οἷμοι τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν) ἐπεισῆλθε τὰ κακὰ μέσον  
Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων, μετὰ τῶν πατέρων καὶ τῶν τέκνων, οὓς  
οὐχ αἷμα καὶ σὰρξ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα υἱοῦ καὶ πατέρας ἀπέδει-  
ξεν. Θάνατον γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἀπάτη δαίμονος καὶ ἐπιθυ-  
μία παραλόγως τῇ ἀπάτῃ ἐξακολουθήσασα, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὰ νῦν συμβαίνοντα  
75 χαλεπὰ προῆλθεν εἰς γένησιν. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἀνθρωποὶ διεφθαρμένοι καὶ πλά-  
νοι τὴν σὴν φρονίμην ψυχὴν ἐξηπάτησαν καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν πατέρων συνη-  
θείας τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς διαγωγῆς ἀπέστησαν, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ πολεμεῖν πρὸς  
Χριστιανούς ἠγάπησας Χριστιανὸς ὢν, οὐδ' εὐσεβεῖν χάριτι θεοῦ ὁμολο-  
γῶν εὐσεβεῖς εἴλικες αἰχμαλώτους· καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἂν εἰς ἐρημίαν

begat you)—and the prerogative of an Empire that has set every nation  
beneath its feet: for, since the Empire of the Romans arose, there is no  
nation that has been able to boast that it has not bowed its neck to it.

You seek peace: good words, but show the deed consonant with the  
word. Peace does not covet what is another's, does not usurp what is not hers,  
does not take arms in hand, does not invent excuses for war, does not delight  
in the shedding of blood, does not use to make men captives. If this is the  
kind of peace you want, then may Christ our God, Who poured out His own  
Blood for the peace of the world, fulfill your desire, or rather, the common  
desire of Bulgarians and Romans! But if you do not look to this kind of  
peace, what is the good of talking, when your acts are war? Lay down your  
arms, let there be an end to bloodshed, the disasters of prisoners, the tears of  
orphans and widows, the desire to encroach on and rule the lands of others.  
Let this be, and a peace really pleasing to God will be accorded. But to say  
that you must have your fathers, who freed you (under God) from the slavery  
of darkness, for your subjects—what has this to do with peace? Is it not  
*the demand* of those who are more at enmity than any have ever been, of  
those that never knew peace?

But you say (my Son) that "God wills it so." How long will your  
Wisdom listen to the nonsense of charlatans? How long will you permit  
those who love to speak at the dictation of the evil spirit to drench you ears  
with their wickedness? My Son, it is not true! It is not the will of God, but  
of the devil, the slayer of mankind from the beginning, who still delights in  
brawls, in battles, in wars, in murders, and in every other evil known to this  
vain life of men. He it is who both wants and does these things. From him  
(alas for my sufferings!) have come those evils between Romans and Bulgar-  
ians, between fathers and sons, whom not blood and flesh, but the All-holy  
Spirit has made into sons and fathers. It is not God who made death, but  
the deceit of the demon, and the greed which mistakenly pursues that deceit,  
out of which the cruelties now being done have come to birth. For unless  
corrupt men and cheats had deceived your wise heart, and turned you in  
revolt from the way of life and conduct of your fathers, you would never have  
consented to make war on Christians at all, yourself a Christian; nor, con-  
fessing piety by God's grace, would you have dragged pious men into captiv-

44: Ps. 46.3. || 52: cf. Ioann. 6.51. || 66-67: Ioann. 8.44.

47 τὸ ἔργον Jk: τῷ ἔργῳ P

80 κατέστησας οἴκους καὶ τόπους ἐν οἷς τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεῖον ὄνομα ἐδοξάζετο, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἔφην διαβόλου φθόνος καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου μιμουμένων τὴν κακίαν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς χαλεποῖς τούτοις ἔδωκαν προελθεῖν.

Ἄλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἐνεφέρετο ἐν τῷ γράμματι, ὡς ἀγαπῶν τὸ B  
ὁμόψυχον καὶ τὸ εἰρηνεύειν πάντα πράττεις ἃ πράττεις. Καί(τοι) τὸ μὲν  
85 ὁμόψυχον καὶ τὸ εἰρηνεύειν ἔργον τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, τὸ δὲ πράττειν ἃ πράττεις  
ἔργον τοῦ πονηροῦ. Οὐδεὶς εἰρηνεύειν ἐπιζητῶν ἐπιβουλεύει ἐκείνου μεθ'  
οὐ εἰρηνεύειν ἐπιζητεῖ· οὐδεὶς ὁμόψυχον ἔχειν βουλόμενός τινα τῇ σφαγῇ  
τούτου μαινεί τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύει, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾷ, ἀλλὰ παντὶ  
τρόπῳ τὰ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀνέσεως ἐπιτελεῖν ἀγωνίζεται. Τὰ δὲ ὑμέτερα οὐ  
90 τοιαῦτα· οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ὁμόψυχεῖν οὐδὲ εἰρηνεύειν ἐπιζητούντων, ἀλλὰ  
τοῦναντίον μᾶλλον ἐχθραίνοντων καὶ μαχομένων καὶ μηδ' ὅτι τί ποτέ  
ἔστιν εἰρήνη συνιέντων. Καὶ ταῦτα γράφομεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οὐχὶ | διδά- C  
σκοντες ὡς ἀγνοοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὅτι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ῥημάτων οὐκ οἶδα  
τίνας δοκεῖ τὸ γράμμα παραλογίζεσθαι. Ἐρωτῶμέν σε, καὶ ἀποκριθῆτι·  
95 εἴ τις ἢ ἀδελφός ἢ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν παρελθὼν πάντα πράττοι ὥστε  
λαβεῖν τὴν σὴν κυριότητα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους, εἶτα λέγοι ὡς  
«Πράττω ταῦτα καὶ ἀγωνίζομαι χάριν τοῦ εἶναι ὁμόψυχός σοι καὶ τοῦ  
εἰρηνεύειν», ἄρα τοῦτον ἀποδέξῃ τῆς τοιαύτης προαιρέσεως ἢ ὡς ἐπί-  
βουλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν παντὶ τρόπῳ καὶ τῆς ὅλης αὐτὸν ἐκδιώξεις χώρας;  
100 Καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὃς τοῦτο ἠγνόηκεν; Μὴ τοῖνον μὴδὲ σὺ ἐκ τοιοῦτου φρονή-  
ματος ὁμόψυχος εἶναι βούλου μὴδὲ ἐπιζητεῖ τοιαύτην εἰρήνην· τὸ γὰρ ἰδιο-  
ποιεῖσθαι τὰ ἀλλότρια, τὸ βούλεσθαι τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων ἐπιβαίνειν,  
τυραννίδος | ἐστὶν καὶ μαχομένου τρόπου, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ὁμοψυχίας οὐδὲ D  
εἰρηναίας καταστάσεως.

105 Ἡ δὲ περὶ τῶν κοσσοφῶν καὶ τῶν πιθήκων καὶ τῶν κισσοῦν χρεία  
οὐκ οἶδα εἰς τί σοι προβέβληται. Ἄνθρωπος μὲν γὰρ εἰκὼν ἐστὶν θεοῦ  
καὶ τὴν θεῖαν μιμούμενος ἀρετὴν γίνεται κρείττων πάσης κακίας καὶ  
ὅσον ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὸν θεός, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ θεοῦ δεδημιουργηται·  
ἃ δ' ἔφησ ζῶα, εἰ καὶ μιμηλὸν τι πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἐπιδείκνυται, ἀλλ'  
110 οὐδὲν πρὸς τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα, οὔτε γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἀρετὴν ἀναλα-  
βεῖν ἱκανά οὔτε ἀνθρώπος λέγεσθαι καθ' οἷονδ' ἕποτε τρόπον, ὥσπερ ἐκ  
προκοπῆς ὁ ἀνθρώπος παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνει τὸ καλεῖσθαι θεός. Πλὴν καὶ  
τοῦτο, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὸ παράδειγμα εἰ | βούλοιο συνορᾶν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν 144  
εἰρημένοις, ὅμοια παραινεῖ· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ γνωρίζονται Χριστιανοί, ἐν

108: Plat., *Theaet.* 176b1-3.

81 μιμουμένων P<sup>c</sup>: -την P<sup>1</sup> || 84 καίτοι Wk: καὶ P || 86 leg. ἐκείνη? || 93 διδάσκοντες ὡς] -οντες in ras., ὡς s.l. P<sup>x</sup> || 95 ἀδε(λφός) P || 108 τοῦτο P<sup>c</sup>: τοῦτου P<sup>1</sup>

ity; in a word, you would not have laid waste dwellings and places where the Divine Name of Christ was glorified. No: as I said, it is the envy of the devil, and of men who imitate his malice, that has given rise to these cruelties.

Then, again, it is stated in your letter that "out of a love of concord and peace" you do what you do. But concord and peace are works of good; to do what you do is the work of evil. No one who seeks to make peace plots against him with whom he seeks to make it. No one who wishes another to be at concord with him stains his hands with the slaughter of that other, but heals and loves him and strives in all ways to effect what is for his comfort. You do not act so, and therefore you seek neither concord nor peace; you are, on the contrary, an enemy and a war-maker, who do not even understand what peace is. I write thus (my Son) not as teaching the ignorant, but because I really do not know whom your letter expects to deceive by the use of such terms as these. I will ask you this, and do you reply: if a brother, or one of your own sons, were to come and do all he could to seize your Majesty and the rule over your nation, and were then to say, "I am doing and trying to do this in order to be at concord and peace with you," would you accept this profession of his? or would you not by all means expel him quite out of your country as a traitor and enemy? The question answers itself. So do not you therefore look for concord in such a spirit as this, or seek for such a peace; for to lay claim to what is another's, and to desire to encroach on what does not belong to you, are acts of usurpation and of a war-making disposition, not of concord or of a pacific condition.

I do not see for what purpose you defend yourself by reference to the story of the blackbirds, apes, and jackdaws. A man is the image of God, who, by imitating the Divine Virtue, conquers every vice and becomes God, so far as a man may, and for that purpose he was created by God. The animals you speak of, though they may seem to imitate man, have no part in human activity: for they cannot assume human virtue, or be called men in any sense, as a man, if he progresses in virtue, may come to be given by God the name of God. Yet this example too (my Son), if you will take in what has been said above, teaches a similar lesson: for if Christians are known by their keeping

115 τῷ φυλάττειν τῶν ἀποστόλων τὰς διατάξεις, ἐν τῷ ἀγαπᾶν εἰρήνην, ρῖψον  
τὰ ὅπλα, κατάθου τὸν πόλεμον, κάθαρσον τὰς χεῖρας ἐκ τῶν Χριστιανικῶν  
αἱμάτων, ἐπάνηκε εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν κατάστασιν, ἐπίγνωθι τοὺς πατέρας  
καὶ ἀδελφούς, ἀναλαβὼν διάθεσιν ἣν ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος συγγένεια βού-  
λεται, καὶ κατάλιπε τὴν γνώμην πρὸς ἣν βασκανία δαίμονος καὶ ἀνθρώ-  
πων πονηρία κατεσκεύασεν. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰρήνη, ἣν οὐκ ἰσχύει  
120 πλάνη ἐξῆραι, τὸ παυθῆναι τοὺς πολέμους, τὸ ἀνακοπῆναι τὰς τῶν αἱμά-  
των χύσεις, τὸ ἀρκειῖσθαι σε τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατέρων  
δεδομένη σοι ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ, τὸ μὴ υπερβαίνειν ὅρια ἃ ἔθεντο οἱ πατέ-  
ρες | σου καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὅτε τὸν Χριστὸν B  
125 ἐπέγνωτε καὶ θεὸν συμπεφωνημένην εἰρήνην. Εἰ οὕτως φρονοῦμεν, ὅντως  
οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διάβολος μετὰ πάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς κεκνημένος πα-  
ρατρέψαι τὴν πρὸς σὲ εἰρήνην ἡμῶν δυνήσεται.

«Ναί, ἀλλὰ βούλημα θεοῦ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίαν ἡμᾶς λαβεῖν.»  
Ἐπισφαλεῖς οἱ λογισμοί, οὐκ εὐπρεπῆς ἡ ἐνθύμησις, ἄδηλον τὸ τέλος εἰς  
130 ὃ καταντήσετε. Πολλοὶ τοῖς τέως παροῦσι μὴ ἐπαρκούμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς  
πλείονα ὑπερεκτείνοντες ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ ἃ τέως εἶχον προσαπώλεσαν. Οὕτως  
ἐστὶν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα ἄπιστα, οὕτως ἐπισφαλῆ καὶ ἀβέβαια.  
Πλὴν εἰ βούλημα θεοῦ, δεῖ τὸν οὕτω πεποιδότα ὡς λήψεται τι παρὰ  
θεοῦ, ἐκεῖνον περιμένειν τὴν κρίσιν, ἐκεῖθεν ἐκδέχεσθαι τὴν ἀπόληψιν τῶν  
135 ἐλπίζομένων, | ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὰς σφαγὰς, πρὸς τοὺς φόνους, πρὸς ἃ μεμί- C  
σηκεν ὁ θεὸς ἐφορμᾶν. Καὶ τότε πρὸς τίνας; Οὐ πρὸς ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα  
θεόν, οὐ πρὸς λαὸν ἀλλότριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους διακειμέ-  
νους πολεμῶς πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πατέρας, πρὸς ἀδελφούς, πρὸς  
τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους οἱ ὡς τέκνων ὑμῶν ἐτίθεντο πρόνοιαν, πρὸς τού-  
140 τοὺς ἐξεβαρβαρώθητε, ἐξεπολεμώθητε, καὶ ἠγγήσασθε τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέ-  
ροις ὅπλοις κεῖσθαι καὶ τῇ ἐκχύσει τῶν Χριστιανικῶν αἱμάτων παρελέ-  
σθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ βασιλείαν, ἀδυνάτοις μὲν ἐπιχειροῦντες, ὅμως ἐπι-  
χειροῦντες.

Ἐβουλόμεθα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξιέναι τῷ γράμματι, ἀλλ' ὅτι συν-  
145 εἶδομεν τὴν τοῦ γράμματος ὑμῶν πολυλογίαν πρὸς ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν  
σκοπὸν συντείνουσαν, ὅνπερ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀνεδέξασθε,  
οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν καλῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἕκαστον ἀποκρίνεσθαι τῶν | γεγραμ- D  
μένων, ἵνα μὴ ἀντὶ γραμμάτων βίβλον φανῶμεν γράφοντες, καὶ συγκόπτον-  
τες μὲν σὲ τῇ πολυρρημοσύνῃ, μηδὲν δὲ ἴσως ὠφελοῦντες. Διὰ τοῦτο

123-124: Prov. 22.28. || 130: Hebr. 13.5.

130 καταντήσετε P<sup>1</sup>: -ται P<sup>e</sup> || 139-140 τούτους Jk: -οις P

the commandments of the Apostles and by their love of peace, then cast  
away your arms, lay aside war, purify your hands of Christian blood, return  
to your old state, recognize your fathers and brothers, with that disposition  
enjoined on you by our spiritual relationship, and abandon that purpose into  
which the demon's envy and man's wickedness have tricked *you*. This is  
true peace, which no error has power to disturb—to stop wars, to check  
bloodshed, to be content with the lordship and honor granted to you by God  
from the beginning and *received* from your fathers, and not to transgress the  
boundaries which your fathers set, or the peace between Bulgarians and  
Romans that was agreed upon when you recognized Christ Who is God. If  
we resolve on this, then not the devil himself, though he come on us at the  
head of all his host, will be able to subvert our peace with you.

Yes—you say—but “it is God's Will that I should take lordship” over  
the Romans. These thoughts are dangerous; the conclusion is improbable;  
and the end to which it will lead is dubious. Many who were not content  
with their present possessions and strained themselves in pursuit of greater,  
have lost even what they had. So unsure are human affairs, so slippery, so  
undependable. But, if it be the will of God, then he who is thus convinced  
that he shall receive something at God's hands should wait for God's decision,  
expect from Him the fulfillment of his hopes, and not turn to slaughter and  
murder, and such things as God hates. And then, against whom? Not against  
foreign nations who know not God, not against a people alien to Christ, not  
against men who are hostile to you, but against fathers, against brothers,  
against those men who have cared for you as for their children—it is against  
them that you have become ensavaged, and have gone to war, in the belief  
that you can by your arms and by shedding Christian blood wrest the rule  
and empire over them—an impossible undertaking, yet still undertaken.

I had intended to develop each point in your letter; but when I under-  
stood that, for all its length, it tended toward one single objective, the one  
which you have maintained from the beginning up till now, then I thought  
it wrong to answer each point of all you write, in case I should find myself  
writing a book instead of a letter, and stunning you with my verbosity,  
probably to no purpose. So, I abstain from writing at greater length, and say

150 καταλιπόντες τὸ πλείονα γράφειν, τοῦτό σοι γράφομεν· Μνήσθητι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκείνων ὅτε τῷ δεσμῷ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος συνδεδεμένοι ἐτύγχανες τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ βασιλέως ὡς υἱὸς ποθεινὸς ἀγάπῃ· μνήσθητι τῆς καλῆς ἐκείνης καὶ ἁγίας μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων εἰρήνης, τῆς γλυκείας συναναστροφῆς, τῆς ἀταράχου ζωῆς, ὅτε θεὸς ἐδοξάζετο μιᾷ καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ γνώμῃ Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομα δοξαζόντων, ὅτε διάβολος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δαίμονες ὄρωντες τὴν ὑμῶν σωτηρίαν, τὸ φιλάδελφον, τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ ὅσιον τρόπον, ἐθρόνουν τε καὶ ὠδύροντο, ὅτε | Βουλγάρων πρὸς τὴν γῆν τῶν 145 Ῥωμαίων εἰσιόντων, ὡς τέκνα, ὡς ἀδελφοὺς ὑποδεχόμενοι τούτους 160 Ῥωμαῖοι ἔχαιρον καὶ εὐφραίνοντο, ὅτε πάλιν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Βουλγάρους παραγινόμενων ὑμεῖς τῆς ἴσης χαρᾶς καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως ἀπελαύετε.

Ταῦτα ἐνθυμήθητι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὴν κοινὴν εὐφροσύνην, τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐκείνην καὶ μακαρίαν ἡδονήν, ἧς ἀπήλαυον οἱ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Βούλγαροι, δι' ἣν ὁ διάβολος ἐξεμαίνετο, δι' ἣν ἐσκυθρόπαζεν καὶ 165 κατηφῆς καὶ ἀλύων ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἐμηχανᾶτο, πᾶσαν πορείαν ἠλαύνετο τοῦ συγγέαι καὶ συνταράξει τὴν τριπόθητον ἐκείνην διαγωγὴν, ἧ καὶ ἐξενίκησεν (φεῦ τῆς ἀμάχου κακίας) ὡς ἐνόμισε καταπράσασθαι. Ἄλλὰ μὴ συγκεχωρήσθω τῷ πονηρῷ ἐπὶ πλεόν ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι μηδὲ ἐξορχεῖσθαι κατὰ τῆς Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων διαστάσεως· ἀλλ' 170 ὡς νουεχῆς, ὡς φρόνιμος, ἀφείς τοὺς συνέχοντας λογισμοὺς, ἀποφράξας τὰ ὄτα τοῖς ὑποβάλλουσι τὰ πονηρὰ βουλεύματα, γενοῦ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς σοὶ πρεπούσης ἀρετῆς, ἐπάνελθε πρὸς τὴν | ἀρχαίαν εἰρήνην, ἐπάνηκε πρὸς Β τὸ ἡμερον καὶ ἐπιεικὲς τῆς ἔμφρονός σου ψυχῆς. Ἀντιστραφήτωσαν οἱ στεναγμοὶ καὶ τὰ δάκρυα Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων, ἃ προσέξηνσεν ὁ 175 σατανᾶς, ἐπ' ἐκείνον αὐτὸν τὸν εὐρετὴν τῆς κακίας· πορευέσθω πάλιν οἰμῶζων καὶ κόπτων ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην συμβάσει καὶ θεοφιλεῖ ὁμοψυχίᾳ τῶν οὐς ἐξ ἀλλήλων διαστῆσαι κακομηχάνως δεδύνηται. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὸ ἐκεῖθεν κριτήριον, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸν φοβερὸν δικαστὴν ἀναλογιζώμεθα, καὶ τὴν κοινῶς μετὰ πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ 180 φρικτοῦ βήματος παράστασι, ὅτε οὔτε βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἄρχων οὐκ ἰδιώτης διακρίνεται, ἀλλὰ πάντες γυμνοὶ καὶ τετραχηλισμένοι παραστησόμεθα, οὐ μόνον τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς εἰς ἔλεγχον παριστάμενα ἔχοντες, ὅταν καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ἐπουρανίους δυνάμεις τρόμος καὶ φρίκη καταλήψεται.

merely this: Remember (my Son) those days of old when you were bound by the bond of the Holy Spirit, like a tenderly loved son, to the love of your father and emperor; remember that fair and holy peace between Romans and Bulgarians, the sweet converse, the quiet life; when God was glorified, and with one soul and mind Bulgarians and Romans glorified His All-holy name; when the devil and his demons, at sight of your salvation, your brotherly love, your pious and holy manner, lamented and grieved; when, if Bulgarians entered Roman territory, they were received as sons and brothers by the Romans, who rejoiced and were glad with them, and, on the other hand, when Romans came to Bulgarians, you experienced the same joy and delight.

Consider these things (my Son), the common gladness, that spiritual and blessed delight, which Romans and Bulgarians then enjoyed, over which the devil was enraged, over which he was saddened and went about glum and distraught, and devised every trick, resorted to every means, to confound and disturb that thrice-desirable way of life—and has succeeded (alas for his invincible malice!) in achieving what he hoped. But let him not be allowed to boast any further, or to triumph in the division of Bulgarians and Romans; but, in your good sense and wisdom, abandon these afflicting purposes, stop your ears to those who suggest wicked counsels, come back to yourself and to the virtue that becomes you, return to the ancient peace, resume the tranquillity and kindness of your wise heart. Let the sighs and tears of Romans and Bulgarians, which Satan has provoked, be cast back on himself, the author of malice: let him once more go wailing and beating his breast, over the conclusion of peace and pious concord between those whom he has been able, by his evil devices, to sever from one another. And, above all (my Son), let us reflect on our judgment beyond the grave and our terrible Judge, and our presentation along with all men at the awful Tribunal, where there is no distinction made of emperor or prince or private citizen, but all shall appear naked and seized by the throat, with all our deeds and even our thoughts and conscience put to the proof before us, and when trembling and fearfulness shall take hold even upon the very hosts of Heaven!

150-151: Ps. 142.5. || 181: Hebr. 4.13.

159 ἀδε(λφους) P || 161 χαρᾶς P<sup>x</sup>: χάρας (?) P<sup>1</sup> || 174 προσέξηνσεν Jk: προσεξήνησεν P

185 Ταῦτα ἐνθυμηθῶμεν, καὶ λήξωμεν τῶν ἔργων τῶν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν C  
 λυπούντων μὲν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν, χαίρειν δὲ παρασκευαζόντων  
 τοὺς φθονοῦντας τῇ σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν δαίμονας, καὶ εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν κα-  
 ταστήσωμεν ἃ παρεσφάλημεν, μηδὲ βουληθῶμεν ἐπιμεῖναι διότι συνηρ-  
 πάσθημεν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰργασμένοις κακοῖς. Μὴ ἀναμείνωμεν τὴν ἐσχάτην  
 190 ἡμέραν, ὅτε καὶ βουλόμενοι χρηστόν τι φρονεῖν ἴσως οὐδὲν δυνασόμεθα,  
 περισπωμένης τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς μόνην τὴν ἐκδημίαν ἀποβλεπούσης  
 τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἀγωνιώσης ἐφ' οἷς μέλλει ὑπὸ τῶν τότε παρισταμένων  
 (ᾧ τοῦ φρικτοῦ θεάματος) θείων ἀγγέλων καὶ πονηρῶν δαιμόνων διε-  
 ρευνᾶσθαι καὶ ἐξετάζεσθαι. Μὴ ἀπέλθωμεν οὕτως ἐκ τῆς παρουσίας  
 195 ζωῆς, ὅτι φοβερόν τὸ ἐμπσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας θεοῦ ζῶντος· μηδὲ | γένοιτο D  
 ἡμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι τῆς ὀδυνηρᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδιορθώτως ἐφ' οἷς ἐπλημμελήσαμεν  
 ἐκ τῆς παρουσίας ζωῆς ἀπιοῦσιν ἀποφάσεως, ὅτε οὐκέτι περιλείπεται  
 προσδοκία μετανοίας, οὐκ ἐλέους τοῦ ἀπροσωπολήπτου κριτοῦ, οὐδ'  
 ἔχει τέλος ἢ ἀπόφασις, ἀλλὰ ἀπέραντος διαμένει ἐλεεινῶς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα  
 200 τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῇ πεσόντας κολάζουσα καὶ τιμωρουμένη.

Ἐμνημόνευε δὲ τὸ γράμμα καὶ περὶ ἀποκρισιαρίων ἀποστολῆς.  
 Καὶ ἦν μὲν, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἡγαπημένον, ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀνυπονόητον τὸ τοὺς  
 παρ' ὑμῶν | κατεχομένους ἀποστεῖλαι καὶ δι' ἐκείνων δηλωῶσαι τὰ δοκοῦν- 148  
 τα· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοὺς δύο, τέως τὸν ἕτερον μετὰ τινος ἀνθρώπου ὑμῶν, καὶ  
 205 τότε ἕτεροι ἂν ἀπεστάλησαν οὐς ἐπιζητεῖν ἐγνώκειτε. Νῦν δὲ τὸ κατέχε-  
 σθαι παρ' ὑμῶν τοὺς προαποσταλέντας οὐ δίδωσι χώραν τῷ ἑτέρου  
 ἐξαποστελλεσθαι. Εἰ οὖν ἀληθῶς ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης μεσίτης Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς  
 ἡμῶν λογισμοὺς ἀγίους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑπέβαλεν ἐν τῇ σῆ ψυχῇ, ἀπο-  
 σταλήτωσαν οἱ κατεχόμενοι, ἢ τῶν δύο ὁ ἕτερος, μετὰ ἀνθρώπου τῆς  
 210 σῆς μεγαλοδόξου ἀρχῆς, καὶ καταλαμβανόντων αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς λόγους  
 ἀποκομιζόντων οὐς ἂν ἐπιτρέψητε, ἐξαποσταλήσονται οἱ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ  
 θεοστεφοῦς βασιλέως ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ἀπαγγελοῦντες.

## 22. Τῷ αὐτῷ

B

Ἐλυπήθημεν μὴ δεξάμενοι γράμμα τοῦ ἡμῖν πεποθημένου τέκνου,  
 καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς ἐλογισάμεθα ὅτι ἐν καταπεφρονημένῃ μοίρᾳ κείμεθα παρὰ  
 σοί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γράφειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἤξιώσας. Τί γάρ με ἄλλο

195: Hebr. 10.31. || 198: I Petr. 1.17.

Let us reflect on this, and leave those works that even now are grieving Christ our God, and rejoicing the demons who envy our salvation; let us repair our sins, nor wish to persist in those past evils because we have become involved in them: let us not wait for that last day when, perhaps, despite our good intentions, we shall be powerless, when our soul is distracted and looks only to its dissolution from the body, and is in anguish at the prospect of the inquisition and examination by those who are then standing by—Oh, the dreadful spectacle!—the divine angels and evil demons. Let us not so depart out of this life, for it is fearful to fall into the hands of the living God! Let it not be for us to hear the painful sentence that is passed on those of us who leave our lives with our sins unremedied, when we can no longer look for a change of heart or for pity in our impartial Judge. His sentence knows no reprieve, but remains eternal, pitifully chastening and punishing those who have fallen under it, for ever and ever.

Your letter spoke also of the dispatch of envoys. It would have been a simple and frank action (my beloved Son) for you to send back those whom you are detaining, and by their means to declare your decisions: if not both, then at least one of them, with one of your own servants; and then the others could have been sent whom you have decided to ask for. As it is, your detention of those sent before does not allow us to send others after them. If, then, in truth the Advocate of Peace, Christ our God, has set holy thoughts of peace in your heart, let those detained be sent back, or one of them, together with a servant of your most glorious Lordship; and when they come, and bring the messages with which you have entrusted them, then we shall dispatch those who will announce to you the decisions of our God-crowned Emperor and of his Council.

## 22. To the Same

I was sorry not to have received a letter from my tenderly beloved Son, and I naturally supposed that I had incurred your contempt, and that that was why you had not seen fit to write to me. What else could I think? It is



5 ἔδει λογίζεσθαι; Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται υἱὸν ἀγαπῶντα πατέρα καὶ στοργὴν ἀποσφύζοντα τὴν ὀφειλομένην, γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς δεχόμενον μὴ πάλιν ἀντιπέμπειν τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ γράμματα. "Ὅμως οὖν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εἰ καὶ σὺ γράψαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἠξίωσας, ἡμεῖς καὶ πάλιν γράφομεν, οὐδέν τι διὰ τὸ παραλογισθῆναι τὴν πρὸς σὲ πατρικὴν στοργὴν ἀλλοιω-

10 σαντες, ἀλλ' ὑγιῆ σφύζοντες τὴν σχέσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πρὸς σὲ καὶ τὴν πατρὶ ἐφ' υἱῷ πρέπουσαν διάδωκεν.

Ἐνετύχομεν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γράμμασι, καὶ κατενόησαμεν ἐν C αὐτοῖς τὴν σὴν ἀγαθὴν προαίρεσιν, καὶ ὅτι θεοῦ εὐδοκοῦντος πρὸς φρόνημα κατέστη τοιοῦτον ἢ σὴ φιλόφρωνος καὶ ἡμερωτάτη ψυχῆ, ὥστε

15 παυθῆναι τοὺς πολέμους, λῆξαι τὰς σφαγὰς, ἡρεμῆσαι τὰς τῶν αἱμάτων χύσεις, καὶ ἀνακαινισθῆναι πάλιν τὴν εἰρήνην μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων, ἣν ἔδωκε μὲν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ κοινὸς πατήρ, ὁ πάντων δεσπότης, ἐφιλονείκησεν δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐχθρας γεννήτωρ, ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθρωποκτόνος διάβολος λῦσαι, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς κληρονομίας ἐκείνης κα-

20 ταστῆσαι εἰς πράγματα Βουλγάρους καὶ Ῥωμαίους δι' ὧν καὶ ἐν τῇ παρ-ούσῃ ζωῇ πολλὴ ἀπήνησε χαλεπότης καὶ ἀπώλεια, καὶ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ μένει ἀπώλεια μεταβολὴν εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον οὐκ ἔχουσα. Εὐχαριστοῦμεν οὖν τῷ θεῷ τῷ λογισμὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ | ἔμφρονί σου καὶ συνετωτάτῃ D καρδίᾳ θεμένῳ, καὶ εὐχόμεθα, εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἔτι καὶ ἔτι τῷ εἰρη-

25 νικῷ πνεύματι τὴν σὴν τιμίαν ψυχὴν ἐμπνέεσθαι, καὶ δοῦναι τῶν σωτηρίων καρπῶν τῆς εἰρήνης κοινῶς ἀπολαῦσαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ Βουλγάρους, εἰς δόξαν μὲν τοῦ οἰκείου ὀνόματος, εἰς δόξαν δὲ σὴν, τέκνον μου ἠγαπημένον, ἀείμνηστον, καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην τοῦ δαίμονος, ὃς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κακοτροπιᾷ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοις ἔτεσιν ἐξέμηνεν κατ' ἀλλήλων, Χριστιανούς πρὸς

30 Χριστιανούς, φίλους πρὸς φίλους, καὶ ἵνα συντόμως εἶπω, ἀδελφοὺς πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τέκνα πρὸς πατέρας. Ταῦτα εὐχόμεθα καὶ πεποιθήσαμεν καὶ θεῷ καὶ τῇ σῇ ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει, ὅτι οἱ τῆς εἰρήνης λογισμοὶ ἐν τῇ σῇ καρδίᾳ ὡσπερ νῦν φαίνονται | ἀνατέλλοντες, οὕτω καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον φῶς τέλειον διαυγάσουσιν.

35 Ἐπειδὴ δέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὸ σὸν ἔλεγε γράμμα καὶ ἄνθρωπον 149 ἀποσταλῆναι δι' οὗ ὁ τρόπος τῆς εἰρήνης τελείως σοι γνωρισθήσεται, πρὸς τὸ μηδαμῶς ἔτι ἀμφιβολίαν τινὰ ὑπάρχειν ἡμῖν, ἀπεστείλαμεν ἄνθρωπον ὃς τέκνον ἡμῶν οἰκεῖον καθέστηκεν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὀνύχων ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ἡμῖν συνεγένετο καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκπεπαιδευταὶ καὶ τοῦ ἀγγελι-

40 κοῦ σχήματος ἠξίωται καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἀρχιερεὺς ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ταπεινῆς χειρὸς ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἀπλῶς τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν τέκνον ἡμῶν

not possible for a son who loves his father and maintains a proper affection for him not to answer his father's letter when he receives it. However (my Son), even if you have not seen fit to write to me, I write once again to you, no whit changed by your neglect of my fatherly affection toward you, but preserving entire my regard for you and the disposition which becomes a father toward his son.

I read the imperial letter, and learned in it of your good purpose, and that by God's favor your merciful and most tranquil soul has come to be so minded, that war should cease, slaughters leave off, bloodshed be at rest, and peace be renewed between Romans and Bulgarians, which Christ our God and common Father and Lord of all gave us, but which the devil, the author of enmity and the slayer of men from the beginning, strove obstinately to destroy, and, instead of that inheritance, to stir up trouble between Bulgarians and Romans whereby they have in this life incurred much cruelty and ruin, and in the life to come ruin past remedy awaits them. Therefore I give thanks to God Who has set this thought in your wise and most intelligent heart, and I pray (albeit a sinner) that your honorable soul may be inspired more and more by the spirit of peace, and may grant to Romans and Bulgarians enjoyment in common of the salutary fruits of peace, to the glory of His own name, and to your imperishable glory (my beloved Son), and to the shame of the demon who out of his own malice has during so many years incensed Christians against Christians, friends against friends, and—in a word—brothers against brothers, sons against fathers. This is my prayer, and I trust in God and in your fair conscience, that the thoughts of peace, as now they appear to be dawning in your heart, will burst forth in the perfect splendor of their native light.

But since your letter (my Son) spoke also of the dispatch of a man by whom the manner of the peace may be made perfectly clear to you, so that not the slightest doubt may remain with us any longer, I am sending a man who is my own son: in that, from his tender years, he has dwelt with me, and has been educated by me, and has been found worthy of the angelic garb, and has received at my humble hand the appointment of Archpriest in the Holy Spirit, and is (in a word) such a son as that from him, having him night



οἶον ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἡμέρα πρὸ τῶν οἰκειῶν ἔχοντες ὀφθαλμῶν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πνευματικὴν χαρὰν κεκτήμεθα. Τοῦτον οὖν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπεζήτησας ἀνθρώπον πιστὸν καὶ μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας εἰδὸτα φθέγγεσθαι, ἀπε-  
 45 στείλαμεν, ἵνα πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀπανουργέτως παρ' αὐτοῦ μάθῃς, ὅπως περὶ τῆς σὺν θεῷ μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι εἰρήνης οἱ τε λαχόντες | τοῦ βασιλευῖν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτῶν καὶ βουλὴν ἔθεντο B καὶ τὴν βουλὴν εἰς ἔργον μέλλουσιν ἄγειν, εἰ μὴ τι αὐτός, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὅπερ μὴ δοίη θεός, ἄλλο τι διανοηθείης ἐμπόδιον τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐσόμενον.  
 50 Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον. Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν πάντων κύριον καὶ θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα ἐνορκίζομέν σε τοῦ μὴ κατασχεῖν αὐτὸν μηδὲ λυπῆσαι τὸ γῆρας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κατασχέσει αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ μέχρι πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν ἃ βούλει περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀνακοινώσασθαι αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης ἡμέρας τὸ τέλος λαμβανούσης ἀκωλύτως, ἀλύπως, ἀβλαβῶς  
 55 ἀποστεῖλαι αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Naί, τέκνον μου, αὐτὸν δυσωπήθητι τὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ποιητὴν, τὴν ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν πρὸς σέ στοργήν· προσθήσομεν εἰ βούλει καὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν ἣν λειτουργοῦμεν παριστάμενοι τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ· | ναὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ταπεινὸν ἡμῶν γῆρας· C καὶ μὴ λυπήσῃς ἡμᾶς, ἐν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, τῇ τῶν ὅλων  
 60 δημιουργῷ τριάδι, δεσμὸν ἐπιβάλλομέν σοι, μηδὲ ποιήσῃς ἡμᾶς στενάζειν διὰ παντός κατὰ σοῦ καὶ προσεντυγχάνειν θεῷ, μέχρις ἂν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἀναστρεφώμεθα καὶ τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἀναθεωροῦντες ὑπάρχωμεν.

## 23. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐγὼ καὶ πρότερον ἔγραψον τῇ τιμιότητί σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ γράφων παρειχόμεν πληροφορίαν τῇ συνέσει σου ὅτι οὐχ ἕνεκεν τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κακώσεως, ἀλλὰ χάριν τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας Βουλγάρων καὶ  
 5 Ῥωμαίων τοὺς λόγους ποιῶμαι. Καὶ τότε ἴσως ἐδόκουν ἄπιστα λέγειν ὑμῖν, καὶ νῦν δὲ | γράφω τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως ὑπάρχων καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν D ἔχων κηδεμονίαν ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου γένους, Βουλγάρων φημί καὶ Ῥωμαίων, ἵνα εἰ δυνατὸν ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔδει γενέσθαι, ἐπηρεῖα δὲ τοῦ δαίμονος οὐ γέγονεν, καὶ νῦν δέξεται γένεσιν. Ποῖον δὴ τοῦτο; Φημί τῆς εἰρήνης τὸ

50-51: cf. 1 Thess. 5.27. || 57-58: Ioel 1.9,13.

63 ὑπάρχωμεν Vat.: -ομεν P  
23: P 128r-131v

and day before my eyes, I have derived spiritual joy. This man, then, since you demanded a faithful messenger, who would not say anything beyond the truth, I am sending, so that you may learn the whole truth from him simply and guilelessly, how the Emperors and all their Council have resolved about the peace which, under God, will be made, and how they will put this resolve into operation, unless you yourself (my Son)—which God forbid—devise any further obstacle to peace.

So much for that. But I adjure you by the very name of the Lord and God and King of all that you do not detain this messenger, nor pain my old age with his detention; but that within fifteen days you communicate to him all that you wish about the peace, and, when the fifteenth day is over, that you send him back to me unhindered, unhurt, unharmed. Yea (my Son), be entreated in the name of the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and by my humble self that love you; and I will add, if you will, the service which I perform as minister at the Sanctuary of God, and my humble old age; and do me no hurt! I place on you a bond in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Trinity That is Creator of all things: make me not to groan continually against you and to intercede with God against you as long as I shall live to be a spectator of the falseness of human affairs.

## 23. To the Same

I have written before (my Son) to your Honor, and in writing have assured your Wisdom that I speak not because of the maltreatment of the Romans, but with a view to the common salvation of Bulgarians and Romans. This may perhaps have seemed incredible then; and now I write out of the same purpose, and with the same care for each race, Bulgarians and Romans, so that, if possible, that *course* which ought to have been followed from the start, but which owing to the demon's malice was not, may even now be begun. Which *course* do I mean? I mean the great subject of peace, beloved

10 μέγα πρᾶγμα, τὸ ἀγαπώμενον καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν καὶ πρὸς  
 συμφέρον ἐσόμενον τοῖς μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἐλευσιῶς καὶ ἀθλίως τὸν  
 βίον διεξανύσασιν, τὸ λῆξαι τῶν αἱμάτων τὰς χύσεις ὅσαι παρὰ Χριστιανῶν  
 εἰς Χριστιανούς ἐνεργοῦνται. Καὶ ταῦτα ἔγραφον μὲν πρότερον, ὡς  
 εἶπον, μετ' ὀδύνης καρδίας, καὶ νῦν ἐπιστέλλω μετὰ κέντρου τῆς ὀδύνης  
 15 πληκτικωτέρου. Πόθεν δὲ τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ νῦν σφοδρωτέρῳ πλήττεσθαι  
 ἡμᾶς κέντρῳ, ἀκούε μου, ἡγαπημένε· συγκίνησις δυνατωτάτη, ὅσον ἐστὶν  
 ἐμὲ ὑπολαβεῖν, ἐκ | τῆς βασιλικῆς σπουδῆς κατὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐξουσίας 152  
 καὶ τοῦ σοῦ γένους ἢ παρεσκευάσται ἢ παρασκευασθήσεται, τῶν τε Ῥῶς  
 καὶ σὺν ἐκείνοις τῶν Πατζηνακιδῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς  
 20 δύσεως Τούρκων πάντων ὁμοφρονησάντων καὶ τὸν κατὰ σοῦ πόλεμον  
 ἀραμένων.

Ταῦτα ἐπειδὴ ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἀκοαῖς προσῆλθον, ὅπως συνεχύθη καὶ  
 πλήρης ἐγενόμην δακρύων καὶ τὰς ὀλίγας καὶ πονηρὰς τῆς ἐμῆς ζωῆς  
 ἐμεμφάμην ἡμέρας, ὅτι πρὸς σύμβασιν τοιούτων πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἐξ  
 25 αὐτῶν ἀλγηδόνα τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας παρέτεινεν ὁ βίος ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐ προαπ-  
 ολωλόμην οὐδ' ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς πρὶν ἢ ταῦτα γενέσθαι  
 καὶ ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἀκοαῖς τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν προσελθεῖν λόγους. Οὕτως οὖν  
 διατεθειμένος καὶ τοῖς φιλοχρίστοις ἡμῶν βασιλευσὶν ἃ τὸ ἄλλο τῆς  
 ἐμῆς ἐπέτρπε καρδίας | προσειπεῖν οὐκ ἀπόκησα, καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς δὲ ἃ B  
 30 γράφειν προεθυμήθην γράφω. Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ θεοῦ λαχόντας  
 τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύειν γένους ἐφθεγξάμην, ἃ ἐδυσώπησα, ὅσα παραί-  
 νεσιν ἐποίησάμην, ταῦτά ἐστιν· ἐπισχεῖν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκείνων τὴν καθ'  
 ὑμῶν συγκίνησιν, μακροθυμῆσαι καὶ ἔτι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ὑπέστησαν παρ'  
 ὑμῶν ἀνιαρῶς, μηδὲ τοσοῦτον κινηθῆναι πικρὰ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀγανακτήσει  
 35 τυχόν εὐλόγῳ τοῦ τοσαύτην ἄμυναν πρὸς τὸ Βουλγάρων ἐπιδειξασθαι  
 γένος ὥστε παντὶ τρόπῳ φέρειν σπουδὴν τοῦ ἔθνη ἀθεῖα συζῶντα συγκό-  
 πτειν ἐπιτρέψαι τοὺς ὀνόματι μὲν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπικεκλη-  
 μένους, ἀδελφοὺς δὲ καὶ τέκνα ὑπάρχοντας, εἰ καὶ διαβόλου ἐπινοήμασιν  
 ὀλεθρίοις εἰς ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους κατέστησαν.

40 Τοιαῦτα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περιττόν ἐστιν τῷ γράμ|ματι συντάττειν, C  
 πρὸς τοὺς φιλοθέους ἡμῶν ἐφθεγξάμην βασιλεῖς, καὶ τό γε φιλόανθρωπον  
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιεικὲς αὐτίκα τῶν ἡμετέρων προσέσχεν λόγων, καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀντεῖπον οὐδ' ἐφίλονεῖκῃσαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἄμυναν γενέσθαι πρὸς Βουλ-  
 γάρους τοὺς οὕτω κακώσαντας τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν

23-24: Gen. 47.9.

25-26 προαπολωλόμην] scr. προαπωλόμην? (προαπολώλειν Vat.) || 29 προσειπεῖν P<sup>c</sup>: προσ-  
 ελθεῖν P<sup>1</sup>

of Christ our God, that will benefit those who hitherto have passed their  
 lives in misery and wretchedness: the cessation of bloodshed which has been  
 practiced by Christians on Christians. This, as I say, I have written before  
 with grief of heart, and now write again with a yet sharper pang of grief.  
 And hear (my beloved Friend) the cause why I am now smitten with a more  
 violent pang: a most formidable joint mobilization (so far as I can judge) has  
 been, or will be, set on foot by the imperial initiative against your Lordship  
 and your race—consisting of Russians allied with Pechenegs, and also Alans,  
 and Turks of the West, all with a single purpose moving war against you.

As soon as news of this reached my ears, I was amazed, and was full of  
 tears, and cursed the few and evil days of my life because I had lived long  
 enough to see the happening of such a thing and to feel the consequent pain  
 of heart; and because I had not perished and gone out of this life before it  
 could come to pass, and word of it reach my ears. In this state of mind I did  
 not shrink from representing to the Christ-loving emperors what the pain of  
 my heart urged me to express, and to you I write what I am moved to write.  
 The tenor of my words, entreaties, and exhortations to those appointed by  
 God to be emperors of the Roman race, was this: that they should be long-  
 suffering even after all those afflictions they had endured at your hands;  
 that they should not be persuaded by bitterness of spirit and resentment,  
 however just, into launching this great armament against the Bulgarian race,  
 so as to devote all their energies to letting loose nations who dwell in paganism  
 to crush those who are called by the name of Christ our God, who are our  
 brothers and sons, even though these, by the ruinous devices of the devil,  
 have become our enemies and foes.

These and other arguments, too long to include in this letter, did I use  
 to our God-loving Emperors, and their mercy and benevolence were at once  
 attentive to my words; they did not deny or dispute that the armament was  
 directed against the Bulgarians, who had so much harmed the Roman

45 ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπιζητουμένην εἰρήνην ὄλην τὴν προαίρεσιν ὠφθη-  
σαν ἐπικλίναντες, καὶ εἶπον τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἡμᾶς· «ὦ πάτερ καὶ ποιμὴν  
ἡμῶν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιμνης, οὐκ ἐξέστημεν τῆς οἰκείας γνώμης,  
ὁπόσα δὲ τὸ Βουλγάρων γένος εἰργάσατο ἡμᾶς χαλεπά, οὐδὲ λογιζό-  
μεθα τὰ κεχυμένα παρ' αὐτῶν αἵματα τοῦ ἡμετέρου λαοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην  
50 πανωλεθρίαν ὅσην τῷ πονηρῷ ἐνεργούμενοι δαίμονι κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων  
εἰργάσαντο ὑπηκόων, οὐ μὴν | ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν καινοτομίαν ὅσην ὑπέστημεν D  
ἐπὶ χρόνοις τοσοῦτοις εἰς τὴν τῶν νῦν ἀποκεκινημένων ἐθνῶν ἀποκίνησιν  
οὐδ' ὅσα ἔτι μέλλομεν καινοτομεῖσθαι εἰς ἀριθμοῦ λόγον ποιούμεθα.  
'Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ταῦτα τὴν ἡμῶν διανοήθησιν παρακαλεῖν βασιλείαν, ἐκείνῳ εἰ  
55 βούλει ἐπίστευον, ἀντὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιζη-  
τήσαι· καὶ εἰ γε λάβοις αὐτὸν τοῖς σοῖς πειθόμενον λόγοις, ἡμᾶς ἔχεις  
τῇ σῇ παρακλήσει μὴ ἀντιλέγοντας.» Ταῦτα μὲν ἃ ἡ ἐκείνων χρηστότης  
καὶ ἡ τοῦ καλοῦ πράγματος τῆς εἰρήνης ἔφεσις πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπε-  
φθέγγατο δέησιν. Τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, προβάλλομαι τὴν  
60 παράκλησιν, καὶ ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τοῦτο καὶ νῦν γράφω μετὰ θρήνων καὶ  
ὀδυρμῶν· ἀπόβλεψον πρὸς τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθόν, ἀπόβλεψον πρὸς τὴν  
τοῦ σοῦ γένους σωτηρίαν, μὴδ' ἐπιμείνης ἔτι τῇ κακίστῃ φιλονεικίᾳ μηδὲ  
προτιμήσῃς τὰς σφαγὰς καὶ | τὰ αἵματα, τὰς χηρείας, τὰς ἀπαιδίας, 153  
ἀπλῶς τῆς γῆς τὴν ἐρημίαν, τῶν καλῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἡδίστων ὅσα ἐκ  
65 τῆς εἰρήνης Ῥωμαίοις περιγίνεται καὶ Βουλγάροις.

Γίνωσκε γάρ (φημι καὶ πάλιν)· εἴ τι ἐγὼ τὰ ἐκ τῆς βασιλικῆς  
κινήσεως καθ' ὑμῶν κατενόησα πράγματα, πᾶν γένος οὐ μὴ λήξωσιν  
εἰς τὸν καθ' ὑμῶν ὄλεθρον συγκινοῦντες, οὔτε Τούρκους οὔτε Ἀλανοὺς  
οὔτε Πατζηνακίτας οὔτε Ῥῶς οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα Σκυθικὰ γένη, μέχρις ἂν τὸ  
70 τῶν Βουλγάρων εἰς τέλος ἐξαπολέσωσι γένος. Καὶ οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἐπὶ  
τοῦτο ἀμφίβολον ἀναλήψομαι γνώμην, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἔργον ἢ καθ' ἐκάστην  
αὐτοῖς σπουδαζομένη μελέτη οὐκ ἀποβήσεται. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐώρων τὰ σὰ  
πράγματα μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου τυγχάνοντα καὶ πρὸς θεοῦ ἀρέσκειαν προβαί-  
νοντα, τάχα ἂν περὶ τῆς τῶν βασιλείων καθ' ὑμῶν σπουδῆς καὶ τῆς  
75 ἐπικρατείας ἔσχον λογισμοὺς ἀμφιβόλους παρέχοντας, ὡς τυχὸν οὔτε  
τῶν ἑθνῶν ἢ συγκλήσις οὔτε τὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς | βασιλείας ἐπιμελὲς καὶ B  
πεφροντισμένον ἰσχύσει κατὰ Βουλγάρων, τῆς δικαιοσύνης συστρατευο-  
μένης ὑμῖν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παρὰ θεοῦ παρ' ὑμῶν θεραπευομένης ῥοπῆς.  
Ὅταν δὲ εἰς ἐνθύμησιν ἔλθω τῶν τοσοῦτων ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς  
80 καταστροφῆς, τῶν ἐπισκοπείων, τῶν μοναστηρίων, τοῦ φόνου τῶν ἱε-  
ρέων, τῆς φθορᾶς τῶν παρθένων, τῶν μοναζόντων τῆς ὑβρεως, τίς

dominion; yet they clearly inclined wholeheartedly toward the peace which they had desired from the beginning: and they said to me: "Our Father and Shepherd of the flock of Christ, we have not changed our minds, however many the cruelties which the race of the Bulgarians has done against us; we do not reckon the blood of our people that they have shed, and all the wholesale devastation which, under the influence of the evil demon, they have worked on our subjects; nor do we count the ruin we have suffered during all these years up to our incitement of the nations we have now incited, nor do we reckon all the ruin which will continue to affect us. No: since you have undertaken to implore our imperial Majesty, then write to him, if you will, and ask to seek for peace instead of war and slaughters, and, if you can win him over by your words, you shall find us not opposed to your request." Such was the reply which their goodness, and their desire for the blessing of peace, dictated to our supplications. So then, to you (my Son) I prefer my request: and that which I wrote in the beginning do I now write once more, with lamentation and anguish: look to the blessing of peace, look to the salvation of your race, do not persist in this most evil obstinacy, do not prefer slaughters, blood, loss of husbands and children, in a word, the devastation of the earth, to the blessings and most sweet pleasures which peace shall bring to Romans and Bulgarians!

For be sure—I say it once again—that if I have understood anything of the circumstances arising from the imperial mobilization against you, the Emperors will not cease from inciting every race to your destruction, whether Turks, or Alans, or Pechenegs, or Russians, or other Scythian nations, until they have finally destroyed the race of the Bulgarians. There is no room for me to doubt that this plan, which is daily in their minds, will be put into operation. For, if I were to see your own conduct allied with justice and progressing toward the favor of God, I might perhaps have had some doubts about the plan set on foot against you by the Emperors and about its success: that possibly neither the joint mobilization of the nations nor the energy and care of the Roman Empire would prevail against the Bulgarians, seeing that you were allied with justice and had such other assistance from God as you had deserved. But when I come to consider the destruction of so many churches of God, so many episcopal palaces and monasteries, the murder of priests, the rape of virgins, the insulting of monks, what reason is there why

ἔστιν λογισμὸς ὅτι ταῦτα παρόψεται ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐχὶ τὴν μακροθυμίαν ἣν ἐπεδείξατο μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος, ὡς φιλόανθρωπος, ὡς ἀνεξίκακος ζητῶν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν, οὐχὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ θυμὸν τὸν κατὰ Βουλ-  
 85 γάρων ἐπιστρέψει καὶ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῆς τοσαύτης ἐπάξει μαιφονίας; Ταῦτα, υἱέ μου ἀγαπητέ (ὁ θεὸς γὰρ | οἶδεν ὅτι ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς), τὴν C ταπεινὴν μου σπαράσσει ψυχὴν, καὶ ὅτι μανθάνω καὶ νῦν τὴν τοσαύτην συγκίνησιν τῶν καθ' ὑμῶν ἀποκεκινημένων ἔθνων· καὶ ἀλγῶ καθὼς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οὕτω καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Βουλγάρων, μὴ ποτε φιλονει-  
 90 κούντων ὑμῶν καὶ ἔτι καὶ πολέμους ἐπιζητούντων ἀναλωθῆτε, οἷα πολ- λάκις συνέβη ἐν πολλοῖς ἔθνεσιν, αὕξησιν μὲν κατὰ χρόνους λαβόντων, τῇ δὲ φιλοπολέμῳ προαιρέσει τελείαν δεξαμένων ἀπώλειαν.

Τοιαῦτα μὲν πολλὰ καὶ πολλάκις κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους συνέβη καιρούς. Νῦν δὲ ἀπευχόμενος μὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν συμβῆναι μηδὲ Χριστιανοὺς  
 95 ὑμᾶς ὄντας πρὸς τοιοῦτον καταντῆσαι τέλος, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς προλαβὼν τὴν σὴν φρονίμην καὶ ἡμερον ψυχὴν ἐδυσώπησα, καὶ νῦν δυσωπῶ καὶ ὡς παρὼν περιπτύσσομαι καὶ ὡς υἱῷ ἡγαπημένῳ τὰ συμφέροντα παρ- αίνῳ· Τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἀρκετὸς ὁ χρόνος ὃν ἐξωρχήσατο κατὰ τῶν Ῥω- D μαίων καὶ τῶν Βουλγάρων ὁ κοινὸς ἐπίβουλος καὶ ἐχθρὸς, ἱκανὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἡ γενομένη ἐπήρεια, ἀρκεῖ τὰ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος εἰς κοινὴν ἀπώ-  
 100 λειαν γεγεννημένα Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ εἰς ἀλγηδὸνα τοῦ Χρι- στοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, οὐτινος καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Βούλγαροι σῶμα τυγχά- νουσιν ὡς μιᾶς κεφαλῆς. Οἶδα ὅτι καθ' ἐκάστην τοῖς ζωοποιοῖς νόμασι τῆς διδασκαλίας [τῶν] τοῦ μακαρίου ἀποστόλου τὴν σὴν καλὴν καταρδεύη  
 105 ψυχὴν· «Μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ, ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν»· «Ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν.» Τί τοῦτο; Πῶς ταῦτα μελετῶν, πῶς ἐκ | παιδόμενος τούτοις ἐντραφεῖς — οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὡσπερ 156 φυτὸν ἐν διεξόδοις ὑδάτων εὐθαλές, οὕτως καὶ ἡ σὴ ἐν τούτοις ἀνετράφη ψυχὴ· — διὰ τί τοσοῦτον ἐκράτησεν ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς πικρία, διὰ τί ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξέτεινεν ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ βλέπειν ἐδώκαμεν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μακρὸν χρόνον τὰ ἐλεεινὰ ταῦτα θεάματα, ὅσα τὰ κινούμενα ὄπλα μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων θεάσασθαι παρέσχεν αὐτῷ; Ἀρκεῖ οὖν ὅσα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐθεάσατο πονηρὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ πράγματα. Δεῖξον μεταβολὴν τὴν πρέπουσαν Χριστιανῶ καὶ τῇ σῇ φρονήσει· ἐπιστράφηθι πρὸς τὴν ὁμα-  
 115 λὴν τῆς εἰρήνης τρίβον· κατάλιπε τὴν τραχεῖαν τοῦ πολέμου ὁδὸν καὶ ἀκανθοφόρον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνθρωποφθόρον, ἣν ὁ τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνθρωπο- κτόνου καὶ πονηροῦ δαίμονος ὑπέδειξε φθόνος. Ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁ φιλόχριστος

105: Rom. 12.21. || 105-106: Ephes. 4.26. || 107-108: Ps. 1.3. || 115: cf. Prov. 3.17. || 116-117: Ioann. 8.44.

God should overlook this? Will He not change that long-suffering which, in His mercy and forgiveness and desire for your conversion, He has hitherto shown, into anger and wrath against the Bulgarians, and wreak His vengeance for all this slaughter? This (my beloved Son—for God knows that I do love you) lacerates my humble soul, especially when I now learn of the joint mobilization of the nations incited against you; and I grieve as much for the Bulgarians as for the Romans, lest, if you still persist in and seek for war, you be utterly destroyed, as has often happened to many nations which, after some years of increase, have from their war-loving purpose met with total destruction.

Many such instances have happened frequently at various times. And now, in my prayer that such may not happen in your case also, that, as Christians, you may not meet such a fate, in addition to all my previous entreaties to your wise and quiet soul I make this present entreaty, and embrace you as though I were in your presence, and exhort my beloved Son for his good. A long enough time has passed (my Son) during which the common deceiver and enemy has triumphed over Romans and Bulgarians; sufficient is the malice which he has wrought; enough has by now been done for the common destruction of Bulgarians and Romans, and for the sorrowing of Christ our God, Whose Body are both Romans and Bulgarians, as He is their single Head. I know that day by day you water your fair soul in the life-giving streams of the doctrine of the blessed Apostle: "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good"; "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath." How then *can you* so act? How, when you study these texts, when you have been nurtured by them from your childhood? For I know that, as a flourishing shoot in the outpourings of waters, your soul has grown up in them. Why then has your heart's bitterness endured so long? Why has your wrath extended so far, so that all this long time we have allowed the sun to see these cruel sights, which the clash of arms between Romans and Bulgarians has set beneath his eye? Enough then are the evil and cruel sights he has beheld till now. Change your purpose to one that befits a Christian and your own Wisdom. Return to the smooth path of peace. Leave the rough, thorny (I would say, murderous) road of war, into which the envy of the ever murderous and evil demon had guided you. Even now, the Christ-loving Emperor is ready to be linked with you,

βασιλεὺς | ἔτοιμος τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης ὡς υἱὸς σοὶ καὶ ἀδελφῶ B  
 συνδεδέσθαι καὶ πάντα χαρίζεσθαι καὶ πράττειν ὅσα μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος  
 120 λόγου τὴν ὑμετέραν οἶδε θεραπεύειν ἐξουσίαν. Μὴ βουληθῶμεν ἐπιμένειν  
 ταῖς ἐπιβλαβέσιν ἐπινοίαις μηδὲ πρὸς τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἔθνῶν ἐτοιμῶν  
 ὄντων ἢ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀφεῖναι ψυχὰς ἢ παγγενεὶ ἐξολέσαι Βουλγάρους  
 προαιρεθῶμεν παρατάξις συνιστᾶν καὶ πολέμους. "Ἄδηλος ἢ τοῦ πολέ-  
 125 ζεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαίαν νέμεσιν ἀφορῶντας ἐλπίζειν. Σκε-  
 ψώμεθα τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ μὴ προπετῶς ἐμβῶμεν εἰς τὰς <πρὸς> ἐκείνους  
 συμπλοκάς καὶ τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς, μὴ ποτε μετ' ἐκείνων τῆς νίκης  
 γινομένης περιπέσης κινδύνους καὶ πράγμασιν ἐξ ὧν ὕστερον ἀπαντήσεται  
 μὲν βλάβη καὶ ἀσχύνη καὶ μεταμέλεια, οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ μεταμελόμενος  
 130 ἐπιτεύξῃ τινὸς τῶν δυναμένων παραμυθίαν τινὰ τῶν περιστοιχιζόντων  
 χαλεπῶν περιποιήσασθαι ὑμῖν.

Ταῦτα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἔγραψα δακρῶν καὶ ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀγωνιῶν C  
 καὶ φόβῳ πολλῷ συνεχόμενος, μὴ πως καταλάβοι τὸ Βουλγάρων γένος  
 τοιαῦτα πάθη οἷα πολλοὺς κατέλαβεν, δόξαντας μὲν πρὸς καιρὸν εὐτυ-  
 135 χίαν τινὰ περιβαλέσθαι, μετέπειτα δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ δυστυχίᾳ περιπεσόντας.  
 Ἄφίημι τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ ὧν ἐξ ἱστορίας καὶ ἀναγνώσεως τὴν γνῶσιν  
 κεκτήμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπερ νῦν γέγονεν, πάντως δὲ νομίζω καὶ μέχρι τῶν σῶν  
 ἀκοῶν φθάσαι τὸν λόγον. Λέων ἐκεῖνος ὁ Τριπολίτης, ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει  
 τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ὄνομα κτησάμενος μέγα καὶ  
 140 ἀναβεβηκῶς πρὸς ὄφρῦν εἰς οἶαν οὐκ οἶδα εἰ τις ἄλλος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις  
 ταύταις, ἐξεστράτευσε τοιαῦτα καυχασάμενος ὡς «Μέχρι τῆς βασιλίδος  
 ἀφίξομαι πόλεως, καὶ τυχὸν μὲν ἐλῶ | ταύτην· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοῦτο ἱκανόν μοι D  
 καυχῆσασθαι ὅτι πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδα τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐξουσίας παρεγενό-  
 μην πόλιν καὶ βέλη κατ' αὐτῆς ἐξεκένωσα.» Ἄλλὰ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ τοιαύτην  
 145 λαβῶν φαντασίαν, ὁ οὕτως ἐπηρμένος, ἤλασε μὲν μέχρις οὗ τοῦτον ἢ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ συνήλασε ψῆφος· ἔστιν δ' ὁ τόπος νῆσος ἢ λεγομένη Λῆμνος· ἐκεῖ  
 τοίνυν καταλαβὼν καὶ φανταζόμενος οἷα ἐφαντάζετο ἔτυχεν τῆς παρὰ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ δικαίας ἀνταποδόσεως. Καὶ ὅρα μοι ὅσος ὁ χρόνος τῆς τοῦ  
 θεοῦ ἀνοχῆς καὶ μακροθυμίας, | τέκνον μου ἠγαπημένον· καὶ γὰρ ὕπερ- 157  
 150 ἤλασεν ἔτος που δέκατον καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἑβδομον ἢ ὄγδοον· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ  
 τὴν τοσαύτην παρολκὴν τοῦ χρόνου οὐκ ἐξέφυγε τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν κρίσιν  
 οὐδ' εἰς τέλος συνεχωρήθη τοῖς ματαίοις λογισμοῖς ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι.

118: Ephes. 4.3.

122 παγγενῆ P || 126 πρὸς P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup> || 146 συνήλασε] leg. vid. συνεχώρησε (-ήλασε ex lin.  
145) || 149-150 ὑπερήλασεν P<sup>c</sup>: -σας P<sup>1</sup> || 150 τούτῳ JK: τοῦτο P

as with his son and his brothers, in the bond of peace, and to give and do all  
 which, within reason, may honor your Lordship. Let us not persist in designs  
 that must bring us hurt; let us not resolve to join ranks and fight against so  
 great a host of nations who are ready either to lose their own lives or else to  
 destroy the Bulgarians root and branch. The outcome of battle is uncertain;  
 or rather, it is not uncertain, so far as human wisdom can calculate, and if it  
 takes account of the just retribution of God. Let us look to security, and not  
 plunge rashly into collision with those nations, and battles, and slaughters,  
 lest perchance, if the victory be with them, you may encounter dangers and  
 troubles from which will later arise loss and shame and repentance: and I  
 fear that, even if you repent, you will find nothing that will be of any comfort  
 to you in your cruel circumstances.

This (my Son) I write with tears and grief and anguish, and in the  
 affliction of much fear lest the race of Bulgarians may be overtaken by those  
 sufferings that have come upon many who, though seeming for a time to be  
 attended by some good luck, have afterward fallen into the extreme of  
 disaster. I omit old instances, of which we know from our reading of history;  
 but one has happened quite recently, news of which I believe will certainly  
 have reached your ears. That notorious Leo of Tripolis, who for our sins ac-  
 quired great fame by his capture of Thessalonica, and was raised to an eminence  
 of pride scarcely equalled by any other in our times, set out on an expedition  
 with this boast: "I will go as far as to the Empress of Cities, and perhaps I  
 shall capture her. But if not, it is sufficient for me to boast that I came up to  
 the Empress City of the Roman dominion, and emptied my darts against  
 her!" Well, this fellow, who conceived such imagination of heart, who was so  
 much elated, advanced as far as the edict of God permitted him. The place is  
 the island called Lemnos. When he got there, in the conceit of his imagination,  
 he met with the righteous retribution of God. And see how long was the  
 space of God's patience and long-suffering (my beloved Son): for the tenth  
 year was gone by, and the seventh or eighth after that; and yet, even after so  
 long a lapse of time, he did not escape from the sentence of God, nor was it  
 granted to him to boast of his vain purposes forever. For our fleet was even

Πλωϊμου γὰρ στόλου νῦν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξαποσταλέντος ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ τοιαύ-  
τη ἀπροσδόκητος καταστροφή και ἀπώλεια· και γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ῥηθείσῃ  
155 νήσῳ διέτριβεν πορθῶν και ληϊζόμενος ἀδεῶς τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἄπαν-  
τα, ὡς ἐνόμιζεν, τούτου δὲ οὕτως διὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας ἐντροφῶντος ἀμαρ-  
τίας και φαντασιοσκοποῦντος τὰ τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν, καταλαμβάνει  
ὁ πλώϊμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων στόλος και πάντας ἐκεῖσε, και πλοῖα και μα-  
χητὰς και ἀπλῶς τὴν Ἀγαρηνὴν ἐκείνην δύναμιν μετὰ τῆς ἀνωθεν  
160 εὐμενείας και δικαίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιβλέψεως τῷ ὀλέθρῳ παρέδωκαν.

Ὁρᾷς, υἱέ μου ἀγαπητέ, μετὰ πόσου χρόνου διάβασιν τὸν ἀλαζόνα  
και ὑπέροφρον ἐταπείνωσεν ὁ Θεός; Τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ θεία χρηστότης, ἡ  
φιλανθρωπία· οὐκ αὐτίκα τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥομφαίαν ἐπάγει | κατὰ τῶν ἐπαιρο- B  
μένων και ἀλαζόνων, ἀλλὰ στίλβει μὲν αὐτήν, ἐπέχει δὲ τὴν ἐπιστροφήν  
165 ἀναμένων και τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χρηστότερα μεταβολὴν τῶν τέως ἀγαπόντων τὰ  
πλημμελῆ πράττειν και τὰ ἐκεῖνον λυποῦντα. Μὴ γένοιτο δέ (και πρό-  
τερον ἠυχόμεν και νῦν εὐχομαι και διὰ παντὸς τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην ποιήσο-  
μαι) τοιαῦτα ὑμᾶς καταλαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρασχεθῆναι μὲν ὑμῖν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ  
ἐπὶ λογισμὸν ἐλθεῖν τῆς ἀγάπης και τοῦ πόθου τῆς εἰρήνης, και Χριστέ  
170 σῶτερ ἡμῶν και Θεέ, και σβεσθῆναι μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν, ἀπελαθῆναι δὲ τὸν  
φιλοπόλεμον δαίμονα, και διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐπιστροφῆς πρὸς τὰ καλά  
και σωτήρια γενέσθαι ἀποστρόφους ἐκ τοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν πολέμου τοὺς οὕτω  
συγκινηθέντας και ἔτι συγκινεῖσθαι καθ' ὑμῶν μέλλοντας, και ἀπειρά-  
τους συντηρηθῆναι ὑμᾶς πάσης βλάβης και χαλεπότητος ὅσην τοῦ πολέ-  
175 μου οἶδεν ἡ φύσις ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς ἐπὶ μοῖραν δυστυχεστέραν διὰ τῶν  
ὄπλων κατακλινομένοις.

## 24. Τῷ αὐτῷ

C

Πολλάκις ἔγραψα πρὸς υἱὸν ἀγαπώμενον, ὡς πατήρ—ἡβουλόμην  
εἰπεῖν ἀγαπώμενος, ἀλλ' οὐ δίδως μοι τοιαύτην ἀναλαβεῖν παρρησίαν και  
τοῦτο φθέγγασθαι, δι' ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν ὡς ἔοικεν ἢ διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς  
5 ἀμαρτίας. Γράφω και νῦν τὴν αὐτὴν σφύζων τῆς ἀγάπης πρὸς σέ, τέκνον  
ἡμῶν, διάθεσιν και τὴν αὐτὴν φροντίδα ἔχων ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ταπεινῇ ψυχῇ  
περὶ τῆς σῆς δόξης και τῆς σωτηρίας, τῆς κοινῆς τοῦ γένους τῶν Βουλ-

163-164: Ps. 7.13.

153 πλωϊμου P || 158 πλώϊμος P || 166 ἐκεῖνον P<sup>c</sup>: ἐκεῖνων P<sup>1</sup>  
24: P 131v-133v

now sent out against him, and this unlooked-for disaster and destruction over-  
took him, even while he was in that island leisurely sacking and pillaging all  
of the countryside, with, as he thought, nothing to fear. But even as he was—  
for our sins—wantoning thus and spinning his fantastical designs, the fleet of  
the Romans came down upon him, and, with the Divine Favor and righteous  
consent of God, made havoc of all that were there—ships and warriors and,  
in a word, all that Saracen armada.

You see (my beloved Son) after the passage of how long a time God  
has humbled the arrogant and boastful? Such is the Divine Goodness and  
Mercy. He does not instantly bring down his sword upon the proud and  
arrogant: He polishes it, but holds it back, waiting for a conversion and a  
change of heart for the better in those who have hitherto chosen to do what  
is sinful and grievous to Him. God forbid—for this has been, is, and will  
ever be my prayer—that such things should overtake you! May He grant  
that you come to thoughts of love and of desire for peace (yea, Christ my  
Saviour and my God!), and that your enmity be quenched, and the war-  
loving demon be driven out, and that, through your return to good and  
salutary courses, those who have been, and are still to be, incited against  
you may be deterred from making war upon you, and you may be preserved  
unharmd by any loss or cruelty, such as by its very nature war brings upon  
those who, through taking arms, decline into the extreme of misfortune.

## 24. To the Same

I have often written to my beloved Son, as, I would like to have said,  
a beloved father, but you do not encourage me to take the liberty of saying  
so—no doubt for my sins and for no other reason. And now I write in the  
same spirit of affection toward you (my Son), and with the same care in  
my humble soul for your glory and salvation, for the common relief of the

γάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέσεως καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀποπαύσεως. Οὐ δύναμαι  
 δὲ σιωπᾶν ἐπὶ κοινοῖς πάθεσιν, δι' ὧν οὐ μόνον ἡ παρούσα ζωὴ τοῦ κοι-  
 10 νοῦ γένους ἀφανίζεται Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ μέλλουσα  
 ζωὴ ἄλλοτρίους ἀποδείκνυσιν | αὐτοὺς τῆς ἰδίας μετοχῆς καὶ θάνατος κα- D  
 λύπτει οὐδέποτε λύσιν δεχόμενος, ἡ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας ἐκπτώσις  
 καὶ τῆς γλυκειᾶς αὐτοῦ ἀπολαύσεως ἀποστέρησις καὶ ἡ πρὸς κόλασιν  
 αἰώνιον κατάκρισις οἷδας, τέκνον μου ἀγαπητόν, ὅτι θάνατός ἐστιν ἀμαρ-  
 15 τωλῶν πονηρός. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν κεκίνημαι, δεόμενος  
 καὶ προσπίπτων καὶ τῶν σῶν γονάτων ἀπτόμενος, ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ὀφέ-  
 ποτε καὶ μὴ ἀτιμάσαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ παρασχεῖν πατρὶ ταπεινῶ  
 ἐτι παρόντι μοι ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἰδεῖν μεταξὺ | Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων 160  
 εἰρήνην, ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀνακοπὴν τῶν Χριστιανικῶν αἱμάτων τῆς ἐκχύσεως  
 20 ὑπὸ Χριστιανικῆς δεξιᾶς ἐνεργουμένην. Καὶ μὴ βουληθῆς, υἱέ μου ἀγα-  
 πητέ, ἀπελθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς παρουσίας ζωῆς (ἥδη γὰρ εἰς τὸν τάφον  
 προκύπτομεν) μετὰ τοῦ ἄλγους, μετὰ τοῦ σπαραγμοῦ τῆς ταπεινῆς  
 ἡμῶν καρδίας ὃν ἐπιφερόμεθα ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ κακώσει τοῦ κοινοῦ  
 λαοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν ποι-  
 25 νηλασία ἦν ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον οὐ δύναται κόρον λα-  
 βεῖν τῆς ἀφορήτου κακώσεως. Μὴ βουληθῆς, καὶ πάλιν φημί, οὕτως  
 ἀπελθεῖν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ταπεινοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος βίου, κεκακωμένους καὶ  
 τὴν ψυχὴν ὄλην διεσπαραγμένους ἐπὶ ταῖς κοιναῖς συμφοραῖς αἷ, χρόνος  
 30 ὄραξ ὅσος, Ῥωμαίους καὶ Βουλγάρους διαμερίζονται.  
 Ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν τοιοῦτον· δὸς δέ μοι καὶ περὶ σοῦ εἰπεῖν ἀλύ-  
 πως καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς, καὶ μηδὲν ἐφ' οἷς λέγομεν ἀγανακτήσης. Ἀστά-  
 35 θμητός ἐστιν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη ζωὴ, τέκνον | ἡμῶν· οὐ μόνον οἱ γεγηρακότες B  
 οἷος ἐγὼ ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου ταχέως καταλαμβάνονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν  
 ἀκμαζόντων ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκμῇ τοῦ θανάτου τῷ δρεπάνῳ ὑπέπεσον, καὶ  
 ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀνθεὶ τῆς ἡλικίας διεδέξατο τὸ ἀνθηρὸν ἢ τομῆ. Τίς  
 οἶδεν εἴ γε οἶα πολλὰ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑμῶν θεοτιμῆτου ἀρχῆς  
 καὶ ἐξουσίας συμπεσεῖται; Εἶτα (προσθήσω γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς σῆς  
 ψυχικῆς φροντίζων καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ βιοτῇ ἀνα-  
 40 παύσεως) «Τί ὠφελήσει ἄνθρωπον, ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ καὶ  
 τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ;» Τίς δὲ ἀμφιβάλλει, θεοτίμητέ μου υἱέ, ὅτι  
 ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν ἀποκτείνας οὐ ζημιοῦται τὴν οἰκίαν ψυχὴν; Ἐνθυμῆ-

14-15: Ps. 33.22. || 39-40: Matth. 16.26; Marc. 8.36.

15 τὸ P<sup>1</sup>; τῷ P<sup>x</sup> || 20 βουληθῆς P<sup>c</sup>: -εις P<sup>1</sup> || 23 ὃν P<sup>x</sup>: ὧν P<sup>1</sup> || 26 βουληθῆς P<sup>x</sup>: -εις  
 (ut vid.) P<sup>1</sup> || 31 ἀγανακτήσης P<sup>c</sup>: -σεις P<sup>1</sup>

race of Bulgarians and Romans, and for the cessation of evils. I cannot be  
 silent upon common sufferings, through which the common race of Romans  
 and Bulgarians is destroying itself not only in this present life, but also  
 estranging itself from participation in the life to come, and burying itself in  
 a death which knows no awakening: banishment from the Kingdom of  
 God, deprivation of the enjoyment of His sweetness, and condemnation  
 to Hell everlasting: you know (my beloved Son) that "the death of sinners  
 is evil." And so, now once more, I am impelled to write, begging and imploring  
 and clasping your knees in entreaty that you should hear me, even at this  
 late hour, and not reject my supplication, but allow me, your humble father,  
 to see, while I yet live, peace between Romans and Bulgarians, to see the end of  
 the outpouring of Christian blood shed by Christian hands. Do not (my  
 beloved Son) let me go forth from this life—for I am even now on the brink  
 of the grave—with that pain, that laceration of my humble heart, which I  
 bear with me because of this great oppression of the common people of Christ  
 our God, and because of this great punishment (for whatever be its offense)  
 which the evil demon has laid upon it, and cannot be sated of his unbearable  
 oppression. Do not, I repeat, let me, in my humility, go forth from this life  
 oppressed and lacerated in all my soul at the common disasters which,  
 during all this long time, have divided Romans and Bulgarians.

So much for myself. But let me speak of you, without hurt or offense,  
 and do not be angry at what I say. Human life (my Son) is unstable. It is  
 not only the old, such as myself, who are taken by death: many who are in  
 the prime fall to death's sickle while in that prime, and in the very flower of  
 their years the stroke cuts off their bloom. Who can tell whether, as often in  
 human affairs, it shall also fall on your God-honored Lordship and dominion?  
 Then, I must add this, out of regard for your soul's salvation and your repose  
 in the life to come: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and  
 be damaged in his soul?" Who doubts (my God-honored Son) that if a brother  
 slays his brother, he is damaged in his own soul? Consider then the brother-



θητι οὖν τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφότητα Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ὅσοι ἀδελφοὶ ἐξ ἑκατέρου γένους ὑπὸ ἀδελφικῆς ἐσφάγησαν δεξιᾶς.

Καὶ τούτων οἶδαμεν ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἔξω ποιεῖς αἰτίας, καὶ λέγεις ἄλ- C  
 45 λους ἄρξει τῶν τοσούτων κακῶν· καὶ ἀληθῆ λέγεις καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦ-  
 μεν ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἀφροσύνη τῶν κατὰ καιροῦς εἰς τοῦτο συναλαθέντων  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος παρέσχε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν αἰτίαν. Ἄλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν ἡ  
 θεία δίκη δικάσασα ὡς ἐβούλετο τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπήτησε τὴν ποινήν,  
 σοὶ δὲ παρέσχετο πολλαπλασίονα ὧν ἔπαθες ἀντιδρᾶσαι αὐτούς. Ἄρκε-  
 50 σθῶμεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τοῖς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν εἰς κοινήν βλάβην διαπεπραγμέ-  
 νοις. Οὐ κατὰ ἀσεβῶν ὀπλίξῃ, οὐ κατ' ἐχθρῶν τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χρι-  
 στοῦ, οὐ κατ' ἐθνῶν μὴ εἰδόντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πατέρων,  
 κατὰ ἀδελφῶν, ἀπλῶς κατὰ συγγενείας, ἣν οὐ σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ  
 πανάγιον πνεῦμα ἠνωσε τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἔως πότε χο|ρεύειν τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ D  
 55 τοῖς αὐτοῦ παρέξομεν δαίμοσιν; Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς δὲ ὅτι χορείαν ἐκεῖνος  
 συνίστησιν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκπολεμῶσει καὶ τῇ  
 τῶν αἱμάτων αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων γινομένη χύσει· καὶ σιγῶ τὰ λοιπά,  
 τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἀπώλειαν, τῶν μοναζόντων τὸν σκεδασμὸν, τῶν  
 παρθένων τὴν διαφθοράν, τῶν γινομένων ὕμνων καὶ δοξολογιῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 60 ἱεροῖς ναοῖς τὴν ἀπόσβεσιν. Ἔως πότε διὰ ταῦτα χορεύειν ἔασομεν τὸν  
 ὡς λέοντα ἄρῦόμενον τίνα καταπή περιπατοῦντα; Ἔως πότε τῷ Χριστῷ  
 καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν πτωχεύσαντι, τῷ ὑβρισθέντι,  
 τῷ σταυρωθέντι, καὶ τοῖς φιλανθρώποις ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ὑπόθεσιν λύπης  
 καὶ κατηφείας διδόαμεν; Ἡ ἀμφιβάλ|λεις, υἱέ μου (ἀλλ' οἶδα ὅτι οὐκ 161  
 65 ἀμφιβάλλεις) ὡς ἐπὶ τούτοις μεγάλην ὀδύνην, καί, ἵνα εἶπω, μεῖζονα τῶν  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἦλων, ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὑπομένει, καὶ σκυθρω-  
 πότης ἀσύγκριτος τὰς ἀγγελικὰς περιτρέχει δυνάμεις; Εἰ καὶ κρίμασιν  
 οἷς οἶδεν χρηστεύεται καὶ μακροθυμεῖ καὶ τέως ἀνέχει τὴν τιμωρίαν καὶ  
 τὴν ἐστιλβωμένην αὐτοῦ ῥομφαίαν κατὰ τῶν λυτούντων οὐκ ἐπαφίησιν.  
 70 Τί με δεῖ πλέον πρὸς ἄνθρωπον χάριτι θεοῦ πεπληρωμένον φρονή-  
 σεως γράφειν; Οὐκοῦν ἐνταῦθα πεπαύσομαι· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μόνον βουληθείης  
 πρὸς τὸ σὸν ἡμέρον καὶ φιλόανθρωπον ἐπανελεθεῖν, οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ  
 πολὺ ἀνθρωπινώτερα καὶ κρείττονα κατὰ σεαυτὸν καὶ ἀνασκέψῃ καὶ τὴν  
 ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν ἀναθεωρήσεις. Διὰ τοῦτο προσκείσθω ἦν διὰ παντὸς  
 75 ἀναφέρομεν εὐχὴν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πλέον | οὐδέν· ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου B  
 ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐξαποστείλας αὐτὸν ἵνα λύσῃ τὸ

51-52: Phil. 3.18. || 52: Ierem. 10.25; Ps. 78.6. || 60-61: 1 Petr. 5.8. || 62: cf. 2 Cor. 8.9. || 69: Ps. 7.13. || 76-77: Ephes. 2.14.

43 ἀδελφοὶ P<sup>x</sup>: -οὺς P<sup>1</sup> || 47 παρέσχε Mai: -ον P || 61 καταπή N.T. (v.l.): -ει P

hood in Christ of Bulgarians and Romans, and how many brothers of either race have been slaughtered by a brother's hand.

I know you excuse yourself from this guilt, and say that others began these great evils: and you are right: I admit that the folly of men who, long ago, were driven into it by the devil, provided the cause of the war. But these men the divine Judgment has judged as It willed, and has exacted the penalty for what they did, and has given you vengeance on them many times greater than what you suffered. Let us be satisfied (my Son) with what has been done up till now to our common loss. You are not in arms against the infidel, or the enemies of the Cross of Christ, or nations who do not know God's name, but against fathers, against brothers, in a word, against your kin, whom not flesh and blood, but the All-holy Spirit of God has made one with you. How long shall we allow the devil and his demons to dance *in triumph*? You know that he dances that dance in joy at the warfare of Christians against one another, and at the shedding of their blood by one another. I omit the rest—the destruction of churches, the dispersal of monks, the rape of virgins, the silencing of hymns and praises that were sung in the holy temples. How long shall we permit him to dance *in triumph* at these things, who “walketh like a roaring lion, *seeking* whom he may devour”? How long shall we give matter for grief and sorrow to Christ our God, Who for our salvation endured poverty and insult and the Cross, and to His merciful angels? Can you doubt (my Son)—nay, I know you cannot—that at these things Christ our God endures great anguish, greater, I would say, than that of the nails on His Cross? that sorrowfulness not to be compared afflicts the angelic powers? Even though in His inscrutable Judgments He adheres to His goodness and long-suffering, and for the time forbears His punishment, and does not bring down his burnished sword on those who are grieving Him?

Why need I write more to one filled full of wisdom by the Grace of God? Here then will I stop: for if only you would return to your tranquil and merciful state, not these things only that I write, but things far more humane and far better would you reckon up for yourself, and would review the benefit arising from them. Let me then add the prayer that I continually send up to God, and say no more: May God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who sent Him into the world that He might destroy the middle wall



μεσότοιχον τῆς ἐχθρας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰρηνοποίησιν  
τὰ πάντα, αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν βραβεύων εἰρήνην ἐν τῇ σῆ καρδίᾳ συντρίψει τὸν  
σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν, καὶ στρέψει τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν σκανδάλων γενο-  
80 μένην κῆκωσιν μεταξύ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου κεφαλὴν,  
καὶ δοίη πάλιν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς γλυκείας εἰρήνης ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐνω-  
θῆναι ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἀποκαθιστῶν εἰς τὴν πρέπουσαν πατρᾷσι καὶ τέκνοις  
καὶ ἀδελφοῖς ἀγάπην τε καὶ στοργήν, οὕτως ἡμᾶς μὲν τῆς ταλαιπώρου  
ταύτης ἐξάγων ζωῆς, ὑμῖν δὲ μετὰ τῆς εἰρήνης μακρότητα ἡμερῶν παρέ-  
85 χων καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν αἰωνίου ζωῆς τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν.

## 25. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς συντυχίαις ὄρω συμβαῖνον, τέκνον μου θεο- C  
τίμητον, ὅταν πολλάκις θόρυβος προσπίπτων ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τὸν λόγον τοῦ  
προσομιλοῦντος οὐ συγχωρεῖ ἐξακοῦεσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γινόμενον  
5 κατανοῶ. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ νῦν ὡς ἔοικεν ὁ θόρυβος τῶν ἐμῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀποκω-  
λύει τοὺς λόγους ἡμῶν ταῖς σαῖς προσελθεῖν ἀκοαῖς καὶ δι' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν  
ἡμερον καὶ φιλόανθρωπον ψυχὴν διελθεῖν. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν, πῶς ἔχει  
λόγον τὰς τοσαύτας ἡμῶν δεήσεις ὑπὲρ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ συμφέροντος Βουλ-  
γάραις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνηνύτους μέχρι καὶ σήμερον διαμεῖναι; Πλὴν καὶ  
10 οὕτως ἔχοντος τοῦ πράγματος, ἐπειδὴ ἀνάγκη μοι ἐπίκειται μὴ σιωπᾶν  
(οὐαὶ γὰρ μοὶ ἔστιν ἐὰν τὸ μεσιτεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καταλείψω), καὶ  
πάλιν γράφω καὶ οὐ παύσομαι γράφειν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τοῦ δέεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ,  
μέχρις ἂν αἱ ὀλίγαι τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἡμέραι διατρίβειν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι  
βίῳ διδώσι.

15 Τέκνον ἐμόν, σπλάγγνον ἐμόν, υἱὲ ποθεινότητε, μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης D  
ἦν ἔχεις τῶν σῶν πράξεων ἀναθεωρήσεως καὶ τοῦτο ἐπίσκεψαι, ὅτι ἀφ'  
οὗ τὸ Βουλγάρων γένος τὸν αὐχένα ὑπέκλινε τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν  
δεύτερος σὺ τυγχάνεις ὁ τούτων τὴν δεσποτείαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος· καὶ  
δικαίον ἔστιν, ὥσπερ κληρονόμος γέγονας τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ σοῦ μακαρίου  
20 πατρός, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου κληρονόμον εἶναι σε εἰρηνικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ

77-78: Coloss. 1.20. || 78: Coloss. 3.15. || 78-79: Rom. 16.20. || 81: Ephes. 4.3. || 84: Ps.  
20.4.

25: 11: cf. Ezech. 33.1-9. || 13: Gen. 47.9.

82 ἡμᾶς Wk: ὑμᾶς P  
25: P 133v-137r

of enmity through the Blood of His Son, and bring peace to everything, may  
He even now accord peace in your heart, and crush Satan beneath your feet,  
and retort upon his head the oppression of Romans and Bulgarians that  
arises from his offenses; and may He grant that we be united again, as before,  
in the bond of sweet peace; restoring you to the love and affection that is  
proper to fathers and sons and brothers, and so conducting me out of this  
wretched life, but granting to you length of days together with peace, and  
the enjoyment hereafter of life eternal.

## 25. To the Same

That which I see happening when conversation is general (my Son  
honored of God), when often the babel striking on one's ears does not permit  
one to catch the words of one's interlocutor, has, I see, happened to me also.  
For even now the babel of my sins, I suppose, prevents my words from  
reaching your ears, and from penetrating thence into your tranquil and merci-  
ful heart. Were it not so, how could it be understood that all my prayers on  
behalf of the welfare and advantage of Bulgarians and Romans should up  
till now be of no effect? Yet, even though this be so, yet since I am compelled  
to speak (for woe to me if I neglect to intercede for peace!), I write once more  
and will not cease from writing, just as I will not cease from praying to God,  
as long as my few remaining days allow me to linger in this present life.

My Son, my darling, my most tenderly loved Son, when you review  
your deeds think also of this, that from the time when the Bulgarian race  
bent its neck to the yoke of Christ our God, you are the second to be invested  
with the lordship over it. And it is right that, as you are the heir to the rule  
of your father, of blessed memory, so you should also be heir to his peaceable

τῆς ἄλλης Χριστιανικῆς καταστάσεως. Ἐκεῖνος ἐπηξε σὺν θεῷ τὸν θεμέλιον, σὲ πρέπον ἐστὶν οἰκοδομεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καταλύειν οὐδὲ τὸν θεμέλιον ἐξορύσσειν· ἐκεῖνος συνέδησε τὸν δεσμὸν τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀγάπης, σὺ ὀφείλεις συσφιγγεῖν ὅση δύναμις, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ διατέμνεις· ἐκεῖνος διὰ τῆς  
 25 ἄνωθεν ἐπιπνοίας ἀπέστρεψε τὰ ὄπλα | τῆς κατὰ Χριστιανῶν σφαγῆς, σὺ 164  
 ὡς τιμῶν τὸν πατέρα, ὡς ἐκείνου ὑπάρχων γνήσιος υἱὸς καὶ κληρονόμος τοῦ φιλοθέου τρόπου, ὀφείλεις παντελῶς αὐτὰ ῥίπτειν ὡς ἀχρηστίαν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνεργείας. Τοῦτο προσήκον ἐστὶν φρονεῖν τῇ σῇ μεγαλοδόξῳ ἀρετῇ, τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἐτέρωθεν παρακλησεως, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοι-  
 30 αὐτὰ οἶάπερ νῦν ἐλευνὰ πράγματα γίνεται. Ἐρωτῶ σε, τέκνον ἐμόν, καὶ ἀποκριθῆτι ἀξίως τῆς σῆς ἐπιεικειᾶς καὶ ἀγαθότητος· εἰ τῷ βίῳ ἐτι παρῆν ὁ νῦν μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν οὐρανοῖς συνδιαιωόμενος, καὶ ταῦτα ἐώρα σε διαπραττόμενον καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐνεργοῦντα, τίνας ἂν ἔφη πρὸς σὲ λόγους; Πῶς οἶει τοῦτον διατεθεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν; Ἄρ' οὐκ  
 35 ἂν ἐπληροῦτο δακρύων; Οὐχὶ σκυθρωπότητος ἐγεγόνει | πλήρης καὶ B  
 κατηφείας καὶ ἀβίωτον εἶχε τὸν βίον; Οὐχὶ τὰς τιμίας τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ πώγωνος τίλλων ἀμφοτέrais χερσὶ μετὰ θρήνου τοιαῦτα ἐκέκραγεν· «Τί ποιεῖς, τέκνον ἐμόν; Τί τὴν δόξαν ἡμῶν καθαιρεῖς; Τί τὸ ἔργον ὁ σὺν θεῷ εἰργασάμην, καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ καύχημα ἦν ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ  
 40 καὶ παντὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γένει καταλύεις; Τί τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀγῶνας δι' ὧν ὁ σύμπαξ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος ἔμελλε μακαρίζειν ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν γενεάν κενοὺς ἀπεργάζη, καὶ ζημίαν οὕτως ἀσύγκριτον σεαυτῷ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπάγεις;» Τί οὖν; Εἰ μὲν ἐνταῦθα παρῆν καὶ σὺν ἀνθρώποις εἶχε τὴν διαγωγὴν, οὕτως ἂν διετέθη καὶ τοιαῦτα θρηγῶν ἐκεκράγει· νῦν δὲ τοῖς  
 45 ἁγίοις συνὼν καὶ θεῷ παριστάμενος, καὶ πολλῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιωμένος ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἔργου ὁ μετὰ θεὸν Βουλγάρους εἰργάσατο καὶ τοῦ θεμελίου τῆς πίστεως, καὶ εἰκότως ἐπ' αὐτῷ σεμνυόμενος, καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐναντίων |  
 πραγμάτων λαμβάνων τὴν αἰσθησιν (πάντως δὲ οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλεις, τέ- C  
 κνον ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐστὶν τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν βιοῦσιν ἁγίοις ἢ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ γινομέ-  
 50 νων αἰσθησις), οὐ πολλῷ πλέον, καίτοι λύπης ἀπάσης ἀνωτέρας τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ζωῆς τυγχανούσης, ὀδυνήσεται καὶ μεταξὺ τῆς ἀνεκδιηγῆτου ἐκείνης φαιδρότητος σκυθρωπαζῶν ὀφθήσεται, τοῦτο μὲν καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὸς ἔθηκεν, εἰ καὶ διὰ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ὑπέρτερος γέγονε τῶν φονευτῶν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου τέκνου,  
 55 ὑπὲρ οὗ δυσωπεῖ τὸν θεόν, πᾶν εἴ τι καλὸν καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐνδειξιν ἔχον παρασχεθῆναί σοι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς ἄνω δόξης προσεπικτήσασθαι τὴν κληρονομίαν; Αὐτὸν παρεῖναι σοι νόμιζε, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οὕτως ἔλεει | νῶς διατεθειμένον, καὶ ἂ γράφομεν μὴ λόγους ἡμετέρους εἶναι, D

spirit and to the rest of his Christian temper. He with God's aid laid the foundation; it is your duty to build on it, not to destroy and dig away that foundation. He tied the bond of love toward the Romans; you should tighten it as much as you can, not sever it. He by inspiration from above turned his arms away from the slaughter of Christians: you, if you honor your father, if you are his true-born son and heir to his pious nature, should by all means cast them aside in token of your renunciation of such activity. These are the thoughts and actions that befit your most glorious Virtue, even without exhortation from elsewhere, and not such miserable deeds as are now being done. I ask you (my Son), and do you reply in a manner worthy of your honesty and goodness: if he were still present in life who now resides among the saints in Heaven, and were to see you acting so, and slaughtering and making war, what would he say to you? How do you think his heart would be disposed? Would he not be full of tears? Would he not with both hands pluck out the honorable hairs of his head and beard, and thus break out in lamentation? "What are you doing, my Son? Why do you pull down my glory? Why do you destroy that work which I wrought by God's aid, and which is my pride and yours, the pride of all our race? Why do you stultify those efforts for which men in every age would have blessed me and my generation, and thus bring upon yourself and me incomparable loss?" Well, then: if he were here and living among men, thus he would be disposed, and thus break out in lamentation. But now that he is with the saints, and ministers to God, and is accorded much recompense for that work which, under God, he wrought for the Bulgarians, I mean, the foundation of their faith, and is justly exalted on that account, now that he perceives what is done against that work (for you surely cannot doubt, my Son, that the saints who live yonder do perceive what goes on in the world), will he not be far more deeply grieved, even if the life beyond is above all pain, and will he not, in the midst of that inexpressible mirth, be seen with sorrowing countenance? partly *on account of* his own work, for which he staked his life, though by the Divine Power he triumphed over those who would have murdered him; and partly on account of *you*, his own son, to whom he entreats God that all things fair and virtuous-seeming may be granted, and that after this life you may attain also to the inheritance of the glory that is above. Imagine (my Son) that he stands by you thus pitifully disposed, and that what I write

ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον ὡς ἀληθῶς ταῦτά σοι διαλέγεσθαι. Τίς γὰρ ὅλως ἀμφιβάλλει  
 60 ὡς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τοῖς σήμερον γινομένοις παρὰ σοῦ  
 οὐ σφοδρῶς ἀνιάται, καὶ εἴ γε δυνατὸν ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν μακαρίας ζωῆς  
 πρὸς τὴν ἀθλίαν ταύτην καὶ ἡμετέραν παραγενέσθαι, ἦκεν ἂν οὐ μόνον  
 τοιαῦτα πρὸς σέ οἷα ἔφημεν λέγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλείω τούτων, ἅτε καὶ  
 65 φῆς καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ νοῖ πλησιάζων καὶ ὅλως τῆς ἐκεῖθεν πεπληρωμένος  
 ἐλλάμψεως.

Πρόεφερον, υἱέ μου θεοτίμητε, τὸ σὸν γράμμα τὸν μέγαν Μωσῆν  
 καὶ τῇ ἐκείνου μνήμῃ ἔγραψας οἷα δὴ καὶ ἔγραψας. Καὶ τίνα πρὸς τὸν  
 Μωσῆν ἔχει τὰ ὑμέτερα κοινωνίαν; Ποίους ἐδέξω παρὰ θεοῦ χρησμούς;  
 70 Ποῦ δὲ τὴν θείαν ἐθεάσω δόξαν τοιαῦτα | ποιεῖν προτροπομένην οἷα 165  
 πράττεις; Ποίας δουλείας, ποίας κακώσεως λυτρωτῆς ἀνεφάνης τῷ λαῷ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ; Ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν, ἐπεὶ πολλάκις αὐτάς ἐξετραγωδήσαμεν, ὅσαι  
 κακώσεις παρ' ὑμῶν καὶ κατέλαβον καὶ καταλαμβάνουσιν καθ' ἐκάστην  
 τὸν λαὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. Μή, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν ταῦτα θεοῦ προτροπῆς  
 75 οὐδ' ἀποστολῆς, ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίνης (οἴμοι πῶς εἶπω;) ἐπηρείας καὶ πράτ-  
 τειν ἀπεναντία τοῦ θεϊκοῦ θελήματος προαιρουμένης. Ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τὸ  
 γράμμα καὶ ὅτι τῶν προπατόρων καὶ πατέρων πεπονηκότων ἡμεῖς ἀπο-  
 λαύομεν τῶν ἐκείνων πόνων. Καλῶς καὶ ἦν ἀρμόδιον, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τοῦ  
 σοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης πράγμασιν τῆς μεταξὺ Ῥω-  
 80 μαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων πολλὰ καμόντος ἀπολαύειν ὑμᾶς ἀκολούθως τῶν  
 ἐκείνου καμάτων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πρὸς ἐναντίαν τρέπεσθαι γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐν  
 ἐκείνοις στρέφεσθαι καὶ νομίζειν ἀπόλαυσιν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἵνα σὺν θεῷ  
 καταργηθῇ μακροῦς ἐνεδείξατο πόνους.

Εἶπον ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ τὸ σὸν ἀναλέγεσθαι γράμμα διδοῦς τὴν ἀπό- B  
 85 κρισιν· λέγομεν δὲ ἄλλιν ἃ καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν· Ῥῆψον τὰ  
 ὅπλα, τέκνον ἐμόν, παῦσον τοὺς πολέμους καὶ τὰς τῶν αἱμάτων χύσεις.  
 «Ζήτησον εἰρήνην καὶ δίδωξον αὐτήν,» μετὰ τοῦ μακαρίου προφήτου, εἰ  
 καὶ ἀνάξιος, παραινῶ καὶ ἀντὶ ταύτης τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐπιζήτησον ἃ  
 ἴσως καὶ σὲ δίκαιον λαβεῖν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δώσουσι προθύμως, χρυσὸν εἰ  
 90 βούλει καὶ ἄργυρον, γῆς τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἀπόμοιραν, ἄλλων τινῶν πρα-  
 γμάτων δόσεις, ὅσα καὶ Βουλγάρους εὐφρανοῦσι καὶ Ῥωμαῖοις οὐκ ἔσται  
 ἢ δόσις ἀφόρητος. Γεγόνασι πλειστάκις καὶ Πέρσαις πόλεμοι πρὸς Ῥω-  
 μαίους καὶ Βουλγάρους τοῖς ὑμῶν προγόνους ὡσαύτως, καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνοις  
 νῦν μὲν πλείοσιν νῦν δὲ ἐλάττοσιν· ἀλλὰ τέλος | ἔλαβον καὶ πρὸς σπονδὰς C

87: Ps. 33.15.

69 ὑμέτερα Wk: ἡμέτερα P || 91 εὐφρανοῦσι P<sup>x</sup>: εὐφραίνουσι P<sup>1</sup>

are not my words, but that he in truth is saying them to you. Who can doubt  
 for a moment that that man of God is violently afflicted by what is today  
 being done by you? And if it were possible for him to come from that blessed  
 life yonder to this wretched world of ours, he would come to say to you not  
 only such things as I have said, but much more than these: for he would have  
 abundance of words, as one who has got free of his vain wanderings here, and  
 consorts with the prime Intelligence, and is filled full with the illumination  
 that flows from It.

Your letter (my Son honored of God) referred to the great Moses, and  
 in recollection of him you wrote as you did. But what have your affairs in  
 common with Moses? What oracles have you received from God? Where  
 have you beheld the divine Glory, ordering you to do the things you do?  
 From what slavery, what oppression have you appeared as the redeemer of  
 the people of God? I forbear to mention, since I have often cried them aloud,  
 all the acts of oppression at your hands which have afflicted, and daily  
 afflict, the people of God. Nay (my Son), these things are not at the behest or  
 mission of God, but arise from the malice (alas that I should say it!) of men  
 who have chosen to act contrary to the Divine Will. Your letter goes on to  
 state that where our forefathers and fathers labored, we enjoy the fruits of  
 their labors: it is well: and it would become you (my Son), whereas your holy  
 father devoted much toil on behalf of those things pertaining to peace between  
 Romans and Bulgarians, to enjoy the fruit of his toils after him, and not turn  
 to the opposite purpose, and to pursue and hope to enjoy those things which  
 he devoted long labors, with God's aid, to abolishing.

I have said so much, after reading your letter, by way of answer to it.  
 But I say once more, as I have often said in the past: Throw away your arms  
 (my Son): stop the fighting and the bloodshed; "seek peace and ensue it",  
 with the blessed prophet (though I who exhort am unworthy), and, instead  
 of this course, ask for what it may be right that you should receive, and the  
 Romans will readily grant: gold, if you want it, and silver, the reasonable  
 portion of territory, gifts of other things such as will rejoice the Bulgarians,  
 and as the Romans may endure to give. Wars have often been made on the  
 Romans—by Persians and by Bulgarians, your own ancestors, and they have  
 lasted sometimes many years, sometimes few; yet they came to an end, and

95 κατήντησαν εἰρηνικὰς ὀρισμένων τελῶν χορηγουμένων, ποτὲ μὲν ἐξ ἐκείνων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ποτὲ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ὑποτελούντων ἐκείνοις. Καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοιαύτη ἐστὶν τῶν πολέμων ἢ φύσις. Τὸ δὲ φιλονευκεῖν παντελῶς ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν ἀλλοτρίαν καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν καταστήναι τοῦ ὅλου γένους καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας, τοῦτο τῶν πάντων δυσχερεστάτων, πρὸς  
100 δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν βασιλείαν καὶ παντελῶς ἀδύνατον.

Ταῦτα ἐπειδὴ πλειστάκις ἐγράφη, ἴσως καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔδει γραφῆναι, ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸ γράμμα διὰ βραχέων ἀπεμνημόνευσεν· ἐν δὲ προσθεῖς ἔτι τοῦ γράφειν πεπαύσομαι. Οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἴδιον ὡς τὸ ἀτάραχον καὶ γαληναῖον τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ καθάριον | ἐν τε λόγους καὶ D  
105 πράξεισι. Διὰ τί οὖν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἀνάξια ποιῶν τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ὑβριστικῶς γράφεις πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκεχειρισμένους ὑπὸ τῆς ἄνωθεν ψήφου τὴν βασιλείαν ἣν μόνην ὁ θεὸς ἀκατάλυτον ἐπὶ γῆς ἔπηξεν; εἰ καὶ κρίμασιν οἷς οἶδεν παραχωρεῖ τοῖς νομίζουσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, μέχρις ἂν ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ διωρισμένος καιρὸς ἐπιστῇ καθ' ὃν πάντες καὶ ἐκόντες καὶ ἄκοντες  
110 ὑποκλινοῦσι τὸν αὐχένα καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς κυριότητα καὶ ὁμολογήσουσι καὶ προσκυνήσουσι. Γράφεις ὡς εἰκὸς ἅς οἱ πολέμιοι ἀντιλογίας προβάλλονται· γράφε ἀντιλέγων καὶ μὴ ὑβρίζων, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρέπουσαν τοῖς ἄρχουσι μεγαλοπρέπειαν, καὶ μὴ καταβαίνης πρὸς τὸ εὐτελὲς καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ τῆς σῆς ἐξουσίας ἀνάρμοστον. Εὐτελῶν γὰρ  
115 ἀνθρώπων τὸ ὑβρίζειν καὶ (ἐν' εἴπω) | μὴ γνωριζόντων εὐσχημοσύνην, 168 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων καὶ εἰδότην ἑτέρουσ εὐσχημονας ἀποτελεῖν. Ἡ ἄγνοεῖς, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὅτι ὡς ἐπίπαν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄρχων λαχόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων σεμνότητος ἀντιποιοῦνται τὰς ὑβρεῖς ὡσπερ τι ῥυπάσμα διωθοῦνται καὶ ἀποστρέφονται καὶ φεῖδονται  
120 τὸ καθάριον τῆς γλώττης καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ πρό γε τούτων τῆς γνώμης ἐν τῷ ῥυπάσματι περισύρειν τῶν ὑβρεων; Τί με δεῖ λέγειν ἀρχαίους τε καὶ νέους, Πέρσας, Ἀγαρηνοὺς, ἄλλους πρὸ τούτων, ὅσοι ἀρχὰς ἐπιστεύθησαν, ὡς πολλάκις πολέμων ἀναμεταξὺ κινουμένων τὰ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου ἐνῆργουν, ὑβρεων δὲ καλῶς καὶ ἀρχικῶς φρονοῦντες ἀπέιχοντο,  
125 καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὕτως ὁρᾶται γινόμενον; Γράφουσιν Ἀγαρηνοὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅσα ὑποβάλλουσι τῶν πραγμάτων | αἱ ὑποθέσεις, τὴν ὀφειλομένην B δὲ καὶ προσηγορίαν καὶ τιμὴν ἀποσφύζοντες τῇ βασιλείᾳ. Οὕτω καὶ σύ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὸ πρέπον τῇ σῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ σφύζων ἀπέχου τῶν ὑβρεων, ὅταν γράφης· μάλιστα γὰρ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς σὲ στελλομένου βασιλι-  
130 κοῦ γράμματος μηδὲν ὑβριστικὸν ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῶς προσδιαλεγο-

finished in terms of peace, and fixed tributes were paid, sometimes by them to the Romans, and sometimes the Romans paid tribute to them. Such, generally speaking, is the nature of wars. But to insist on the wholesale annexation of a state which is not yours, and on becoming master of the whole race and dominion, this is something of the very utmost difficulty, and against the Roman Empire it is altogether impossible.

Since I have written this so often before, perhaps I should not write it again; yet my letter mentions it briefly. I will add one thing more and then stop. Nothing is so proper to rule and dominion as quietness and serenity of soul and decency in word and deed. Why then (my Son) do you act in a manner unworthy of your Lordship, and write abusively to those who are by Divine Sanction entrusted with the only Empire which God has fixed indissoluble on earth; even though, by His inscrutable Judgment, He indulges those who think to assail her, until that time which He has determined shall come when all, willy-nilly, shall bow their necks and acknowledge and adore her Sovereignty? It is natural that you should write such arguments as enemies propound. Argue, but do not abuse; preserve the dignity which has ever been fitting to rulers, and do not descend to a paltriness and meanness improper to your Lordship. Abuse is the weapon of the paltry and of those—if I may say so—who have no knowledge of good manners: not of those who have risen high and can teach good manners to others. Surely you know (my Son) that, generally speaking, all, not merely rulers, but other men besides, who lay claim to respect, reject and avoid abuse like filth, and are careful not to drag the decency of their tongue and words and, above all, their minds through the filth of abuse. Why should I speak of examples old and new, Persians, Saracens, others before them, who have been entrusted with government? Wars have often broken out between us, and they have done the works of war; but from abuse they have, in a fair and lordly spirit, abstained. And this is true up to today. The Saracens write to us making such proposals as circumstances suggest, but they preserve the forms of address and honor that are due to the imperial dignity. So then (my Son) do you too preserve what is suitable to your dignity, and abstain from abuse when you write: especially since an imperial letter is being sent to you that contains nothing abusive in it, but addresses you kindly and maintains the honor due to you.

110 ὑποκλινοῦσι P<sup>c</sup>: ὑποκλίνουσι P<sup>1</sup> || τὴν . . . κυριότητα P<sup>x</sup>: τῆς . . . κυριότητος (?) P<sup>1</sup> ||

113 καταβαίνης P<sup>c</sup>: -εις P<sup>1</sup> || 117 τῶν ἄρχων P<sup>x</sup>: τὴν ἀρχὴν (ut vid.) P<sup>1</sup> || 125 οὕτως Wk: οὔτε P || ὁρᾶται P<sup>c</sup>: -τε P<sup>1</sup>

μένου και τὴν ὀφειλομένην σοι τιμὴν διαφυλάττοντος. Καὶ γὰρ οἶδας ὡς εἴ τι και πολλάκις πρὸς σὲ τραχύτερον οἱ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν βασιλείαν διέποντες σὺν θεῷ ἔγραψαν, οὐ παρ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς τοῦτο κεκίνηται, ἀλλὰ σου γράψαντος ἃ μὴ προσῆκον ὑπῆρχεν και αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸ τραχύτερον  
 135 διατυπῶσαι τὸ γράμμα ἐξεβιάσθησαν· ὥστε ἡ μὲν τραχύτης ἐκ τῶν σῶν ὕβρεων λαμβάνει τὴν ἀφορμὴν, ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ διάθεσις διασφύζουσα τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀδελφόν σε ὀνομάζει και φίλον ἠγαπημένον και ὅσα στοργῆς και ἀγάπης ἐστὶν ἀληθινῆς, και ἵνα τὸ πᾶν εἴπω, ἀγκαλιζομένη φιλοφρόνως οἷα πατὴρ οἰκεῖον υἱόν. | Χρὴ οὖν και σὲ τὴν ὁμοίαν διάθεσιν ἐπιδείνυ- C  
 140 σθαι, και ὡς εἶπον τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ πολέμου γράφειν οἷα βούλει, τὰς δὲ ὕβρεις ἀφιέναι, και προσάγειν τοιαύτην τιμὴν ἐν τῷ σῷ γράμματι ὁποίας και αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξιούμενος διαδείκνυσαι.

Ταῦτά σοι γράφω, τέκνον ἐμόν, ἵνα και διὰ τοῦτο γινῶς ὅτι ὡς πατὴρ ἀληθῶς φιλῶν και τῆς σῆς δόξης και τιμῆς κηδόμενος, ἐν οἷς τι  
 145 κατανοῶ τῇ σῇ δόξῃ ἀπρεπὲς και ἀνάρμοστον οὐ βούλομαι σιωπᾶν, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἔσον εἰς ἐμὴν ἤκεν δύναμιν πειρῶμαι τὴν ὑμετέραν συνιστᾶν εὐδοξίαν. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς δόξης, ὁ τῆς παρουσίας και τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς χορηγός, αὐτὸς πᾶσαν πράξιν ἔση πρὸς ἀδοξίαν ἀπάγει ποιήσειεν ἐκποδὸν και καταισχύνοι τὸν πονηρὸν δαίμονα, ὃς ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 150 και μέχρι τοῦ νῦν | καταισχύνει οὐκ ἐλλείπει διαγωνιζόμενος τὸ τετιμη- D  
 μένον τοῦ θεοῦ πλάσμα· και δόξῃ εὐδόξως ὑμᾶς και τῆς παρουσίας μεταστῆ-  
 ναι ζωῆς και δόξης, ὅποτε τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ βουλήματι παραστῆ, και εἰς τὴν ἀμάραντον δόξαν κατασκηνώσαι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δοξαζόμενοις.

## 26. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἰ και πλειστάκις ἔγραψα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης και σωτηρίας τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ και θεοῦ ἡμῶν τέκνων· τέκνα γὰρ ἐκείνου Ῥωμαῖοι και Βούλγαροι, και τῷ τιμίῳ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ αἵματι  
 5 ἐξηγορασμένοι και λαὸς αὐτῷ περιούσιος ἀνατεθειμένοι· — ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ και πλειστάκις ἔγραψα | περὶ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος ἑκατέρῳ γένοι και 169

26: 4-5: cf. 1 Petr. 1.19. || 5: Tit. 2.14; cf. Exod. 19.5; Deut. 14.2.

143 τοῦτο] leg. τούτων? || 149 καταισχύνοι Vat.: -ει P || 150 καταισχύνειν Vat.: -ων P ||  
 153 σὺν πᾶσι Vat.: συμπᾶσι (sic) P

26: P 137r-138v

You know that if from time to time those who, under God, rule the Roman Empire have written rather roughly to you, they were not moved to do so of themselves, but because you had written what did not become you, and they on their side were forced to cast their own letter in a rather rougher form: so that their roughness has its origin in your abuse. But the imperial disposition, constant to its own nature, calls you "Brother" and "beloved Friend," with other expressions of genuine affection and love, and, to say it all, embraces you warmly as a father embraces his own son. So that you ought to show a similar disposition and, as I said, write what you like about the war, but avoid abuse, and make use in your letter of such dignity as that with which you yourself are distinguished by the Emperor.

I write this (my Son) in order that you may know that, as a truly loving father, and as one who is careful for your glory and honor, where I see anything that is improper and unsuitable for your Glory, I do not wish to remain silent, but rather try by all ways in my power to conserve your good repute. And may the God of glory, Who is the Dispenser of this life and the life to come, banish every action such as leads to ill-fame, and put to shame the evil demon who ceases not, from the beginning even until today, his striving to shame God's honored creation. And may He grant that you pass with fair fame out of your present life and glory, when it suits His holy Will, and abide in that imperishable glory which is shared by all whom He has glorified from time's beginning.

## 26. To the Same

Though I have written very many times (my Son) on behalf of the common peace and salvation of the sons of Christ our God—for Romans and Bulgarians are His sons, ransomed by the precious Blood of His Side, and set up to be His Peculiar People—I say, though I have written very many times concerning the common advantage of either race, and my letters

εἰς οὐδὲν ἐλογίσθη τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν γεγραμμένα, οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι τοῦ γρά-  
φειν οὐδ' ἀποστήσομαι τὸ ἐμοὶ κεχρεωστημένον πληρῶν καὶ ὅσον ἐμοὶ  
δυνατὸν τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐκείνης ἕξω καθιστῶν ἑμαυτὸν τῆς ἀπειλῆς τῷ  
10 σκοπεῖν τεταγμένῳ, ὅταν μὴ τὴν ἐπερχομένην ῥομφαίαν ἀναγγείλῃ κατὰ  
τοῦ ταύτην δεχομένου, ἕξ αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα ζητεῖσθαι τοῦ διὰ τῆς ῥομφαίας  
ἀπολωλότος. Οὗτος ὁ φόβος καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν ποιεῖ, τέκνον μου  
ἠγαπημένον, μὴ σιωπᾶν· ἅμα δὲ καὶ λογισμὸς τις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος  
εἰσῆλθέ με, ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ γε νῦν ἡ σὴ καλὴ καὶ ἡμερος  
15 ψυχὴ, ὅσα ἐγὼ τὴν <σὴν> φύσιν ἐνόησα τὴν ὀλίγην ἐκείνην ὥραν ἐν ἣ  
ἐνωθῆναι ὑπῆρξεν, δέξεται πατὴρ τὸν υἱὸν ἀγαπῶντος παραίνεσιν καὶ  
σβέσει | τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὴν φλόγα τὴν τέως ἀνάπτειν φιλονεικοῦσαν καὶ B  
διαλυμαινομένην Ῥωμαίους καὶ Βουλγάρους.

Πάλιν οὖν δυσωπῶ, πάλιν οὖν παραινῶ, πάλιν αἵματι δακρῶν τὰ  
20 παρόντα γράμματα ἐπιστέλλων. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ δάκρυσιν ἀντὶ μέλανος δυνα-  
τὸν ὑπῆρχε γράψαι τὰ γράμματα, ἐθεάσω ἂν τὴν τῶν ἐμῶν δακρῶν  
φύσιν ὡς οὐ παρὰ πολὺ αἵματος ἀποδέουσιν. Καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐ μέλλω  
τοιαῦτα δάκρυα φέρειν, ὅταν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἀναλήψωμαι τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς  
συμφορὰς, τὴν οὐκ ἔχουσαν παράδειγμα τῶν κακῶν τραγωδίαν ἦν ἐφι-  
25 λονεῖκησεν ὁ σατανᾶς ἕξ αἱμάτων Χριστιανικῶν καὶ σφαγῶν καὶ ὀλέθρου  
τοσοῦτου ἐπισκοπεῖων, μοναστηρίων, ἰδιωτικῶν οἰκῶν, εἰς τὸν βίον  
εἰσαγαγεῖν καὶ τῷ μετέπειτα γένοι τὴν τοιαύτην παραπέμπει διήγησιν; |  
Διὰ τοῦτο, υἱέ μου ἠγαπημένε, ἃ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοστεφεῖς ἡμῶν βασι- C  
λεῖς γλώσση προσφθέγγομαι, ταῦτα καὶ σοὶ τῷ γράμματι διαλέγομαι·  
30 Ἀποβλέψατε πρὸς τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθόν, ἀποβλέψατε πρὸς τὴν τῶν  
ὑπηκόων σωτηρίαν, μὴ ἐπιμείνητε τῇ κακίστῃ φιλονεικίᾳ, μηδὲ προτι-  
μήσητε τὰς σφαγὰς καὶ τὰ αἷματα, τὰς χηρείας, τὰς ἀπαιδίας· ἀναμνή-  
σθητε τῶν καλῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἡδίστων ὅσα ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης Ῥωμαίους  
καὶ Βουλγάρους περιεγίνετο.

35 Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς φασιν ἔτοιμοι <εἶναι> πειθαρχεῖν  
τῇ παραινέσει καὶ δέχονται τὴν παράκλησιν καὶ οὐ μνησικακοῦσιν  
οὐδ' ἐπιζητοῦσι τὸν πόλεμον ἔτι, κἂν δεινὰ παρὰ Βουλγάρων πεπόνθασιν,  
κἂν ἐλπίδα φέρουσιν ἕξ ὧν ἀδίκως ὑπέστησαν παρ' ὑμῶν καὶ ἐξ ὧν  
ἱκανοί, μάλιστα μετὰ τῆς ἀνωθεν | δικαιοσύνης, ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὴν ἐαυ- D  
40 τῶν ὡς ὑμεῖς νομίζετε κάκωσιν. Σὲ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὁμοίαν καταστῆναι  
γνώμην δυσωπῶ καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν ὅμοιον φρόνημα καὶ ἀρκεσθῆναι τοῖς

9-12: Ezech. 33.1-9.

15 σὴν P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup> || 25 ὀλέθρου P<sup>c</sup>: -ων P<sup>1</sup> || 26 τοσοῦτου P<sup>c</sup>: -ων (?) P<sup>1</sup> || ἐπισκοπεῖων  
P<sup>c</sup>: -εἶ P<sup>1</sup> || 35 εἶναι Wk: om. P

have been disregarded, I do not desist from writing, nor will I desist from  
fulfilling my duty, and, to the best of my power, keeping myself clear of  
that menace which threatens to require the blood of one slain by the sword  
from a posted sentinel, if that sentinel does not give warning of the sword's  
descent upon him at whom it is aimed. This fear (my Son) forbade and still  
forbids my silence; and, with it, there has at the present time come to me  
the thought that, if not before, then now at least, your noble and tranquil  
spirit (so far as I could judge of your nature from that short hour when we  
were together) will accept the exhortation of a father that loves his son, and  
will quench the fire and the flame which up till now persist in blazing and in  
ravaging Romans and Bulgarians.

And so once more I entreat, once more I exhort, once more with tears  
of blood I write my letter to you. Indeed if it were possible to write my letter  
with tears for ink, you would see my tears composed of a substance little  
different from blood. How should they not be so, when I go back over the  
sufferings and the disasters, the unparalleled drama of evils, which Satan  
has insisted on playing out on the human stage, with the blood and slaughter  
of Christians, and all the destruction of episcopal palaces and monasteries  
and private dwellings, and bequeaths the tale of it to the race that will follow  
after? Therefore (my beloved Son), that which I say by word of mouth to  
our God-crowned Emperors, I say also to you by letter. Turn your eyes to  
the blessing of peace, to the salvation of your subjects; do not persist in this  
most pernicious strife; do not choose slaughter and blood, and the bereave-  
ment of husbands and children; recollect those good and most sweet things  
that from peace accrued to Romans and Bulgarians.

The Emperors of the Romans, for their part, say they are ready to  
obey my exhortations, and welcome my prayer, are not vindictive and seek  
no further war, even though they have suffered terribly at the hands of the  
Bulgarians; and they even derive hope from your own injustice to them,  
whereby, perhaps, in the eye of the Divine Justice, they may be able to  
redeem their own ill-treatment—as you think it—of yourself. I entreat you  
to be of a like persuasion, and to take the same view, and be satisfied with the

φθάσαι χαλεποῖς. Ἰκανὸς γὰρ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ  
 πέρα τοῦ ἱκανοῦ, τοσαύτας δημιουργήσας συμφορὰς ἀνεπιλήστους μεταξὺ  
 Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων. Ἐνθυμήθητι, τέκνον μου, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν  
 45 τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀπώλειαν, ὅσαι εἰς τάξιν ἐπισκοπειῶν, ὅσαι μοναστηρίων,  
 τὸν φόνον τῶν ἱερέων, τὴν φθορὰν τῶν παρθένων, τῶν μοναζόντων τὴν  
 ὕβριν. Μὴ ταῦτα παρόψεται ὁ θεός; Οὐχὶ τὴν μακροθυμίαν ἣν ἐπεδείξατο  
 μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ὡς φιλόανθρωπος, ὡς ἀνεξίκακος τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν  
 ἀναμένων, πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκκαύσει καὶ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῆς τοσαύτης | ἐπάξει 172  
 50 μαιφονίας; Καὶ τίς ἂν λογικὴν σύνεσιν ἀποσφύζων οὐ συνθήσεται;

Ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, ἄκουσον πατὴρ ἀγαπῶντός  
 σε καὶ τὸ σὸν ἔθνος· ὁ θεὸς γὰρ οἶδεν ὅτι ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀλγῶ καθὼς  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οὕτως καὶ ὑπὲρ Βουλγάρων. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων ἔχω τινὰς ἐλπίδας χρηστοτέρας, ἀποβλέπων ὡς ἄδικα πᾶ-  
 55 σχουσιν καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι αἰετὸς τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις θεὸς ὑπερέχει βοηθείας  
 χεῖρα, ὅποτε παραστῆ τῇ τούτου ὑπερσόφῳ κρίσει, κἂν ἐνίοτε ἀναβάλλε-  
 ται, τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἐκκαλύπτειν βουλούμενος τῶν πασχόντων τὰ ἄδικα.  
 Περὶ Βουλγάρων οὐκ ἔχω τινὰ χρηστοτέραν ἐλπίδα θεωρουμένην. Ἐδό-  
 ξατε γὰρ εὐτυχίαν τινὰ περιβαλέσθαι· ἀλλὰ τί τὸ εὐτύχημα, ὅταν οὐκ  
 60 ἔχει στρατηγεῦσαν τὴν δικαιοσύνην; Συνέβη καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη κατὰ και-  
 ροὺς τινὰς εὐτυχεῖν καὶ ὡς ἐνόμισαν αὐξήσιν | τινὰ προσλαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ B  
 τῇ φιλοπολέμῳ προαιρέσει κατέστησαν εἰς τελείαν ἀπώλειαν καὶ οὐδ'  
 ὄνομα περιλείπεται αὐτῶν τὰ νῦν ἐν ἀνθρώποις γινωσκόμενον, πλὴν ὅσα  
 οἱ τὰς ἱστορίας ἀναλεγόμενοι τὴν μνήμην αὐτῶν περιφέρουσιν. Οἶδα ὅτι  
 65 καὶ αὐτός, υἱὲ μου ἠγαπημένε, φιλομαθὴς ὢν καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν διερχό-  
 μενος τὰς βίβλους ἐπιγινώσκεις ἃ γράφομεν. Ἀπεύχομαι τοίνυν, φοβού-  
 μαι δὲ μὴ ἐπιμενόντων ὑμῶν ταῖς σφαγαῖς καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις ἀπρακτος  
 ἢ εὐχὴ καταστῆ, τοῦτο (δὲ) καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν συμβήσεται. Ἀλλὰ μὴ εἴη τοῦτο  
 μηδὲ γένηται, μηδ' ἀπαντήσῃ Χριστιανοῖς οὖσιν ὑμῖν πρὸς τοιοῦτον  
 70 καταπτώσει τέλος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκ μέσου γενέσθαι τὰ σκάνδαλα ἃ ὑπέ-  
 βαλεν ὁ πονηρὸς καὶ τῆς σπορᾶς ἐκείνου τὰ ζιζάνια· καὶ τὸ Βουλγάρων  
 ἔθνος πάλιν (τὴν) τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρήνην ἐπανελομένους ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ, ἐν  
 εὐζωίᾳ διατελεῖν τῇ μιᾷ κεφαλῇ τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν, οὐτινος καὶ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Βούλγαροι σῶμα τυγχάνουσιν, καὶ φυλαττομένους καὶ  
 75 αὐξανομένους.

71: Matth. 13.25.

43 ἀνεπιλήστους Mai: ἀνεπιλήπτους P || 45 ἐπισκοπειῶν P<sup>c</sup>: -εἶ P<sup>1</sup> || 49 ἐκκαύσει Wk: -η P ||  
 61 προσλαβεῖν P<sup>c</sup>: προσβαλεῖν (?) P<sup>1</sup> || 63 περιλείπεται P<sup>x</sup>: -τε P<sup>1</sup> || 68 δὲ Wk: om. P ||  
 72 τὴν P<sup>x</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup>

cruelties that have gone before. Long enough, too long indeed, has been the  
 time that has brought so many unforgettable disasters between Bulgarians  
 and Romans. Reflect (my Son) on the destruction of churches of God, some  
 of episcopal rank, some of monasterial; the murder of priests, the rape of  
 virgins, the abuse of monks. Shall God overlook this? Shall He not kindle  
 into rage the long-suffering that, in His mercy and forbearance and expecta-  
 tion of your conversion, He has hitherto displayed? Shall He not have  
 vengeance for all the murders done? Who in his senses would not approve?

Listen to me, thou man of God; hear the father that loves you and your  
 nation, for God knows that I love you, and grieve no less for the Bulgarians  
 than for the Romans. But in the case of the Romans I have some better hope,  
 seeing that they are wronged and knowing that God still holds a helping  
 hand over those who are wronged, when it suits His ineffably wise Judgment.  
 And sometimes He extends His patience, desiring to expose the injustice that  
 they suffer. In the case of the Bulgarians I have no better hope in sight. You  
 think you are fortune's favorite. Yet what is fortune worth, if it be not  
 marshalled by justice? Other nations have from time to time been fortunate,  
 and, as they believed, grown greater, yet through their bellicose temper have  
 come to total destruction, and not even their name now survives in the  
 knowledge of men, save insofar as students of history preserve their record.  
 I know that you (my beloved Son), as a keen student of the past and a reader  
 of books, know *the truth of* what I write. Therefore I pray that such will not  
 be your fate also, although I fear, if you persist in slaughter and battle, my  
 prayer will not be answered. But let it not be, nor happen so! Let not such  
 a fate come on you, who are Christian! Let us rather remove the offenses  
 which the evil one has strewn, and the tares that are of his sowing! and let  
 the Bulgarian nation embrace again the peace of Christ, and dwell in con-  
 tentment and prosperity, guarded and increased by our single Head, Who  
 is Christ our God, and of Whom Romans and Bulgarians are the Body.



Ὅσάκις ἂν ὀρμήσω πρὸς σέ, υἱέ μου θεοτίμητε, γράφειν, ἐλπίδες  
 χρηστότεραι τὴν ἐμὴν περιλαμβάνουσι ψυχὴν, ὅτι πάντως τὴν σὴν ἡμε-  
 ρότητα καὶ φιλάνθρωπιαν τὸ γράμμα παρακαλέσει καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην  
 5 ἐκκαλέσεται, καὶ τὸ πέρας τῆς αἰτήσεως ἔξομεν ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι  
 Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων προσάγομεν, ὥσπερ τινὸς γλυκείας αἰσθάνομαι  
 διαθέσεως, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐλαφρύνομαι τῆς ὀδύνης ἢ ἐπὶ ταῖς κοιναῖς  
 συμφοραῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων φέρω, ἃς ὁ μισάνθρωπος δαίμων  
 εἰς μέσον αὐτῶν ἀπέριψεν, καὶ τὸ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ ἡ κατῆφεια ἢ ἐπὶ  
 10 τούτοις ὥσπερ δοκεῖ ἀναστέλλεσθαι. Ὅταν δὲ τὸ γράμμα τῆς σῆς μεγα-  
 λοδόξου ἀρχῆς ἀναγινώσκων διέρχωμαι, πολλαπλασιάζεται μοι τὸ ἄλγος,  
 καὶ βαθυτέρος | ὁ γνόφος τῆς ἀθυμίας τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπικαλύπτει ψυχὴν. D  
 Καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἰατρὸς φάρμακον ἐπιτιθεὶς κατὰ τραύματος  
 καὶ βλέπων τὴν φλεγμονὴν ἐπὶ πλέον ἀγριαινομένην πληροῦται ἀθυμίας  
 15 καὶ συγχύσεως· καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν οἱ ταπεινοί, κρίμασιν οἷς ἐπίσταται ὁ θεὸς  
 εἰς τὸ τὰ τῶν ψυχῶν πάθη θεραπεύειν κατασταθέντες, ἐπεὶπερ ὀρῶμεν  
 τὴν κατὰ δύνάμιν προσαγομένην θεραπείαν ὠφελοῦσαν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τὸ  
 τραῦμα (οἴμοι τῷ ἀθλίῳ, καὶ ἡλικὸν τραῦμα) ἐπὶ τὸ χειρὸν προκόπτον,  
 ὅλως κατηφείας καὶ σκυθρωπότητος καὶ συγχύσεως, οὐμενοῦν οὐκ  
 20 ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅσου, πληρούμεθα· μάλιστα μὲν τὴν σὴν, υἱέ μου  
 θεοτίμητε, μεγάλην φρόνησιν οὐ φή|μαις, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ πείρα γινώσκοντες. 173  
 Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καθ' ὃν ἀλλήλοις πρὸς ὀμίλιαν συνήλθομεν, εἰ  
 καὶ ὀλίγος ἦν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἱκανὴν παρέσχεν ἡμῖν γνῶσιν τῆς σῆς τελειοτά-  
 της φρονήσεως· καὶ λαμβάνει μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐκπληξίς, δριμυτάτη δὲ συνέχει  
 25 ὀδύνη, πῶς ἄνθρωπος τοσοῦτος καὶ τηλικούτος οἷον ἐγὼ καταμαθεῖν  
 ἔσχον, οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκείας φρονήσεως τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος κατα-  
 νοεῖς τὴν ἐπήρειαν καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀνωθεν δυνάμεως τὰ ἐκείνου κατα-  
 πατεῖς μηχανήματα καὶ τὰ σκάνδαλα εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἀπορρίπτεις  
 καὶ γίνῃ τῆς σοῦ πρεπούσης ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἁγίας εἰρήνης, ἢ  
 30 διὰ τοῦ σοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς (ὁ) πάντων πατὴρ καὶ θεὸς μεταξὺ Βουλγάρων  
 καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐφύτευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν πολλακίς δυσω-  
 πησάντων, ἱκετευσάντων, ἢ καὶ, ἔν' οὕτως εἶπω, δακρύοις τὰ γράμματα  
 γεγραφότων, εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἐλογίσθη ὅσα μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος δυσωποῦντες  
 ἐγράψαμεν. Καίτοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εἰ καὶ τινος τῶν ἄλλων μὲν θεῶ

27: P 138v-141r || 12 ἐπικαλύπτει Jk: ἐπικάμπτει P (sed ita ut -μ- ad -λυ- proxime  
 accedat) || 13 φάρμακον Mai: φαρμάκω P || 26 οὐ μόνον = οὐ μόνον οὐ, cf. 38.14, 134.9,  
 153.4 || 30 ὁ Px: om. P<sup>1</sup>

As often as I undertake to write to you (my Son honored of God), better  
 hopes occupy my heart, that my letter will certainly move your tranquillity  
 and mercy, and will win you to peace, and I shall obtain the fulfillment of  
 the request which I prefer for the advantage of Romans and Bulgarians;  
 and I feel sweetly disposed, and my heart is relieved of the pain which I  
 suffer at the common disasters of Romans and Bulgarians, which the man-  
 hating demon has cast into the midst of them; and my sorrowfulness and my  
 shame at these things seem in a measure to be lightened. But when I read  
 and peruse the letters of your most glorious Lordship, my grief is multiplied,  
 and a deeper gloom of dejection encompasses my spirit. It is naturally so:  
 for when a doctor applies a salve to a wound, and then sees the inflammation  
 more fierce than ever, he is full of dejection and confusion; and thus I, the  
 humble, set up by God in His inscrutable Judgments to heal the passions of  
 souls, when I see that the treatment applied to the best of my power is unavail-  
 ing, and the wound—alas for my wretchedness, how great is that wound!—  
 growing worse, am altogether filled with quite inexpressible dejection and  
 sorrowing and confusion: especially since (my Son honored of God) I know  
 the greatness of your wisdom, not by rumor but by personal experience: for  
 that time when we came together in mutual conversation, short though it  
 was, yet gave me sufficient knowledge of your most perfect wisdom. And  
 amazement takes hold of me, and most sharp anguish afflicts me, that a man  
 of such worth and quality as I had been able to know, does not merely  
 fail to discern, out of his own unaided wisdom, the malice of the evil  
 demon and, with power from Above, to trample down his devices, and cast  
 back his offenses in his face, and return to his own proper virtue and to that  
 one time holy peace which, through the agency of your holy father, the  
 Father and God of all men implanted between Bulgarians and Romans. But,  
 for all my many humble entreaties and supplications and letters written  
 (as it were) with my tears, every entreaty I have written hitherto has been  
 disregarded. But (my Son) had such entreaty come from any other of God's



35 ὑπουργούντων, ἐν γωνία δὲ καθη|μένων, τοσαύτη δυσώπησις ἐγεγόνει, B  
οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξιον οὐδὲ πρέπον τῇ σῆ ἀρετῇ Χριστιανικωτάτῃ οὐσῇ τὴν  
δέησιν παρὰ φαῦλον ποιεῖσθαι. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, σκέψαι τὸ ἡμέτερον, οὐς εἰ  
καὶ ἀχρείους ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς λειτουργεῖν μὲν τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ θυσιαστηρίῳ,  
χρεῖν δὲ καὶ λειτουργοὺς τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπηρεσίας καὶ παραστάσεως. Ὅς  
40 εἶπον, ἐκπληξίς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τούτοις κατέχει καὶ δριμυτάτῃ ὁδύνη.

Ἄλλ', υἱέ μου ἡγαπημένε, φίλε πεποθημένε, στήσον τὴν ἐκπλη-  
ξιν, παῦσον τὴν ὁδύνην· δός μοι τὴν σὴν εὐσύνητον ἀκοήν, δέξαι ῥήματα  
ταπεινοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ γέροντος πατρὸς φιλοῦντος καὶ ὑποτιθεμένου τὰ  
συμφέροντα, εἰσηγουμένου τὰ σωτήρια καὶ ἃ δοξάσει καὶ μεγαλυνεῖ τὸ  
45 σὸν ὄνομα καὶ ἐν τῷ πα|ρόντι αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι μετὰ τῶν παρὰ C  
θεοῦ δοξαζομένων συναριθμήσει. Δός μοι τὴν σὴν ἡμερωτάτην ψυχὴν·  
ἡμερωτάτῃ γὰρ ἔστιν, ὅσον ἐγὼ ταύτην κατενόησα, καὶ εἰ πονηρὸς  
δαίμων ἐφιλονείκησεν ἀλλοιωῖσαι ταύτης τὸ ἡμέρον· δός μοι οὖν τὴν σὴν  
φιλόανθρωπον ψυχὴν καὶ δέξαι τοὺς τῆς παρακλήσεως λόγους, οὐς  
50 ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ παρακαλοῦντες προσάγομεν. Ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου δυσωποῦμεν,  
ὅτι ἐκείνου λαὸς καὶ κληρονομία Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Βούλγαροι, καὶ τῷ τιμίῳ  
αὐτοῦ αἵματι ἐσφραγισμένοι τυγχάνουσιν (ὃ τῶν ἐμῶν παθημάτων) οἱ  
νῦν τῷ αἵματι τῆς κατ' ἀλλήλων σφαγῆς μολύνοντες ἑαυτούς· στήσον  
τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐκατέρου γένους ἐν τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνακαινίσαι, ἣν ὁ ἀπ'  
55 ἀρχῆς ἀνθρωποκτόνος κατέλυσεν· ἀνακαινισθήσεται δὲ πάντως, υἱέ μου  
ποθεινότατε, τῶν προτάσεων τῶν βαρυτάτων ἅς προβάλλεις πρὸς τὸ  
ἐπιεικέστερον μεταβαλλομένων.

Οἶδας γὰρ φρόνιμος ὢν ὅτι ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν πρὸς μάχην καὶ φιλο- D  
νεικίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ διαστασιασάντων οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως τὴν ἐχθρὰν  
καὶ τὴν ἔριν καταπαυθῆναι, εἰ μὴ συγκαταβατικώτερον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς  
60 συνέλθωσιν οἱ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐχθρᾶς διαστασιάσαντες· ἐπεὶ τὸ γε ἀπὸ ἐξουσίας  
τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοὺς οἰκείους λόγους προτείνειν καὶ τὰ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα  
ζητεῖν οὐκ οἶδεν εἰρήνην οὐδὲ ἀγάπην βραβεύειν. Φανερόν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ ζη-  
τῶν ἀδύνατα οὐκ εἰρήνην ἐπιζητεῖ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ ἀκατάλυτον τῇ  
65 ἐχθρᾷ προνοεῖται. Καὶ σὺ οὖν, υἱέ μου ἀγαπητέ, ὡς τῆς εἰρήνης υἱός  
(υἱὸς γὰρ εἰ τῆς εἰρήνης ὅτι ἐν καιρῷ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπεγεννήθης τῷ ἁγίῳ  
σου πατρί), ὡς | παρὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην δωρησαμένου τῷ κόσμῳ 176  
τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ οἰκείου ἔθνους λαβὼν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιζητῶν, εἰρηνικὰς

38: Joel 1.9,13. || 42,46: cf. Prov. 23.26. || 50: 2 Cor. 5.20. || 51: cf. Isai. 19.25. ||  
51-52: cf. I Petr. 1.19. || 54-55: Ioann. 8.44.

44 μεγαλυνεῖ P\*: -ύνει P<sup>1</sup> || 47 ὅσον Mai: ὅσον P

ministers, even though obscure, it was not right nor befitting your most  
Christian Virtue to make light of his prayer. And, if so, what of my own case,  
who (though worthless) have been appointed by God to minister at His Holy  
Sanctuary, and to anoint the ministers of His service and celebration? As I  
have said, I am amazed at this, and most sharply pained.

But (my beloved Son and tenderly desired friend) cease to amaze me  
and put an end to my pain. Give me your most wise hearing, accept the  
words of a humble Archpriest and elderly father who loves you, who advises  
for your profit and counsels salvation and those things which shall glorify  
and magnify your name in this present life, and in the life to come shall  
number you among those who are glorified of God. Lend me your most  
tranquil heart: for most tranquil it is, so far as I have understood it, even  
though the evil demon has striven obstinately to change its tranquillity.  
Lend me then your merciful heart, and receive the words of prayer which on  
behalf of Christ I offer to you. For His sake I entreat, since His people and  
inheritance are the Romans and Bulgarians, and are sealed by His precious  
Blood, though—alas for my sufferings!—they are now polluting their hands  
with the blood of mutual slaughter. Stop the ruin of each race by renewal  
of the peace which the murderer of mankind from the beginning has destroyed;  
and it shall certainly be renewed (most tenderly beloved Son) if those most  
heavy conditions that you propose shall be modified into a more generous  
form.

For, in your wisdom, you know that in all cases where men are by the  
evil one set at odds and war and strife with one another, their enmity and  
strife cannot be ended unless those who are so at odds and enmity will meet  
one another in some spirit of compromise; since, if one side despotically insists  
on its own terms and presses its own demands, this will not bring the award of  
peace and love. It is clear that he who demands the impossible is not seeking  
peace, but looks rather to a perpetuation of enmity. Do you then (my be-  
loved Son), as you are the son of peace—for the son of peace you are, since in  
time of peace you were born to your holy father—and as you have received  
the rule over your own nation from Christ Who gave peace to the world,

πρότεινον καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔπταισαν εἰς σέ 'Ρωμαῖοι ἀποτίσεις' λέγομεν  
 70 δὲ οἷα καὶ πάλαι προεγράφη, χρυσίου συνεισφοράν, ἀργύρου, χρημάτων  
 ἄλλων, τυχόν καὶ μέρους τινὸς γῆς ἀποκλήρωσιν, καὶ μὴ τοιαῦτα οἷα  
 προβάλλεις ἀδύνατα. Καὶ γὰρ οὔτε ἡ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσόδος ἀνεκτὴ οὔτε τὸ  
 ἕτερον ὑπὲρ λέγεις· τῆς πάσης δύσεως ἡ κυριότης τῇ 'Ρωμαϊκῇ βασιλείᾳ  
 τυγχάνει. "Ὡστε ταῦτα καταλιπὼν τὰ δυνατὰ προβαλοῦ καὶ ἃ σὺν θεῷ  
 75 καὶ σέ θεραπεύσει· πάντως γὰρ θεραπεύσει ἐκεῖνά σοι προσγεγόμενα ἃ  
 μήτε οἱ πρὸ σοῦ τὴν 'Ρωμαϊκὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχον ὑποτελοῦσαν μήτε ὑμεῖς  
 μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ | τοιαῦτα κέρδη ἐγνωρίσατε. Παρέξουσιν δὲ B  
 καὶ οἱ τὸ βασιλεύειν λαχόντες καὶ ἡ τούτων σύγκλητος χωρὶς βαρύτητος  
 καὶ ὅλη προαιρέσει· καὶ σὺν θεῷ τῆς ἀγίας εἰρήνης τὰ δεσμὰ πάλιν συν-  
 80 ἀψουσιν Βούλγαροι καὶ 'Ρωμαῖοι, καὶ γενήσεται ὁ σατανᾶς μὲν ἐκποδῶν,  
 εὐφρανθήσεται δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὅσοι τῆς ἐκείνου μερί-  
 δος, καὶ ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐδαιμονία καὶ γλυκεῖα κατάστασις πάλιν μεταξὺ  
 'Ρωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων πλατυνθήσεται.

Περιεῖχεν δὲ καὶ τὸ νῦν ἀποσταλὲν γράμμα σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ  
 85 πρὸ τούτου ἕτερα γράμματα, ὡς ἀποσταλῆναί τινας οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης  
 συνομιλήσουσιν ὑμῖν· καὶ ἀπεστάλη ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἄνθρωπος θεία χάριτι  
 καὶ συζῶν εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῆς θεομητόρος καὶ δεσποίνης ἡμῶν  
 τοῦ ἐν Βλαχέρναις ναοῦ σκευοφύλαξ. "Ὁν ὑποδεχόμενος τὰ δοκοῦντά σοι  
 γνώρισον· καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἐπαναστροφὴν, εἴ γε ἡ σὴ | ἀγαθὴ καὶ C  
 90 ἡμερος ψυχὴ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν τῆς εἰρήνης ὅλη ψυχῇ ἀποβλέψει, ἀποσταλή-  
 σονται καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἄνθρωποι τῶν προκρίτων,  
 δι' ὧν οἱ λόγοι τὸ πάγιόν τε καὶ βέβαιον λήφονται. Εἴη δὲ Χριστὸς ὁ  
 θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐν οἷδα ὅτι θεραπεύειν γνώμην ἀδιάλειπτον ἔχεις ὡς τῆς  
 ἐκείνου δόξης ἐπιέμενος ἐκεῖθεν κληρονόμος γενέσθαι (ἡ γὰρ παροῦσα  
 95 δόξα ἄνθος χόρτου), ἐκεῖνα ἐμπνέων, ἐκεῖνα εἰς λογισμοὺς σου φέρων  
 ὅσα τὴν εἰρήνην βραβεύσει, ὑπὲρ ἧς τὸ ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ αἷμα κάκεῖνος ἐξέ-  
 χεεν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑπέστη πάθη δι' ὧν τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἐχθρας κατήργησε  
 τὸν διάβολον.

## 28. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Πάλιν γράφομεν πρὸς υἱὸν ἀγαπώμενον παρ' ἡμῶν, εἰ καὶ παρα- D  
 λογιζόμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ· ἀλλὰ γράφομεν πρὸς τὴν ἀγάπην μᾶλλον τὴν

94-95: Isai. 40.6.

seek the things of peace, and propose in a peaceable spirit the indemnities  
 for the sins of the Romans against you: I mean, as was proposed a long while  
 ago, a contribution of gold or silver or other valuables, perhaps even the  
 award of a portion of territory; and not the impossible demands you are  
 advancing now. You cannot be allowed entrance into the City, nor that  
 other demand you speak of: the sovereignty of all the West belongs to the  
 Roman Empire. So resign these demands, and propose what is feasible, and  
 what, under God, shall be of advantage to you: and what we propose will be  
 of advantage to you, if you accept it—gains which were never known either  
 by your predecessors who held the Roman Empire in fee, or by yourself  
 until the present time. Those appointed to rule the Empire, and their Council,  
 will provide this ungrudgingly and with all readiness. And, under God,  
 Bulgarians and Romans shall once more knit the ties of holy peace, and Satan  
 shall be cast out, and Christ our God shall rejoice, and all that are on His  
 side, and the original prosperity and sweet state existing between Romans  
 and Bulgarians shall once more be spread abroad.

The letter sent recently by you (my Son), as well as other letters sent  
 before it, mentions the dispatch of envoys to confer with you about peace; and a  
 man has been sent to you for this purpose who is attended by divine grace  
 and piety and virtue, the Treasurer of the Church in Blachernae of the  
 Mother of God and Our Lady; receive him, and acquaint him with your  
 views; and, after his return, if your virtuous and tranquil soul wholeheartedly  
 desires the blessing of peace, prominent men shall be dispatched both of  
 Church and State, through whom the terms may reach a fixed and definitive  
 shape. And may Christ our God, Whom I know that you continually desire  
 to serve, since you are desirous hereafter to become the inheritor of His  
 Glory—for present glory is as the flower of grass—inspire and convey into  
 your mind those things which shall award the prize of peace: for which He  
 poured out his pure Blood and endured those other sufferings whereby He  
 broke the power of the father of enmity, who is the devil.

## 28. To the Same

I write once more to the Son I love, even though by that son I am  
 disregarded; yet I write out of regard for the love which is owing from fathers

κεχρεωστημένην τοῖς πατράσι πρὸς τὰ τέκνα ἀποβλέποντες, ἀλλ' οὐ  
 5 πρὸς τὸν σὸν παραλογισμόν ὃν ποιῆ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Γράφομεν δὲ τὸ μὲν τι  
 κινούμενοι ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πάπα, τοῦ  
 ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ. Οὗτος γάρ, ἐπεὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐξη-  
 10 πλώθη τὴν γῆν καὶ πανταχοῦ λαλεῖται τὰ μεταξὺ Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥω-  
 μαίων ἐλεεινὰ πράγματα, καίτοι μὴ θεασάμενος τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὴν  
 15 τασούτην συμφορὰν, τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, τὴν πυρκαϊάν, τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν  
 ἐκκλησιῶν, τὴν διαφθορὰν τῶν παρθένων, τὴν χηρείαν, τὴν ὀρφανίαν·  
 μὴ θεασάμενος ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μόνης τῆς ἀκοῆς δέξεϊται φέρων ἐν τῇ  
 καρδίᾳ τὴν πληγὴν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος τὰς δριμείας ὑποφέρειν ὀδύνας,  
 ἀπέστειλεν ἱερούς αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπους, ἀρχιερεῖς κατὰ πάντα θεῶ εὐαρέ-  
 20 στούς, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ὑπάρχοντα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπισκόπων (Θεοφύλακτος  
 δὲ οὗτος καλεῖται), ἕτερον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἐκείνου  
 λειπόμενον τάξεως (Κάρος καὶ οὗτος καλεῖται)· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτους  
 ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς σὲ γράμμα κομίζοντας, οὗ ὁ σκοπὸς καὶ ἡ σπουδὴ τὰ  
 25 χαλεπὰ ταῦτα τὰ μεταξὺ Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ μέσου γενέσθαι, καὶ  
 τὸν πατέρα τῶν κακῶν διάβολον καταίσιχυνθῆναι, εἰρήνην δὲ βραβευθῆ-  
 ναι ἢν ἐχαρίσατο τοῖς ἐπικεκλημένοις τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὀνόματι αὐτὸς ὁ  
 Χριστὸς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἢ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν εἰρήνην, ὁ τῆς ἐχθρας  
 καθαιρέτης καὶ τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς ἀγάπης συνδεδεμένους εἶναι βουλόμε-  
 30 νος τοὺς ἐκεῖνον ὁμολογοῦντας δεσπότην καὶ κύριον.  
 Ἄλλ' ὅπερ εἶπον, οὕτως ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἀκοῆς πεπληγμένος τὴν καρ-  
 35 διάν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἁγιώτατος ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ τελοῦντες ὑπ'  
 αὐτὸν ὑποχείριοι ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς γράψαντες καὶ ἡμῖν τούτους παντὶ  
 τρόπῳ δι' ἡμῶν ἐκπεμφθῆναι πρὸς Βουλγαρίαν, ἐλπίζοντας ὡς πάντως  
 πεισθήσῃ ἢ τῇ ἐκείνων παραινέσει ἢ τῷ δεσμῷ. Παρεκελεύσατο γὰρ καὶ  
 30 τοῦτο τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἀποστόλοις ὁ ἁγιώτατος πάπας, ἵνα ἐάνπερ πρὸς τὴν  
 παραινέσιν κλείσῃ τὰ ὦτα, δεσμῷ ἀλύτῳ σε τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος συν-  
 δεσμήσωσιν. Τούτους οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὸς σὲ ἀπεσταλμένους ἠβουλήθη-  
 35 μεν καὶ ἡμεῖς πρὸς σὲ ἀποστεῖλαι· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμηθέντες, ὡς (οὐκ  
 οἶδα πόθεν, τέκνον ἠγαπημένον) μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν διέ-  
 γνωσ οὐ καλῶς, τὸ τοὺς ἀποκρισιαρίους κατέχειν, ὅπερ ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἔθνῶν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἀπίστοις ὁρᾶται γινόμενον, ὑπεστάλημεν  
 ὥστε μὴ τοὺς ἀνδρας μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης ταλαιπωρίας ἢν ὑπέστησαν τοσοῦ-  
 τον μῆκος ὁδοῦ ἐκπονήσαντες, καὶ εἰς τὴν παρὰ σοῦ στενοχωρίαν καὶ

20-21: Coloss. 3.15. || 21-22: Ioann. 14.27. || 21: cf. Act. 15.17 = Amos 9.12. || 22: Phil. 4.7. || 23: Coloss. 3.14.

29 δεσμῶι P<sup>x</sup>: συνδέσμων (?) P<sup>1</sup> || 32 τούτω P<sup>x</sup>: τοῦτο P<sup>1</sup>

to their sons rather than for the disregard which you show of me. And I  
 write partly on my own initiative, partly on that of the most holy Pope, my  
 brother and fellow-minister. For he, since the pitiable state of affairs between  
 Bulgarians and Romans has spread in report all over the earth and is every-  
 where spoken of, though he has not with his own eyes beheld this great  
 disaster—the captivity, fire, destruction of churches, rape of virgins, widow-  
 hood, orphanage—though he has not (*I say*) beheld this, yet from the simple  
 hearing of it he has received a sharp wound in his heart, and, unable to endure  
 the bitter pains of it, has sent his holy servants, archpriests, in all ways  
 acceptable unto God: one of them the first among his bishops, Theophylact  
 by name; and the other also a bishop, not much inferior to the former in  
 rank, whose name is Carus. These men he has sent to carry a letter to you,  
 the object and aim of which is to bring to an end these cruelties between  
 Bulgarians and Romans, and to put to shame the devil who is the father of  
 evils, and to award that peace which has been granted to those who call  
 themselves after His name by Christ Himself, Who is the Peace which passeth  
 all understanding, the Destroyer of enmity, and Who desireth that those who  
 confess Him to be Lord and Master should be bound together in the bond of  
 love.

Now, as I say, being thus smitten to the heart by the mere report of  
 these things, the most holy Archpriest of the Romans, with all those who are  
 subordinate to him, has sent these men to us, and has written that they  
 should be by all means forwarded by us to Bulgaria, in the hope that you  
 will certainly be moved either by their exhortation or by their bond of  
*commination*: for the most holy Pope has instructed his messengers that, if  
 you shut your ears to their exhortation, they shall bind you in the insoluble  
 bond of the Holy Spirit. These men, therefore, who are dispatched to you on  
 such an errand, I could have wished to send on to you; yet when I reflected  
 (my beloved Son) that among your other evil practices was also—I know not  
 why—the practice of detaining diplomatic agents, a thing which you will  
 not find done in any other nation, not even among pagans, I could not allow  
 those men, after all the other hardships endured by them in so long a journey,  
 to fall into confinement and oppression at your hands. That is why, though

κάκωσιν ἐμπεσεῖν. Διὰ τοῦτο τὸ μὲν γραφὲν πρὸς σέ γράμμα παρὰ τοῦ  
40 ἀγιοτάτου πάπα ἐξεπέμφθη· τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων φεισάμενοι τῆς κακώ-  
σεως, ἵνα μὴ λέγω τοῦ θανάτου, τῆς πρὸς σέ ἀφίξεως ἐπέσχομεν αὐτοῦς. D

Τί οὖν φημι, τέκνον ἡμῶν; Σκόπει καὶ μὴ βουληθῆς, ὡσπερ ἡμῶν  
καταφρονῆσαι, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ νῦν πρὸς σέ γράψαντος τοῦ Ῥωμαίων  
ἀρχιερέως. Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν οὐδενὶ ἔθου καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας παραινέ-  
45 σεῖς, τίμησον ἐκείνου τὴν νοθεσίαν, μὴ ποτε ἀτιμαζομένου αὐτοῦ, οἰκείαν  
οἱ κορυφαῖοι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἀτιμίαν ποιησάμενοι ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ  
τούτοις ἐξυπηρετουμένου, δριμύ ἐπιβλέψωσιν ἐπὶ σέ· καὶ οὐκ οἶδα εἰ  
δυνηθήσῃ τὴν δριμύτητα ὑποστῆναι. Ἐναλόγισαι Πέτρον, ὅπως Ἄνα-  
νίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου σύζυγον τῷ θανάτῳ παρέδωκεν ἐκ μόνης ἀγανακτῆ-  
50 σεως· ἐνθυμήθητι Παῦλον, ὅπως Ἐλύμα τοῦ μάγου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς 180  
ἡμαύρωσεν, ἐπειδὴ μόνον ἔδοξεν ὁ ταλαίπωρος ἐκεῖνος πρὸς ἐναντιότητα  
φέρεισθαι τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Ταῦτα οὖν ἐνθυμήθητι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ  
πάλιν φημί, καὶ φόβον ἀναλαβοῦ εἰς τὸ καθὼς ἡμᾶς, οὕτω  
καὶ τοῦ πάπα τὴν διδασκαλίαν παραλογίσασθαι, μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς  
55 σύ, ὡς γε μανθάνομεν, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιῆ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ κο-  
ρυφαίους τῶν μαθητῶν· οὐς εἰ ἀληθῶς τιμᾶς, πάντως οὐκ ἀτιμάσεις τὸν  
ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τούτων καθήμενον.

Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν γράφομεν περὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς σέ  
ἀποστολῆς. Γνωρίζομεν δέ σοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι χάριτι θεοῦ τὰ ἐνταῦθα  
60 καταλαβόντες, εἴ τι σκάνδαλον ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἡμέμου ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συμβέ-  
βηκεν, τοῦτο μετὰ τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινότητος τῷ ἀναθέματι παραδεδώκασιν,  
καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐδεῖτο θεραπείας ἔτυχεν τῆς ὀφειλομένης ἰάσεως, καὶ  
λοιπὸν κοινῇ τοῖς ἀχράντοις ὑπηρετήσαμεν μυστηρίοις καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας  
αὐτῶν μετέσχομεν καὶ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ, καὶ γέγονε λοιπὸν ἡ Ῥωμαίων καὶ  
65 ἡ Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἐκκλησία μιᾶς συμπνοίας καὶ ὁμοιοίας.

Ἐγράψαμεν οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου [τοῦ] μὲν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς χαί-  
ρειν ἔχῃς, ὡσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπὶ τῇ καταστάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν· οἶδα γὰρ  
ὅτιπερ, εἰ καὶ ὁ σατανᾶς τὰ ἄλλα κακῶς διέθηκεν μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ  
Βουλγάρων, ἀλλ' ὅμως ὡς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λατρευτῆς χαίρεις ἐπὶ τῇ κατα-  
70 στάσει τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ θαυμάζω, τέκνον ἡμῶν, πῶς B  
τοσαύτη συνέσει διαπρέπων πρᾶγμα ποιεῖς ἀνάξιον τῆς σῆς συνέσεως.  
Δεχόμενος γὰρ γράμμα παρὰ τῶν λαχόντων ἐκ θεοῦ βασιλεύειν τοῦ  
Ῥωμαϊκοῦ λαοῦ, ἀντιγράφεις οὐ πρὸς ἐκείνους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλη-

48-50: Act. 5.1-11. || 50-52: Act. 13.6-12.

42 βουληθῆς P<sup>o</sup>: -εις P<sup>1</sup> || 47 ἐπιβλέψωσιν Vat.: -ουσιν P || 55 τὸ Wk: τοῦ P || 66 τοῦ  
del. Wk || 67 ἔχῃς Vat.: -εις P

the letter written to you by the most holy Pope is being forwarded to you,  
I am detaining the envoys, in order to spare them the oppression, not to say  
death, which would be theirs if they came to you.

What shall I say (my Son)? Take care that, as you have spurned me,  
you do not spurn also the Archpriest of the Romans, who has now written  
to you. Even if you have had no regard for me and my exhortations, yet  
honor his counsel, lest, if you insult him, the chiefs of the Apostles, whom he  
serves night and day, may take that insult to their heart, and turn a bitter  
glance upon you; and I think you will not be able to endure that bitterness.  
Recall how Peter, in mere resentment, consigned Ananias and his wife to  
death; reflect how Paul darkened the eyes of Elymas the magician when that  
poor wretch merely thought of opposing the Apostle. Reflect on these things  
(my Son), I say again; and put on fear and trembling at the thought of  
disregarding the instruction of the Pope, as you have disregarded me:  
especially since you yourself, as I hear, make much of honoring the holy  
chiefs of the Disciples; and if you honor them truly, you surely will not  
insult him who sits on their throne!

So much I write of the Romans as regards their mission to you. But I  
make known to you this also: when by God's Grace they had arrived here,  
they joined with my Humility in consigning to the anathema all offense that  
had arisen in the Church out of the fourth marriage; and all questions that  
called for healing met with the appropriate remedy; and thereafter we  
jointly celebrated the Untouchable Mysteries, and we shared in their  
communion and sanctification, and so the Church of the Romans and of the  
Constantinopolitans has become one in sympathy and concord.

I write of this, so that you may rejoice with me at the good estate of the  
Churches; for I know that, although Satan has evilly disposed other matters  
between Romans and Bulgarians, yet you adore Christ, and rejoice at the  
good estate of His Church. Yet this I marvel at (my Son), that, endowed as  
you are with such great wisdom, you do what is unworthy of that wisdom.  
For when you received a letter from those appointed by God to be emperors  
of the Roman people, you wrote back, not to them, but to the Council: which

τον, ὃ καὶ παράδοξον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἀπρεπὲς καὶ σὲ εἰς μέμψιν ἐμβάλλον.  
 75 Τίς γὰρ ποτε τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τοῦ λαχόντος ἄρχειν γράμμα  
 δεχόμενος, ἐκεῖνον μὲν καταλείπει, γράφει δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα τελοῦν-  
 τας; Τίς ποτε τὸν δεσπότην ἀφείς, ὃς κύριος ὑπάρχει περὶ τῶν λεγομένων  
 καὶ κατανεύει καὶ μή, τοῖς δούλοις διαλέγεται καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀξιοῖ  
 γνώμην λαμβάνειν; Ποῦ τοῦτο γινόμενον ἤκουσας ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις;  
 80 Οὐ γέγονε μέχρι καὶ νῦν οὐδαμοῦ τὸ παράλογον τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὃς |  
 τοῦτο ἀκούσας οὐχὶ πολλὴν κατάγνωσιν κατὰ τοῦ τοιαῦτα φρονούντος C  
 ποιήσεται. Κατάλιπε οὖν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπίνοιαν· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἔστιν σπουδαζόντων, ἀλλὰ παιζόντων. Καὶ σὺ οὖν, εἴ γε λαβὼν θεόθεν  
 διάνοιαν εἰς κατάγνωσιν ἤλθες καὶ μεταμέλειαν τῶν παρὰ σοῦ γενομέ-  
 85 νων, τῶν φόνων, τῶν πυρπολήσεων, τῆς ἄλλης ἐρημώσεως, καὶ τὰ τῆς  
 εἰρήνης φρονεῖς ἀληθῶς, γράφε πρὸς τοὺς λαβόντας παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν  
 βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἴ γε τοῦτο δοκεῖ, καὶ  
 τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ συναφθήσονται οἱ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης συνθησόμενοι.

Καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς βούλει διὰ σεαυτοῦ παραγενέσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ποιή-  
 90 σον δῆλον· ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν | ταπεινότητα, εἰ καὶ γέρων καὶ ἀσθενής, D  
 ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπεριδεῖν τούτων καὶ πρὸς σὲ παραγενέσθαι μεθ' ἃν ἂν δοκι-  
 μάσωσι προκρίτων τῆς πολιτείας οἱ φιλόχριστοι βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν. Τοῦτο  
 ποίησον, εἰ ἀληθῶς μεμίσηκας πολέμους καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς καὶ τῆς εἰρή-  
 νης ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ κατέστης. Εἰ δ' ἂν γράφεις οὐκ ἔστι σπουδάζοντος οὐδὲ  
 95 τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιζητοῦντος, ἀλλὰ προφάσεις καὶ λόγοι παιδιᾶ μεμιγμένοι,  
 κρεῖττόν ἐστι σιωπῆν κτήσασθαι καὶ μήτε γράφειν | τοιαῦτα μήτε ἀντι 181  
 ματαιολογίας παρ' ὑμῶν γραφομένης ἀντιγράφεσθαι σοι ματαιολογίας  
 ἐπιζητεῖν.

Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐρωμένον σε διαφυλάξει Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, πλέον  
 100 ἐπεκτείνων τὴν χεῖρα εἰς βοήθειαν τοῦ καλῶς τὸν βίον περᾶσαι καὶ ἀκα-  
 τακρίτως, ὅσῳ πλέον ὑμῖν τὸ φορτίον τῶν κοσμικῶν πραγμάτων ἐπέθη-  
 κεν, καὶ μὴ συγχωρήσει τῷ τούτων βάρει τοῦ νοῦ χαλασθῆναι τὸ ἔντο-  
 νον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀπρεπῆ πράγματα ἐξενεχθῆναι, ὅπερ ὡς τὰ  
 105 πολλὰ συμβαίνει τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς διέπουσι καὶ δυναστείαν κοσμικὴν καὶ  
 ἐξουσίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένοις.

### 29. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐσιωπήσαμεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν πεποθημένον, χρόνον ἰκανόν, καὶ  
 συνεστάλημεν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς γράφειν, τοῦτο μὲν βαρεῖα πιεζόμενοι θλί-

is strange conduct to hear of, and unseemly, and exposing you to censure.  
 For who on earth, if he receives a letter from a prince, ever ignores the  
 prince and writes back to the prince's underlings? Who ever leaves aside  
 the lord, in whose power is consent or refusal of what is being discussed, and  
 discusses with his servants, and sees fit to take their opinion? Where in the  
 world did you ever hear of such conduct as this? Such disrespect was never  
 seen anywhere till now, and it is certain that all who hear of it will be loud  
 in condemnation of one who brings himself to act so. My son, put aside this  
 device: it is not that of serious men, but of triflers. And, if from God you have  
 received a mind to condemn and repent of your deed—your murders, burnings,  
 and other devastation—and are truly meditating the things of peace, write to  
 those who have received from God the empire and the providence over His  
 people; and write, if you please, the place where those who are to negotiate  
 terms of peace shall meet.

Moreover, if you desire to be present in person, let me know this: so that  
 my Humility, old and feeble as I am, may disregard this weakness and come  
 myself to you, together with such eminent statesmen as shall be approved by  
 our Christ-loving Emperors. Do this, if in truth you have come to hate wars  
 and slaughters, and are desirous of peace. But if your letter is that of a trifler  
 who does not seek peace, if it is mere coloring and a mixture of tales and  
 jokes, it is better for you to keep silence, and not to write such stuff, nor to  
 provoke us to write back vanities in answer to the vanities written by you.

For the rest, Christ our God keep you in health, ever more stretching  
 forth His hand to aid you in passing your life fairly and free from reproach,  
 the more so in that He has laid on you the burden of worldly affairs; and  
 may He not allow the vigor of your mind to be relaxed by the weight of  
 these affairs, and thus be misguided into unseemliness, which often happens  
 to those who rule and are entrusted with worldly power and lordship!

### 29. To the Same

I have been silent (my tenderly beloved Son) for a long time, and have  
 been hindered from writing to you, partly by the pressure of my heavy grief

ψει, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν | συχνῶν γραμμῶν ἂν προεγράψαμεν οὐδεμίαν εἶδομεν B  
 5 ὠφέλειαν ἀπαντήσασαν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν τῆς  
 εἰρήνης αἴτιον καὶ χορηγὸν τὰς ταπεινὰς ἡμῶν δεήσεις ἀνατεθεικότας  
 καὶ πρὸς μόνην τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου ἀφορῶντες εὐμένειαν καὶ τὴν σωτηριώδη  
 πρόνοιαν, ἥτις ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ κόσμου θεραπεύεται  
 εἰρήνη. Νῦν δέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὴ ὡσπερ τὸ πολὺ βάρος ἐκεῖνο τῆς θλι-  
 10 ψεως ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν ἀπογεγεννημένον ἡσθόμεθα καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδας  
 ἀγαθὰς κατέστημεν (καὶ εἴη μὴ διαψευσθῆναι ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀνωθεν εὐδοκίας  
 τοῦτο προμηθευμένης), πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν μεγαλόδοξον  
 ὠρμήσαμεν τιμιότητα.

Τέκνον ἡμῶν, υἱέ μου ἀγαπητέ — ἀγαπῶμεν γὰρ σε, κἂν σὺ τὸν  
 15 πατέρα οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς· εἰ γὰρ ἡγάπας, ἤκουσας | ἂν παραινέσεως πατρικῆς· C  
 — ἀλλά, τέκνον μου ἡγαπημένον, μέχρι τίνος οὕτω διακεισόμεθα, λυ-  
 ποῦντες μὲν θεόν, ἐφ' οἷς ὄλεθρον προξενούμεν τῇ ἀγίᾳ τούτου κληρονο-  
 μία, εἰς ὄνειδος δὲ ἑαυτῶν, ὅτι χρόνον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ταῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων  
 σφαγαῖς Χριστιανοὶ μολύνονται; Οὐκ ἐννοήσομεν τὸ φοβερὸν κριτήριον  
 20 τοῦ θεοῦ; Οἶδα ὅτι, ἐὰν βούλη, οὐδενὸς <ἦττον> τῶν ἐπὶ φρονήσει δια-  
 βοιωμένων τὸ τοῦ κριτοῦ γινώσκεις κατάκριμα. "Ἐως πότε προστίθεμεν  
 κακὰ τοῖς κακοῖς; "Ἐως τίνος παραχωρήσομεν κατορχεῖσθαι τῷ διαβό-  
 λῳ ταῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν κατ' ἀλλήλων σφαγαῖς; Ἐνθυμήθητι, τέκνον  
 ἡμῶν, ὅτι τάχα καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ὁ χρόνος παρήλασεν, καὶ ἴσως οὐ  
 25 μακρὰ προθεσμία τοῦ διαλυθῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος. Εἶτα μετὰ  
 ποίας ἀπαίρομεν συνειδήσεως ἐκ τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς, ἐὰν τοῦτο συμβῇ, D  
 οἷα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, κἂν ἐλπίδες ἀπατῶσι πολλάκις μάταιοι, ὅτι προσμε-  
 νοῦμεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῇ παρούσῃ ζωῇ; Τί ἐροῦμεν τότε, τί διανοηθῶμεν,  
 ὅτε στενὸς ὁ καιρὸς καὶ οἱ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπαιτοῦντες ἄγγελοι ἐφεστήμασιν;  
 30 "Ὅτι οὐ μόνον ζῶντες ἐπράξαμεν οἷα ἐπράξαμεν" οἶδας δὲ πάντως οἷα  
 ἐπράχθη, ὅση Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀπώλεια, τῶν υἱοθετηθέντων  
 θεῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ὅση τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐρημία καὶ τῆς  
 ἐκείνου δοξολογίας καὶ τῶν τελουμένων μυστηρίων εἰς ἀποκάθαρσιν τῶν  
 ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (οἷμοι τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν τὸ βαρύτερον) ἀφανισμὸς καὶ  
 35 ἀπόπαισις· ἀναλογίζου μοι τῶν μοναστηρίων τὴν ἀπώλειαν, τῶν ἐπισκο-  
 πείων τὴν ἐξολόθρευσιν, τῶν | ἄλλων ὅσαι κατὰ χώρας ὑπῆρχον ἐκκλη- 184  
 σίαι καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐταῖς γινομένης εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ λατρείας τὴν ἐξερη-  
 μωσιν· ἐῷ τὰ ἄλλα, τὴν φθορὰν τῶν παρθένων, τῆς ὀφειλομένης μονάζου-  
 σιν εὐλαβείας τὴν ἐκπτώσιν, τῶν ἱερέων τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ὡς εἰκὸς διὰ τὴν  
 40 αἰχμαλωσίαν οἷα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως καταφρόνησιν· καὶ

that I have seen no good come from the many letters I wrote before, and partly because I devoted my humble prayers to the Son of God, Who is the Author and Giver of peace, and looked only to His favor and His saving Providence, which is worshipped in nothing so much as in the peace of the world. But now (my Son), since I feel that heavy weight of grief as it were shifted from my heart, and am in a state of good hope—and may I not be defrauded, but may the Divine approval grant my desire!—I am moved to write once more to your most glorious Honor.

My Child, my beloved Son (for I love you, even though you do not love your father; if you did so, you would listen to his paternal exhortation): how long, my beloved Son, shall we be thus disposed, grieving God by destruction of His holy Inheritance, and shaming ourselves in that for so long Christians have been polluted by mutual slaughters? Have we no thought of God's fearful Judgment-seat (I know that, if you care to, you can recognize the condemnation of that Judge *as well as* any of those who are famed for wisdom)? How long shall we join evil to evil? How long shall we permit the devil to exult over the mutual slaughters of Christians? Reflect (my Son) that our lifetime may well have gone by, and that perhaps only a short span is allowed us before the dissolution of our souls from our bodies. Then, with what conscience shall we begin our journey out of this life when this happens, as happen it must to men, even though we are often deluded by false hopes that we shall stay longer in this present existence? What shall we say then? How, when the time is short and when the angels stand over us to require our souls, shall we look on the *evil* we have done, and not in our lifetime only? You surely know what has been done—all the destruction of Bulgarians and Romans, the adopted sons of God through Baptism: all the desolation of the churches of God, the abolition and cessation (oh, most heavy of my sufferings!) of His praises and the celebration of His Mysteries unto the purification of our sins. Consider, I beg of you, the destruction of monasteries, the devastation of episcopal and other churches that were situated up and down the countryside, and the deprivation of that worship that went on in them to God's Glory. I pass over the rest—rape of virgins, lapse of that reverence due to monks, contempt of the priests of God which must, humanly speaking,

τούτων πάντων ὡσπερ οὐχ ἱκανῶν ὑπαρχόντων εἰς θλιψίν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, πάλιν μετὰ τὴν σὴν ἀποβίωσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ καταλιμπανομένων σκανδάλων ἀνιάτων καὶ ἀθεραπεύτων.

Ἦδη τὴν νεότητά ὑπερήλασας· ἄπιστος μὲν γὰρ καὶ νεότητι τὸ πα-  
 45 ραμένειν τῷ βίῳ ἢ ἐλπίς· ὁπότε δὲ τὴν νεότητά ὑπερβῶμεν, καὶ μάλιστα  
 πρὸς ἐξήκοστον καταντήσωμεν ἔτος, ᾧτινι καὶ σὺ τυχὸν ἢ πλησιάσεις ἢ B  
 οὐ πολὺ πόρρω ἀφῆσθηκας, τί δεῖ λογιζέσθαι; Πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἑβδομηκοστὸν  
 σπάνιοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνουσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ ὀρῶμεν τὸ  
 ἀνθρώπινον γένος κάτωθεν τούτου τὴν ζωὴν καταστρέφον. Τίς οὖν  
 50 ὠφέλεια, ἐν τῷ σὲ καταβῆναι εἰς διαφθοράν, τοῦ κατ' ἀλλήλων πολέμου  
 Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Βουλγάρων τῆς παραμονῆς; Τί ἄλλο ἢ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἐν  
 τῇ ζωῇ ἡμῶν τῶν κακῶς γεγενημένων ἐν τῷ ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ θεοῦ κριτηρίῳ  
 τὰ δίκας ὑποσχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἄλλοις πραττομένων  
 ἡμᾶς ὑποστῆναι τὴν κόλασιν;

55 Διὰ τοῦτο, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οἷα παρῶν προσπτύσσομαι, καταφιῶ τὸ  
 στόμα, τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο μέλος· ἐφάπτομαι τῶν γονάτων  
 καὶ δυσωπῶ ἐπικαμφθῆναι τὴν σὴν ἡμερωτάτην ψυχὴν (εἰ καὶ πρα- C  
 γμάτων κακία ταύτην ἐξέστησεν τοῦ οἰκείου αὐτῆς ιδιώματος) πρὸς τὴν  
 εἰρήνην, ἀρκεσθῆναι τοῖς ἤδη γεγενημένοις ὀλεθρίοις πράγμασιν, ἀπολῆξαι  
 60 τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλων τῶν Χριστιανῶν πολέμους καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς, μηδὲ κατα-  
 λιπεῖν μνημόσυνον ἔλεεινὸν καὶ κατάρως ἄξιον, ὅτι Συμεὼν ἐκεῖνος, ὁ  
 <κατὰ> τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γενεὰν ὅσα γε τὰ ἐκ φρονήσεως, τὰ ἐξ ὀρθῆς κρί-  
 σεως, τὰ ἐκ παντὸς εἶδους ἀρετῆς γενόμενος ὑπερθάυμαστος καὶ οἷον  
 φωστῆρ τοῦ Βουλγάρων γένους, οὗτος κατεπάτησεν τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν ὑπὸ  
 65 τοῦ οἰκείου πατρὸς γενομένην, ἠθέτησεν οἰκεῖα σύμφωνα καὶ ὄρκους καὶ  
 συμβάσεις πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ γέγονε πολέμιος ἀπηνέστερος τῶν  
 προπατόρων αὐτοῦ, οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγνώρισαν· καὶ οὐ  
 μόνον ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ὑπάρχων τοιοῦτος ὄφθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ  
 θάνατον ἀσπονδον κατέλιπε πόλεμον καὶ τὴν κατ' ἀλλήλων μάχαιραν  
 70 Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων τοῦ τῆς σφαγῆς αἵματος ἀποστάζειν ἠγάπησεν.

Ταῦτά σοι ἔγραψα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, θρηνῶν καὶ ὀδυρόμενος πρῶτον D  
 μὲν ἑμαυτόν, ὅτι μέχρι τοσοῦτου παρέτεινεν τὸ ἐμὸν ἄθλιον γῆρας καὶ  
 τοιούτων ἔλεεινῶν πραγμάτων ἐγενόμην ἐν ἱστορίᾳ· θρηνῶν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς,  
 ναὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων γένος, ὧν ἕνεκα καὶ νῦν κατ' ἀλλήλων κινούμενοι  
 75 πάσχετε καὶ εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα, ὅτε τὰ πάθη οὐκ ἔχει ἀπόπασιν,  
 πικραῖς ὑποβληθήσεσθε τιμωρίαις, ὡς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ  
 ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ ἠγοράσθημεν καὶ λαὸς αὐτοῦ γεγενήμεθα, εἰς οὐδὲν λογιζό-  
 μενοι. Πλὴν οἱ θεοστεφεῖς ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς, καθὼς πολλάκις, οὕτω καὶ

arise from enslavement of their order. And, as though all this were not sufficient grief to Christ our God, even after your death you will be leaving behind offenses incurable and irremediable.

You are already past your youth. The expectation of life is delusory even in youth; but when we have passed our youth, and especially when we draw on to our sixtieth year, which you I think are either approaching or else not very far short of, then what must we think? Few men reach their seventieth year, and generally speaking we see mankind dying before that age. What profit will you get, as you go down to destruction, from the continuance of the war of Romans and Bulgarians against each other? Only this: that we shall not only undergo sentence thereafter at the Judgment Seat of God for the evils done in our lifetime, but will also endure punishment for evils done by others after we are dead.

And so (my Son), as though I were in your presence, I embrace you, kiss your mouth, your eyes, and each one of your limbs. I clasp your knees and entreat your most tranquil soul to be turned toward peace, even though the malice of events has perverted it from its proper character; to be satisfied with the disastrous events hitherto; to end the mutual warfare and slaughter of Christians; and not leave behind you the wretched and execrable memory that the renowned Symeon, who was in his generation most admirable for his qualities of wisdom, right judgment, and virtues of every sort, who was as it were the beacon of the Bulgarian race — that he trampled underfoot the peace made by his own father, set aside his own treaties and oaths and agreements with the Romans, and became an enemy to them more savage than were his ancestors who knew not Christ our God! And that not only in his lifetime was he such, but even after his death he left behind him a truceless war, and was well pleased that the sword of Romans and Bulgarians should drip with the blood of their mutual slaughter!

Thus I write to you (my Son) in lamentation and mourning, first for myself, because miserable old age has prolonged my life so far, and brought me into the tale of such pitiable events; mourning also for you, yes, and also for the race of the Romans, for what you now suffer in mutual strife, and because in the life to come, where sufferings have no end, you will be condemned to bitter punishments for your disregard of the Blood of Christ our God, through Which we were ransomed and became His People. But our Emperors, crowned of God, as often before, so now also, are seeking for



νῦν τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιζητοῦσιν καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ τὰ ἐκ τῶν προλαβόντων  
 80 ἀνθρώπων | παρακολουθήσαντα σφάλματα θεραπευθῆναι σπουδάζουσιν. 185  
 Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἀπέστειλαν ἀνθρώπους οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῖν συλ-  
 λαλήσουσιν· καὶ ἔστι σὸν καὶ τῆς σῆς τελειοτάτης συνέσεως εἰς τὰς πρε-  
 πούσας συμβάσεις καὶ θεῶν εὐαρέστους καὶ κοινῶς συμφερούσας Βουλ-  
 γάροις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις συνελθεῖν, ἵνα καὶ ὁ σατανᾶς ὁ τῶν σκανδάλων καὶ  
 85 τῶν πολέμων αἴτιος κατασχυνθῆ, καὶ ὡς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐβράβευσε θεὸς  
 τὴν εἰρήνην μεταξύ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων, πάλιν ἐχητε τὴν εἰρήνην,  
 καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν ὡς τέκνα τοῦ πατέρα ἐπιγινώσκητε, παρ' ὧν ἐδέξασθε  
 καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου βαπτίσματος τὴν χάριν, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὡς πατέρες τὰ  
 90 οἰκεῖα ἐν Χριστῷ τέκνα τοῦ Βουλγάρου ἐπιγινώσκωσιν καὶ θεὸς ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις δοξάζεται, καὶ τὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ζωῆς πράγματα Ῥω-  
 μαίοις καὶ Βουλγάρους πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποκαταστῆ εὐκληρίαν τε καὶ  
 ἀπόλαυσιν.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκεῖνο προστίθεμεν, ὡς ἀνάξια ποιεῖς τῆς σῆς μεγα- B  
 λοδόξου ἀρχῆς ὕβρεις γράφων καὶ παραλογισμῶν ῥήματα ἀντὶ τῶν εἰς σέ  
 95 γραφομένων φιλικῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τιμώντων τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐξουσίαν  
 παρὰ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ εἰς εἰρήνην προκαλουμένου σε βασιλέως. Οἶμαι  
 γάρ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι ἄλλο φρόνημα τῶν εἰς ἀρχὰς παρὰ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναβεβηκότων καὶ ἄλλο φρόνημα τῶν ταπεινῶν καὶ χυδαίων  
 ἀνθρώπων. Αἱ ὕβρεις ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν εὐτελεῶν καὶ φρονήματος ἀπερ-  
 100 ριμμένων· ἀρχῆς δὲ οἱ λαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνάβασιν, ἐὰν συναισθά-  
 νωνται τῆς ἑαυτῶν δόξης, οὐδέποτε καταβαίνουσιν εἰς ὕβρεις, αἱ τοῖς  
 εὐτελέσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ χυδαίοις παρακολουθοῦσιν. Ὅρα, τέκνον ἡμῶν,  
 τὴν ἡμετέραν πρὸς σέ ἀγάπην, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τούτοις τῆς σῆς φροντίζοντες  
 δόξης ὡς πατέρες ἐπανορθούμεθα τὸ οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἐπακολουθοῦν σοι  
 105 πταῖσμα καὶ τὴν | σὴν κατευτελίζον μεγαλόδοξον ὑπεροχὴν. Γράφε πε- C  
 ρὶ τῶν προκειμένων πραγμάτων οἷα δεῖ γράφειν ἀνθρωπῶν δεδοξασμένον,  
 ἐπιζητῶν τὴν κατάστασιν, ἐπιζητῶν τὸ συμφέρον, ἐπιζητῶν τὴν εἰρήνην,  
 ὡς παρὰ θεοῦ λαβὼν τὸ ἄρχειν, ὡς Χριστιανός, ὡς μέλλων τῷ φοβερῷ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ κριτηρίῳ παραστῆναι καὶ λόγον ἀποδώσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς  
 110 καὶ τῆς τῶν ὑποχειρίων διοικήσεως καὶ σωτηρίας· καὶ μὴ γράφης εἰρω-  
 νείας μὴδὲ ὕβρεις καὶ ἀτιμίας, ἅτινα οὐκ ἀτιμάζουσιν ἐκείνους πρὸς οὐς  
 γράφεις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν (οὐκ ἤθελον εἰπεῖν αἰδοῖ τῆς πρὸς  
 σέ ἀγάπης, ἀλλ' ἕμῳς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κινούμενος λέγω) κατὰ γινωσκῶν  
 ἐπαναστρέφουσιν.

85-86: Coloss. 3.15.

87 ἐπιγινώσκητε Vat.: -ετ P || 89 ἐπιγινώσκωσι Vat.: -ετιν P || 90 δοξάζεται Vat.: -τε P

peace, and are eager in every way to heal the wrongs which issued from those  
 who governed before them. For this reason they are now also sending servants  
 to treat for peace with you; and it is for you, and befits your most perfect  
 Wisdom, to conclude the proper agreements that are both pleasing to God  
 and mutually beneficial to Bulgarians and Romans, so that Satan, who is  
 the author of offenses and wars, may be put to shame, and you may once  
 more have peace, even as formerly God awarded peace between Romans and  
 Bulgarians, and you may recognize us as children of their fathers, from whom  
 you received the Grace of the holy Baptism, and the Romans may recognize  
 the Bulgarians as fathers their own children in Christ, and God be glorified  
 thereby, and their common life and existence be restored to Romans and  
 Bulgarians in their former happiness and enjoyment.

I must add this, that you wrong your most glorious Lordship by writing  
 abuse and words of contempt in reply to the kindly letter, respectful of your  
 sovereignty, written by our Christ-loving Emperor, and inviting you to  
 peace. I believe (my Son) you are aware that one spirit characterizes those  
 who have been raised up to rule by God, and another spirit those who are  
 humble and vulgar; abuse is the practice of the mean and abject in spirit,  
 but those who by God have ascended to rule, if they appreciate their own  
 glory, never descend to the abuse which is the mark of the mean and vulgar.  
 You see (my Son) my regard for you, in that here too, out of my care for  
 your repute, I correct as a father that fault which has—I know not how—  
 overtaken you and cheapens your most glorious Excellency. Write on the  
 subjects in hand as befits a man of high repute, seeking a settlement, seeking  
 what is beneficial, seeking peace, as one who has received rule from God,  
 as a Christian, as one who will stand before God's awful Judgment Seat,  
 and give account of his rule, and of the government and salvation of his  
 subjects. And do not write sarcasms and abuse and insults, which do no  
 insult to those to whom you write, but rather redound to your own—I do  
 not like to say it, out of respect for my love toward you, but truth compels  
 me to say—to your own condemnation.



Μὴ δεξάμενοι γράμμα παρὰ σοῦ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, αὐτοὶ γράφομεν, D  
 ὑπὸ τῆς πολλάκις κινήσεως αἰτίας ἡμᾶς πρότερον καὶ νῦν γράφειν κει-  
 νημένοι· αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ποθεινῆς εἰρήνης ἢ ἐπιζήτησις,  
 5 ἣν ἀποσυλήσας ὁ ἀρχαῖος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐχθρὸς ὁ διάβολος μεγίστων  
 μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἐζημίωσε τὸ Βουλγάρων γένος καὶ Ῥωμαίων, πολὺ δὲ  
 ἄλγημα τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν ἐνεποίησεν τὰ [δὲ] ἐκείνου ποίμνια  
 εἰς τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων ὄλεθρον ὀρμήσαι παρασκευασάμενος. Ὑπὲρ τούτου  
 10 πολλάκις ἐγράψαμεν καὶ νῦν γράφομεν δυσωποῦντες· καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς  
 σοὺς γλυκεῖς λόγους ἐν ταῖς ὥσιν ἡμῶν ἔχοντες καὶ τούτους κατ' ἐκά-  
 στην μελετῶντες, ὅσους τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἢ σὴ φρονίμη ἐδέξατο γλῶσσα καὶ  
 15 ὅσους πρὸς τὸν φιλόχριστον ἡμῶν βασιλέα, ὃν οἶδα βεβαίως ὅτι | ἀφ' οὗ 188  
 ἐθεάσω καὶ πείραν τῆς ἐκείνου ἀγαθότητος ἔλαβες, ἐπόθησας καὶ πο-  
 θεῖς. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐπαγγελίας παρέσχες εἰρή-  
 νης, καὶ ὅτι λήξουσιν αἱ σφαγαὶ καὶ οἱ πόλεμοι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων δυστυχῆ  
 πράγματα, καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν προτέραν εὐδαιμονίαν Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Βουλ-  
 γαροὶ καταστήσονται. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς συντυχίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν φιλό-  
 χριστον ἡμῶν βασιλέα πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν ἔφης ταπεινώσειν ἐκ Βουλγαρίας  
 20 τὰ ἐνταῦθα καταλαβεῖν εἰρήνην γενέσθαι βουλόμενος καὶ ἀποπαῦσαι σὺν  
 θεῷ τὴν κατ' ἀλλήλων τῶν Χριστιανῶν μάχην καὶ τῶν ὄπλων τὴν κίνησιν.  
 Τούτων ἔχοντες τὴν μνήμην ἀνεπίληστον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἡμῶν καὶ  
 γινώσκοντες τὴν παρὰ σοῦ τιμωμένην ἀλήθειαν τὸ παρὸν ἐγράψαμεν γράμ-  
 25 μα, οἷα πολλάκις ἱκετεύσαμεν, καὶ νῦν ἱκετεύοντες. Δεῖξον, | τέκνον B  
 ἡμῶν, τῶν σῶν ῥημάτων τὸ τέλος ἐπάξιον τῆς προσοῦσης σοὶ δόξης·  
 30 πλήρωσον τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἵνα καὶ θεὸς δοξασθῇ, καὶ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα  
 γένηται ἀείμνηστον καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἔπειτα γενεαῖς, καὶ ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ποίμνια  
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ, λέγω δὴ τὸ τε Βουλγάρων ἔθνος καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων γένος,  
 ἀπαλλαγῶσι ψυχικοῦ καὶ σωματικοῦ ὄλεθρου καὶ ἀπολαύσωσι καὶ σωμα-  
 35 τικῆς ἀνέσεως καὶ ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας. Οἶδεν γὰρ ἢ σὴ μεγάλη σύνεσις  
 ὅτι οὐ μόνον τὴν σωματικὴν ζωὴν ἐλεεινῶς ζημιοῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ  
 Βούλγαροι ἀλλήλους ἀποσφάζοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχικῆς (οἴμοι τῷ  
 ἀθλίῳ) ἀποστερίσκονται. Ναί, τέκνον μου, σβέσωμεν τοῦ θυμοῦ τὴν  
 φλόγα, ἣν εἴτε πονηρὸς δαίμων εἴτε ἄνθρωποι ἀνέφλεξαν | ἄφρονες. Ἐγὼ C  
 καὶ ἀλόγων γένη ἐθεασάμην ποτὲ ὑπὸ θυμοῦ κινήθέντα καὶ κατ' ἀλλή-  
 35 λων ὀρμήσαντα καὶ μαχόμενα· ἀλλ' ἐπαύσαντο πάλιν τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ τοῦ  
 μάχεσθαι καὶ κατέστησαν πρὸς τὸ ἡμέρον. Εἶτα, τέκνον μου, τὰ μὲν ἄλογα

Not having received a letter from you (my Son), I write myself, being  
 moved once more by the same cause which has often moved me in the past:  
 and that is, pursuit of blessed and desired peace, which the devil, man's  
 ancient enemy, has ravished and thus deprived the race of Romans and  
 Bulgarians of their greatest blessings, and inflicted much pain upon Christ  
 our God by making His flocks to rush on their mutual destruction. I have  
 often written about this, and now do so again with my entreaty: especially  
 since I have your sweet words in my ears, and ponder them daily, both those  
 which your wise tongue deigned to utter to me, and also those to our Christ-  
 loving Emperor, whom I am certain, since you have beheld him and gained  
 experience of his goodness, you have tenderly regarded, and regard. For to  
 him also (my Son) you made professions of peace, and that slaughters and  
 battles, with their attendant misfortunes, should cease, and that Romans  
 and Bulgarians should be restored to their former prosperity. And even  
 before your interview with our Christ-loving Emperor, you told my Humility  
 that you had come here from Bulgaria with an intention to make peace and,  
 by God's aid, to put an end to the mutual warfare of Christians and the  
 movement of arms.

With the memory of this ineffaceably in my heart, and knowing your  
 respect for truth, I write this letter, making once again such supplication as  
 I have often made before. Give (my Son) your words the fulfillment worthy  
 of your own glory; perform your promises, so that God may be glorified, and  
 your name be ever-memorable among future generations, and both the flocks  
 of Christ—I mean, the Bulgarian nation and the race of the Romans—may  
 be free of destruction in soul and body, and may enjoy relief of body and  
 salvation of soul: for your great Wisdom knows that Romans and Bulgarians,  
 in slaughtering one another, are not only wretchedly deprived of their  
 corporeal life but (alas for my misery!) lose their soul also. Yea (my Son),  
 let us quench the flame of anger kindled either by the evil demon or else by  
 senseless men. I have beheld the races of brutes at one time moved by anger  
 and dashing in battle against one another; but then again they ceased from  
 anger and battling, and returned to tranquillity. Well then (my Son), if

μη κεκτημένα λόγον επέχοντα τὸν θυμὸν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀλογίας ἀγόμενα, ἐπίστανται τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀπόπαυσιν καὶ τῆς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἀφίστανται μάχης καὶ μεταβάλλονται πρὸς εἰρήνην· ἄνθρωποι δὲ λόγῳ κυβερνώμενοι, ἕνα θεὸν ὁμολογοῦντες, ἐνὶ ὀνόματι τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπιεκκλημένοι, διότι ἔφθασαν κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔπλα κινῆσαι, τούτοις χρήσονται διὰ παντός καὶ ταῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων σφαγαῖς ὡσπερ ἐντροφῶντες διατελέσουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ λογισμῶ κρινοῦσι τὰ πρόποντα καὶ ὀψέ ποτε τῆς κατ' ἀλλήλων σφαγῆς ἀφέξονται; | Καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο ἄξιον τῆς ἀνθρω- D  
45 πίνης φύσεως τῆς κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ διαπλασθείσης καὶ λόγῳ τετιμημένης;

Ἄλλὰ τί μακρύνω τὸ γράμμα; Ἀρκεσθῶμεν τοὺς εἰρημένους· πέποιθα γὰρ ἐν θεῷ ὅτι ὡσπερ παρὼν ἐλάλησας πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν ταπεινώσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸν φιλόχριστον ἡμῶν βασιλέα τὸν σοὶ ποθοῦμενον ἀδελφόν, 50 οὕτω καὶ γενήσεται· ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπευχόμεθά σοι μακρότητα ἡμερῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν εὐετηρίαν καὶ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ κληρονομίαν δόξης τῆς ἀποκειμένης πᾶσι τοῖς τῷ θεῷ εὐαρεστήσασιν.

### 31. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐγραψα πολλάκις, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι νομίζω, καὶ ὀφέλιμα καὶ συμφέροντα. Γράφω νῦν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς προσέγραψα τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔσχατον γράμμα, ἅμα μὲν κινούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ 5 ἐγκειμένης διὰ παντός ὀδύνης χάριν τῶν κοινῶν παθῶν τῶν καταδαπανῶντων τὸν λαὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἐν Βουλγάρους καὶ Ῥωμαίους συναριθμαῦμενον· ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐστι λαὸς ἀληθῶς καὶ τὸ Βουλγάρων γένος τοῦ 189 ἐξαγοράσαντος αὐτοὺς οἰκείῳ αἵματι, τοῦ | ἀδελφοῦς ποιησαμένου διὰ τῆς υἰοθεσίας τοῦ πνεύματος, εἰ καὶ τοῦτον σὸν εἶναι σὺ νομίζεις λαόν, 10 ὁ σήμερον ἄρχων καὶ αὐριον ὑπὸ σκωλήκων δαπανηθῶμενος· — ὑπὲρ τούτων οὖν ὀδυνώμενος γράφω καὶ ἔτι ἐκ τῶν σῶν κινούμενος λόγων οὕς ἐνταῦθα παραγεγονότος σου ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς γλώττης αἰ ἡμέτεραι ἀκοαὶ ἐνηχήθησαν· ἦσαν γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα παρ' ὑμῶν τοιαῦτα ὅτι «Κεκινήμεθα ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας ἐνεκεν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ μεγάλου πράγματος τῆς εἰρή- 15 νης.» Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἰδιαζόντως ἔλεγες πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἰδίως σοὶ πρὸς ὀμιλίαν κατέστημεν· ἔπειτα δὲ ὅτε μετὰ τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς

45: Gen. 1.26. || 50: Ps. 20.5.

these brutes, which are unreasoning, control their anger and, though guided by unreason, yet know how to cease from it and give up attacking one another and change to peace, shall men who are steered by reason, who confess one God, and are called by the one name of Christ our God, just because they have once been at war with one another, keep alive that war forever, and continue, as it were, to wanton in mutual slaughter, and refuse to judge what is right by the aid of reason, and to leave off, even at this late hour, from slaughtering one another? How can this be worthy of human nature that was moulded in God's image and honored with the gift of reason?

But why go on at length? Let what has been said suffice us. For I believe, under God, that as you spoke when you were here to my Humility, and to our Christ-loving Emperor, your beloved brother, so it shall be: wherefore I pray length of days for you, and in this life prosperity, and in the life to come that inheritance of glory which is laid up for all those who have approved themselves unto God.

### 31. To the Same

I have often written to you advice which—as I thought and still think—was beneficial and useful. Now, on the top of all I have written before, I write this my last letter, partly out of the pain that still lies heavy on my heart for the common sufferings that lay waste the people of God, which is numbered among Bulgarians and Romans: for the Bulgarian race too is truly the People of Him Who has redeemed them with His own Blood, and made them brothers through the adoption of the Spirit, even though you count this people as yours, you, who rule them today and shall tomorrow be food for worms. In pain for them I write, and also because of the words which, when you were here, my ears heard from your own mouth: and your words were these: “I have come out of my own country on behalf of the fair and mighty cause of peace.” This was what you said to me in private, when first of all I was in private conversation with you; and then afterward, when

ἡμῶν βασιλέως συνομιλήσαι γέγονεν καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου φιλοτιμιῶν ἐδέχου τὴν χορηγίαν, μέμνημαι τοιαῦτά τινα ῥήματα εἰπόντος σου, ὡς οὐκέτι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἡμῖν ἐνεργηθήσεται οὐδὲ τοῦ πρὸς χρεῖαν ἐπι-  
 20 διδομένου ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις χιτῶνος ἡμῖν ἔτι δεήσει, καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς Β παντελῆ τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀποκατάστασιν (ὧν ἐπὶ τοῦ συνειδότητος ἔχεις τὴν μνήμην) τότε προσεῖπες· ταῦτά με κινεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἔσχατον τοῦτο γράμμα.

Ποῦ τοίνυν, ὡς παρῶν σοι προσφθέγομαι, τῶν σῶν λόγων αἱ ὑπο-  
 25 σχέσεις; Τί γέγονεν ἡ μακαρία ἐκείνη ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν εἰρήνη, ἧς καὶ μόνον ἡ φήμη καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων χώρα καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαχεθεῖσα πᾶσαν γλῶσσαν εἰς θεοῦ εὐχαριστίαν ἐκίνησεν; Παντὶ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ τρόπος ἀγαθὸς ἐν τούτῳ γνωρίζεται, ἐν τῷ τιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀρχῆ δὲ μάλιστα τῇ πρὸς μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐξηρημένη οὐδὲν οὕτως ἄλλο  
 30 εἰς δόξαν συντελεῖ καὶ σεμνότητα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς ἡ τῶν λόγων ἀλήθεια καὶ τῶν ἐπαγγελλομένων τὸ ἀδιάψευστον. Ὅρα οὖν εἰ δόξης ἀντιποιουμένῳ σοι καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειας ἀρμόζει τὸ παλίντροπον καὶ μεταπηδᾶν ἐκ λόγων εἰς λόγους μηδαμῶ τὸ βάσιμον καὶ ἐδραῖον κεκτημένους.

Ἐβουλόμην σοι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα γράφειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μῆκος ἴσως Ὁ  
 35 ἐπεκτεινόμενος ὁ λόγος ὀχληρὸς δόξει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνα καταλιμπάνομεν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχων καὶ ὀνειδισμῶν, οὐς κατενώπιον τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως ἐλέγχων καὶ ὀνειδιζῶν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ φαυλίζων τὴν ἡμῶν ὑπεφθέγγου ἀθλιότητα, ἐκεῖθὲν σοι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε προσφθέγομαι. Ἐλεγες γὰρ κατειρωνευόμενος ἡμῶν ἐνεγκεῖν τὸν  
 40 ἵππον ὃς παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ σοῦ τὴν πληγὴν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τοῦτο προσδιασύρων ἡμᾶς ἔλεγες τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐχῆς ἔργον γεγενῆσθαι. Καὶ ἡμῶν ἀπολογουμένων ὡς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἑαυτοῖς σύνισμεν, οὔτε προτροπὴν πολέμου ποιησάμενοι οὔτε τοιαύτην εὐξάμενοι εὐχὴν, αὐτὸς ἀντέλεγες ὡς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τὸν ἀρχιερατικὸν ἰδρυμένων ἦν ἰσχύς | κωλύσαι τὸν D  
 45 πόλεμον, εἰ δὲ μή, τέως τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπελεύειν τοὺς μὴ πειδομένους ταῖς παραινέσεσιν. Ταῦτα οἶδα ὅτι γνωρίσεις, κἂν βούλη, κἂν μὴ βούλη, ὅτι τῆς σῆς ἐστὶν εἰρωνείας καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν κατηγορίας τὰ ῥήματα. Ἄκουε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων οἷά σοι φθέγομαι, καὶ μοι τέως τὸν ὄγκον τῆς ἀρχῆς σου ταπεινώσον καὶ μετρίαις ἀκοαῖς ἀκουσον φίλου παλαιοῦ καὶ  
 50 ταπεινοῦ ἀρχιερέως λόγους· κατανόησον τί τοῦτο, τὸ τὴν πληγὴν τοῦ ξίφους ἐνεχθῆναι κατὰ τοῦ ἵππου, σὲ δὲ περισωθῆναι. Ἐγὼ ἀνθρωπὸς εἰμι, καὶ ἤδη τῷ γήρᾳ τὰς φρένας ἐλαττωθεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλως ἀνθρωπος ὧν φρονήσεως κατὰ πολὺ ἐνδεής (ὁμολογῶ γὰρ τὴν οἰκειάν ἀσθένειαν)· πλὴν τοῦτο νοῶ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ τὴν πληγὴν εἰς σὲ ἐπενεχθῆναι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοῦ

you conversed with our God-crowned Emperor, and accepted the award of his gifts, I remember you said something to the effect that "war shall no longer be carried on among us, nor shall we need to don the cuirass given for our use in battles"; and you then added other things implying the total liquidation of war and the restoration of peace. Your conscience will remind you of what you then said. These things move me to write this last letter.

Where then, I ask you as though face to face, are the promises you made? What has become of that blessed peace of which you spoke, the very report of which, when it spread in the countries both of Bulgarians and Romans, moved every tongue in thanks to God? The worth of each man's character is seen in his regard for truth; but for a ruler, raised up to majesty, nothing so much tends to the glory and dignity of his rule as the truth of his words and the faithfulness of his engagements. And you must judge whether it becomes you, who lay claim to glory and majesty, to shuffle and jump from one set of professions to others that have nowhere any basis or stability.

I could have written much more to the same effect, but possibly if I extend my discourse it will seem wearisome: and so I leave it at that. But I now proceed to speak to you of the accusations and insults which you implied against me in the presence of our God-crowned Emperor, in derision, as it were, of my Wretchedness. You said, with a sarcasm against me, that you were riding the horse which in the battle received the cut meant for you; and you added, with a sneer at me, that this had been the result of my prayer! And when I protested that I knew of no such thing, had never countenanced the war, and had made no such prayer, you answered that, as I sat on the patriarchal throne, it was in my power to forbid the war, or, at all events, temporarily to expel from the Church those who refused to obey my exhortations. I know you will recognize, whether you like it or not, that these were the words of your sarcasm and accusation against me. Now, listen to what I have to say to you on these points, and humble for a moment the vast pride of your Lordship, and hear with modest ears the words of an old friend and humble Archpriest. Reflect on the reason of this, why the sword-blow struck the horse, and you escaped. I am a man, foolish already with old age, and, as a man, in any case very far from eminently wise—I admit my own weakness; but this I do understand from the cut that did not

55 κτήνους. | Πρόσσχες οἷς λέγομεν, ἕως γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ φρονίμως καὶ στο- 192  
 χαζόμεθα καὶ φθειγόμεθα. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνων τῶν  
 πραγμάτων τὴν κυριότητα ἐγκεχειρισμένοι παραλόγως τὴν κατὰ σοῦ  
 ἐποιήσαντο κίνησιν, ἔτυχες τῆς ἀνωθεν εὐμενείας καὶ τὴν πληγὴν τοῦ  
 ξίφους ἀπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ σοῦ ἢ τῶν κεινημένων τότε παράλογος ὁρμὴ καὶ  
 60 παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἠνέχθη δὲ κατὰ τοῦ κτήνους ἢ πληγῆ, ἵνα πάλιν παιδευ-  
 θῆς μὴ ἀλογίστως ἐπάρσει ἐντροφᾶν τῇ νίκῃ, ἀλλὰ μεμνησθαι τῶν ἀνθρω-  
 πίνων πραγμάτων καὶ μετριοφρονεῖν, καὶ μὴ ὅλως γίνεσθαι τοῦ δοκοῦντος  
 εὐτυχήματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δυστυχῆ-  
 ματα τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστρέφειν. | Σκέψαι δὴ μὴ ποτε τοῦ πολέμου νῦν μέλ- B  
 65 λοντος διὰ σέ τὴν αἰτίαν λαμβάνειν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ  
 κτήνος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σέ (ὅπερ ἀπεύχομαι) ἢ πληγῆ φθάσει. Ἀνάγνωσον  
 ἐπιμελῶς ἃ γέγραφα, καὶ ἐκ τούτων πρὸς τὰς παλαιότερας ἱστορίας (οἶδα  
 γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ταύτας ἐν μελέτῃ ποιῆ) ἀνάβηθι· καὶ μὴ νόμιζε πάντοτε μετὰ  
 σοῦ τὴν νίκην εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἦτταν λογίζου κατὰ πόδας ἀκολουθεῖν.  
 70 Ἄλλὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν περὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς εἰρωνείας. Τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν  
 τοιαῦτα πρὸς σέ γράφομεν οἷα καὶ πρὸς τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλόχριστον ἡμῶν  
 βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον αὐτοῦ καθ' ἑκάστην καὶ παραινοῦμεν  
 καὶ ὑποτιθέμεθα. Τίνα δὲ ταῦτά ἐστι; Φείσασθαι παραινοῦμεν καὶ  
 ἱκετεύομεν τὸν φιλόχριστον ἡμῶν βασιλέα καὶ τῆς σφαγῆς τοῦ λαοῦ  
 75 αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς σφαγῆς τοῦ Βουλγάρων γένους, καὶ δοῦναι καὶ ἔτι ἀνοχῆ  
 καὶ μακροθυμίᾳ σὺν τῇ ἀνωθεν προνοίᾳ τὸ φιλόφρονον αὐτοῦ φρόνημα,  
 καὶ μὴ πάνδημον ἐστρατείαν ποιῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ Βουλγάρων ἔθνους. «Γάχα  
 διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν μακροθυμίας ἄψεται θεὸς τῆς καρδίας τοῦ τῶν Βουλγάρων  
 ἐξουσιάζοντος, καὶ ἀποβλέψει πρὸς τὸ καλὸν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ἀγαπήσει C  
 80 τὴν ἀρχαίαν ταύτης κατάστασιν.» Καὶ ὁ γε φιλόφρονος καὶ ἐπιεικῆς  
 καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς (πάντως δὲ οὐχ ὑποπτεύεις ἃ λέγομεν, ἔγνω  
 γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς πείρα ἰδίᾳ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιείκειαν καὶ τὸ πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον  
 τῆς ψυχῆς) καὶ πείθεται καὶ ὑπέκειναι τοῖς λόγοις ἡμῶν. Ἄλλ' ἢ σύγ-  
 κλητος ἅπαντα, καὶ ὁμοῦ πᾶσα ἢ πόλις, καὶ τί λέγω τὴν πόλιν; ἅπαν τὸ  
 85 ὑποχείριον τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας κινούμενοι οὐκέτι λέγουσιν ὑπομένειν  
 τὴν τσαύτην τῶν Βουλγάρων ἀπόνειαν οὐδὲ καταφρονεῖν τῶν οἰκείων  
 καὶ συγγενῶν τὴν ἀπώλειαν οὐδὲ τῶν οἰκείων τόπων τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν,  
 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δεήσει πάντας ἀποθανεῖν, μᾶλλον τοῦτο ἀγαπητὸν ἔχειν ἢ τὸ  
 ὑπομένειν οὕτως τὴν τοῦ Βουλγάρου ἔπαρσιν. Καὶ λοιπὸν πεπεισμένος  
 90 γενοῦ ὡς ἅπαντα τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ πάντες ὅσοι χεῖρα κινουμένην ἔχου-  
 σιν μετὰ τῆς δικαίας τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίας ἐπιστήσονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔτι  
 ἐπιμένοντός σου καὶ ἀγαπῶντος τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου κακά.

strike you, but struck the brute. Pay attention, since here perhaps I do  
 divine and speak with wisdom. Since those who were at that time entrusted  
 with the control of our affairs made their attack on you without cause, you  
 obtained the Divine Favor, and the causeless and unjust aggression of your  
 then assailants turned aside the sword-cut from you, and it fell on the brute;  
 but also that you might on the other hand be instructed not to wanton in  
 your victory with senseless exultation, but to remember the nature of human  
 affairs and to be modest; and not to be transported by an apparent success,  
 but to bear in mind the failures that also come upon men. Take heed lest, in  
 the battle which will now have you for its author, the cut fall, not on your  
 horse, not on the brute, but (God forbid it!) on you. Read diligently what  
 I write, and then go back to ancient history, since I know you study that  
 too, and do not believe that victory will always be with you, but consider  
 that defeat follows at its heels.

So much for your sarcasms against me. For the rest, I write to you the  
 same exhortation and recommendation as I am daily making to our Christ-  
 loving Emperor and his Council. And what are these? I exhort and implore  
 our Christ-loving Emperor to abstain from the slaughter of his people and  
 from the slaughter of the Bulgarian race, and, with the help of Divine  
 Providence, to yield his merciful spirit up to even more patience and long-  
 suffering, and not to make a full-scale expedition against the Bulgarian  
 nation. "Perhaps (*I say*), through your long-suffering, God will touch the  
 heart of the Lord of the Bulgarians, and he will turn to regard the blessing of  
 peace, and be content with its ancient state." And our merciful and generous  
 and virtuous Emperor (you will certainly not suspect me when I so call him,  
 for you know yourself from personal experience the generosity and gentleness  
 and tranquillity of his temper) is persuaded and yields to my advice. However,  
 the whole Council, and all the City with them—why speak of the City?  
 every subject in his Empire—are roused, and say we should no longer endure  
 this senseless fury of the Bulgarians, nor overlook the destruction of their  
 families and relatives, or the enslavement of their countries; but, if they  
 must die to the last man, better, they believe, to do this than to endure the  
 arrogance of the Bulgarians. Therefore be persuaded that all our military  
 forces and all whose hand is raised to strike will, with the righteous alliance  
 of God, come upon you, if you persist in choosing the evils of war.

Ἄλλα μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας ἀνήγγειλά σοι τὰ ἐνταῦθα παρασκευα- D  
ζόμενα· σὺ δὲ εἴ τι πείθῃ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ πρεσβύτῃ καὶ οὐδὲν  
95 ἕτερον ἢ τὸν τάφον ὀρῶντι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀναξίῳ μὲν, ὅμως δὲ λειτου-  
ργῷ τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ εἴ τι ἐν λόγῳ σοι γεγένηται τὸ ἡμέτερον  
φίλτρον (καὶ ὅρα πόσος ὁ χρόνος ἐξ οὗ φίλοι γεγόναμεν), δέξαι παραίνεσιν  
ἦν καὶ ὁ φιλόχριστος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς δέχεσθαι ὑπέσχετο· καὶ οὐ ψεύσεται  
τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, ἐὰν καὶ σὺ βουληθῆς τὰ ἴσα ἐκείνῳ φρονεῖν. Ἀγάπησον  
100 τὴν εἰρήνην, μίσησον τοὺς πολέμους· κακοὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν  
ἐχθρούς πόλεμοι, ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς πατέρας, πρὸς ἀδελφούς, πρὸς φίλους, πρὸς  
ὁμοπίστοτους, πρὸς τοὺς ἕνα θεὸν ἐπιγραφόμενους, ἕνα κύριον καὶ δεσπό- 193  
την καὶ σωτῆρα, τί ἂν τις εἴποι; Οὐχ ὄρας θηρία πολλάκις πρὸς ἑαυτὰ  
μαχόμενα καὶ πάλιν εἰρηνεύοντα; Ἀπόβλεψον εἰς ταῦτα, καὶ «ζήτησον  
105 εἰρήνην» (οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος) «καὶ δίωξον  
αὐτήν,» τουτέστιν δράμε ὀπίσω ταύτης, κατάλαβε αὐτήν, καὶ στήσον τὰ  
κοινὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ δάκρυα καὶ τοὺς στεναγμούς καὶ τὰς κατάρτας ὅσας  
ἐπὶ σὲ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, καὶ Βούλγαροι καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι, πλούσιοι καὶ πέ-  
νητες, μονάζοντες καὶ ἱερεῖς <καὶ> λαϊκοὶ καταπέμπουσιν. Ἐπὶ γὰρ τὸν  
110 εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλόχριστον ἡμῶν βασιλέα οὐδεὶς ἔχει ἀναφέρειν αἰτίαν, ἐξ  
οὗ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τῆς βασιλείας ἐκάθισεν τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιζητούντος καὶ  
παρακαλοῦντος καὶ ὑποκλινομένου δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ διὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πολέ- B  
μου κακὰ. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ νίκης γινομένης πολλάκις τῷ ἐνὶ μέρει οὐκ ἀκινδύ-  
νως τῷ νικήσαντι τὸ νικᾶν περιγίνεται· ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ  
115 φίλους καὶ οἰκείους τῷ νικήσαντι ἀπολέσαι· τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου,  
ἀδιάκριτα καὶ συγκεχυμένα. Οἶδας ἃ λέγομεν ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς πέπονθας·  
καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ μετὰ σοῦ γέγονεν ἡ νίκη, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσας τῶν  
φιλάτων, ὧν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡ μνήμη διαζαίνει τὴν σὴν καρδίαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐῶ-  
σιν καθαρῶς ἀπολαύειν τῆς νίκης αἱ δι' ἐκείνους ἀλγηδόνες.

120 Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ γράμματος μεταστῶμεν. Ὁ φιλόχριστος  
ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς, εἰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς πολιτείας  
καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πρὸς τὴν καθ' ὑμῶν ἐκστρα-  
τείαν ἐκβιάζεται, ἀλλ' οὖν ὡς ἐπιεικῆς τῇ παραινέσει τῆς ἡμῶν ταπει-  
νότητος | μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν ἐνδιδούς εἰς τοιοῦτους πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατέστη λόγους. C

125 «ὦ πάτερ, ἔοικα ἐν μέσῳ τινὶ ἐστώς καὶ διασπώμενος, τῆς μὲν πολιτείας  
ἐλκούσης ἐτέρωθεν, τῆς δὲ σῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐλκούσης πρὸς ἑαυτήν.  
Τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων τοῦτό σοι ἀποκρίνομαι· γράψον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν

104–106: Ps. 33.15.

94 πείθῃ P<sup>c</sup>: -ει P<sup>1</sup> || 95 καὶ P<sup>1</sup>: εἰ καὶ P<sup>c</sup> || 99 βουληθῆς P<sup>c</sup>: -εις P<sup>1</sup> || 109 καὶ<sup>2</sup> P<sup>c</sup>: om.  
P<sup>1</sup> || 110 ἀναφέρειν P<sup>c</sup>: -ει P<sup>1</sup>

With complete frankness I have reported to you what is being prepared here. If you believe me, first as an old man with nothing before him but the grave, then as one who (though unworthy) is a minister of the Holy Sanctuary, or if you have had any regard for my affection—and consider how long we have been friends—then accept my exhortation, which our Christ-loving Emperor has for his part promised to accept: and he will not break his promise if you will promise the same. Love peace, hate wars! Wars are bad, even against outside enemies; but what shall one say of wars against fathers, brothers, friends, fellow-believers, who have chosen one God, one Lord and Master and Saviour? What should one say? Do you not often see wild beasts fighting one another and then making peace? Look at them, and “seek peace” (they are not my words but those of the Holy Spirit) “and ensue it,” that is, run behind it, overtake it, stop the common sufferings, and the tears, and the groans, and the curses which all men, Romans and Bulgarians, rich and poor, monks and priests and laymen, utter against you. No one can put the blame on our pious and Christ-loving Emperor, who, since he took his seat on the throne of the Empire, has sought peace and begged for it, and has humbled himself for no other reason than because of the evils of war. Even when victory has come to one party, the victory is often hazardous to the victor; the victor must lose his relatives and friends and familiars, for such are the indiscriminate and confused circumstances of battle. You know what I mean, from what you have suffered yourself: for, even though victory has lain with you, yet you have lost many of your dearest, whose memory even now tears your heart, and your grief for them does not allow you sincerely to enjoy your triumph.

But, to come to the end of this letter: our Christ-loving Emperor, though he is urged on to the expedition against you by the Council and all the state and his generals and his officers, yet in his generosity has yielded to the exhortation of my Humility, and has spoken to me thus: “Father, I seem to be torn between opposites, for the state pulls from one side, and your Arch-priesthood towards yourself. In this circumstance, this is my reply: Write to

ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ χρυσοῦ ποσότητα ἐπιδιδόαμεν, ὅση δυνατὴ καὶ πρέπουσα, καὶ ἱματίων ἀριθμὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον εἰς ἐκείνου διαβαῖνον θερα-  
 130 πείαν πρέπον ἐστὶν ἐμὲ παρασχεῖν· καὶ εἴ γε καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀγαπητόν ἐστὶν τὸ εἰρηνεύειν, ἔχεις ἐτοίμους ἡμᾶς καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν σὴν παραίνε-  
 σιν ἀνανεύοντας.»

Διὰ ταῦτα γράφομέν σοι, δεσμὸν ἐπιβάλλοντες ἐν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, δηλωῶσαι ἡμῖν καὶ χρυσοῦ ποσότητα ὅσην ἐπιζητεῖς  
 135 καὶ ἱματίων ἀριθμὸν ὅσος σοι παρίσταται (πάντως δὲ τὰ πρέποντα τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς σου καὶ τῇ συνέσει καὶ συνδιασκέψῃ καὶ ζητή- D  
 σεως)· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον, ὃ καὶ σὲ πρέπον ἐπιζητεῖν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα παρέχειν ἄξιον, κάκεινο πρόσθετες ἐπὶ τε τῇ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῇ  
 140 σοι παρεχομένων γενοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης, γενοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀγάπης· γενέ-  
 σθωσαν πάλιν Βούλγαροι καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς μίαν ἀδελφικὴν σύμπνοιαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, καὶ καταργηθήτω μὲν ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐχθρας δημιουργός, δοξασθήτω δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ διὰ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ καταλύσας  
 τῆς ἐχθρας τὸ μεσότοιχον καὶ εἰρηνεύσας τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, ἀπολαμβαν-  
 145 νούσης μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς βασιλείας τὴν ἰδίαν κατάσχεσιν, ἐχούσης δὲ τῆς Βουλγαρικῆς ἐξουσίας ἀδεῶς τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ μηκέτι ἀφορμῆς ὑπολιμπανόμενης σκανδάλων, ἀλλὰ βεβαίως εἰρήνης καὶ 196  
 εὐζωτίας ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ἔθνεσι διαμενούσης· ὁ παράσχοι Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, καταργῶν μὲν τὴν τοῦ διαβόλου ἐπήρειαν, ἐφαπλῶν δὲ τὰς  
 150 πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ καὶ σκέπων ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ, ἧς ἔδωκεν τίμημα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν αἷμα τῆς ἀχράντου πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ.

32. Τῷ τὰ πάντα ἁγιωτάτῳ πάπᾳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης Νικόλαος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως περὶ τῆς παραλόγως δεχθείσης τετραγαμίας παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις

Τί γράφομεν, ἀδελφοὶ τιμιώτατοι; Θρήνους ἐφ' οἷς πέπονθεν ἡ  
 5 καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησία ἢ πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαριστίαν οἷς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἠλεήθημεν; Δοξολογίαν καὶ αἴνεσιν ἢ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευὴν καὶ ἐπήρειαν; Μέμψιν

143-144: Ephes. 2.14. || 149-150: Ps. 16.8; 35.8; 60.5; 62.8.

152 subser. τέλος τῶν πρὸς τὸν βούλγαρον ἐπιστολῶν P  
 32: P 150r-160r

my Brother that I offer a sum of gold, as much as is possible and appropriate, and a number of robes of state, and whatever else is for his satisfaction that it is suitable for me to provide. If peace is desirable to him, you find me ready, and I will not reject your exhortation."

I therefore write to you, placing on you a bond in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, that you declare to us both the sum of gold which you require and the number of robes of state that will satisfy you (you will doubtless take advice and ask for what is suitable to the majesty of your rule and to your Wisdom); nay more, if there is anything else which it becomes you to ask and the Emperor's dignity to provide, add that too to the gifts of gold and robes, and you will be awarded this too. And when these are handed over, embrace peace, and your former love. Let Bulgarians and Romans be once more in the way of brotherly sympathy and love, and let the original creator of evil be abolished, and Christ our God glorified, Who by His Cross destroyed the middle wall of enmity, and pacified His world; so may the Roman Empire regain her possessions, and the Bulgarian power retain her own in security and safety, and no occasion of offenses be left behind any more, but firm peace and prosperity dwell in both the nations; which may Christ our God grant, abolishing the malice of the devil, and spreading out His wings, and quietly covering his Inheritance, whose ransom was paid by the Holy and life-giving Blood of His pure Side!

32. To the in all things Most Holy Pope of the Elder Rome, Nicholas Archbishop of Constantinople, concerning the unlooked-for acceptance of fourth marriage by the Romans

What shall I write, most worthy Brothers? Lamentation for the sufferings of our Church, or gratitude to God for His mercies toward us? Shall I write His glory and praise, or of the plot and malice against me? A brotherly

ἀδελφικὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἢ δικαίαν ἐγκλησιν τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν πονηρευσα-  
 μένων καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς | μέμψεις περιστησάντων; Τοιαῦτα γὰρ <ἐξ> B  
 10 ἡμῖν. Ἄλλὰ τὴν μὲν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τὴν αἰνεσιν καὶ τὴν δοξολογίαν  
 τῆς καταλαβούσης διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σκυθρωπότητος  
 διαλελυμένης προσφέρομεν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αἰτίαν ἔχει τὴν σύστασιν τῶν  
 κακῶν, ἃ παραχωρηθέντα γένεσιν λαβεῖν τοῖς θρήνοις καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι  
 15 νηροῖς ἔδωκε τὸ παραναβλαστεῖν. Ὡν ἡ κατὰ μέρος ἐξήγησις εἰς μῆκος  
 προελθεῖν ἀναγκάσει τὸ γράμμα· ὅπερ ὀχληρὸν εἰδότες ποιεῖν μὲν οὐκ  
 ἐβουλόμεθα, τῆς δὲ φύσεως τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκαζούσης γράφομεν ἃ  
 μὴ παριδεῖν ἄξιον. Ἀρξεται δὲ ἡμῖν ὁθεν καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν κακῶν  
 συστάσεως.  
 20 Ἄρτι δὴ τῷ καλῷ καὶ φιλάτῳ μοι βασιλεῖ τρίτης χηρεύσαντι C  
 γυναικὸς ἐπήλθεν, ὡς μὴ ποτε ὄφειλεν, καὶ τετάρτης πρὸς πείραν ἐλθεῖν.  
 Καίτοι ἔδει αὐτὸν τριῶν γυναικῶν θανάτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν διεσπαρῆμενον  
 μὴδ' ὄλωσ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτους ἐλθεῖν λογισμούς. Ἄλλ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἦν μετὰ  
 τῶν χειρόνων ἡ νίκη, καὶ τὰ χεῖρω νενίκηκε· καὶ γεγονῶς ὄλωσ τῆς ἀτό-  
 25 που ταύτης ἐπιθυμίας ἐζήτει καὶ τετάρτην ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα, ὃ μὴδεὶς  
 τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ μὴ ὅτι γε βασιλέων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν εἰς ἐσχάτην τελούντων  
 ἀρχῆς τάξιν ἢ ἀπλῶς τῶν εἰς παλάτιον κατελιγεμένων. Ἐὼ νῦν τὴν  
 ἀπαγόρευσιν τῶν θείων κανόνων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατάκρισιν ὅσην ἀπαι-  
 τήτως κατὰ τῆς | βδελυρᾶς ταύτης ὀρίζουσι συναφείας· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκράτει D  
 30 τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἡ τυραννίς, καὶ ἡ τετάρτη γυνὴ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐφείλετο  
 τὸν πάντα μὲν καλόν, εἰς τοῦτο δὲ κακῶς ὑπαχθέντα βασιλέα. Καὶ πρό-  
 φασις ἐδόκει τὸ τεχθὲν παιδίον· καίτοι ῥάδιον ἦν τὸ μὲν παιδίον ἀναλα-  
 βεῖν, ἐπεὶπερ ἀνθρώπινόν τι παθῶν ἔρωτα παιδὸς εἶχε, τὴν δὲ μητέρα  
 μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐαγῶς ἐγνωσμένην αὐτῷ ἀποπέμψασθαι τῆς ἄλλης μὴ  
 35 στερουμένην θεραπείας, ὅσην ἂν παρέχειν ἐβούλετο· ἐπεὶπερ οὐκ οἶδεν ἢ  
 τεκνογονία τὴν ἄθεσμον μίξιν ποιεῖν θεμιτὴν· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ τινες τῶν  
 ἔγγιστα συγγενῶν, οἷα πολλὰ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, προσφθαρέντες ἀλλήλοις 197  
 ἔτεκνοποίησαν, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνεζεύχθαι συγχωρηθήσονται. Ἄλλ'  
 ἐκεῖνος ἀφορμῆς δραξάμενος τῆς τεκνογονίας, ἀπέρριπτεν εἰ καὶ μὴ  
 40 τρανοὺς λόγους καὶ περὶ τῆς γυναικός· ὡς δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ἑώρα πᾶσαν τὴν  
 καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνισταμένην ἐκκλησίαν (ἐφαίνετο γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα παντελῶς  
 ἀλλότριον τῆς Χριστιανῶν πίστεως, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε πρὸς τὸ τοῦ προσ-

censure to you, or a righteous incrimination of those who worked evil against  
 me and involved you in their censures? Such is my subject, compounded of  
 opposites, though what caused them is now obscure. I offer thanks and  
 praise and glory that the sorrowfulness which through my sins came upon  
 the Church has been dispelled; but of the rest, the cause lay in a conjunction  
 of evils which was permitted to take root, and put forth with them the evil  
 offshoots (as it were) of lamentation and suffering and censure and incrimi-  
 nation. Even a partial exposition of these evils will compel me to write at  
 length: which I shall do with no deliberate intention of being tedious, but  
 simply because the matter of the business compels me to write what must  
 not be omitted. Let us begin at the beginning of this conjunction of evils.

A short while after the good Emperor, most dear to me, was widowed  
 for the third time, it occurred to him, as it never should have done, to make  
 trial of a fourth wife; although such thoughts should never have visited one  
 whose heart was torn by grief for the death of three wives. But, it seems, the  
 victory lay with the worse course, and the worse course prevailed; and he,  
 wholly occupied by this unseemly desire, sought to marry a fourth wife,  
 something never *done* before him by any—not only of emperors, but even  
 of the humblest of the ruling class, or merely of palace officials. I pass over for  
 the moment the prohibition of the sacred canons, and all the condemnation  
 which they unavoidably denounce against this filthy connection: yet the  
 tyranny of his desire prevailed, and the fourth wife allured to herself the in  
 all ways good, but, in this, evilly persuaded Emperor. The excuse seemed to  
 be the son that been born to him; though it would have been easy to adopt  
 the child, since, as is only human, he wanted a son, and dismiss the mother,  
 with whom from the first his connection had been illicit, together with  
 whatever provision he cared to bestow on her. The mere procreation of  
 children cannot suffice to legalize an illegal copulation: if nearest relatives  
 (as often happens in human affairs) debauch one another and beget children,  
 they are not on that account permitted to marry. He, however, seizing on  
 the argument of the child's birth, began to drop some dark hints about the  
 wife. But when he saw that in this he had the whole of our Church against  
 him—for the proposal appeared to be absolutely contrary to the Christian

8 ἐξ P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup> || 14 παραβλαστήμασι P<sup>x</sup>: -ματα P<sup>1</sup> || 23 ἦν Vat.: ἦν P || 25-27 desid.  
 τετόλμηκεν vel sim. || 27 κατελιγεμένων Vat.: -ον P



ὅπου μέγεθος ἴδοιεν) μικρὸν ὑπεδίδου, καὶ ὡσπερ ἐλπίδας ἐλαμβάνομεν τοῦ τὸ κακὸν μὴ νικήσειν.

45 Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τοῦ παιδός· ἤρσεκε γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ ἱερεῦσι μὴδὲ βαπτίζειν ἡμᾶς τὸ παιδίον, καὶ μάλιστα ὡς ὁ πάτηρ ἐπεζήτηι, σὺν τιμῇ βασιλικῇ, μὴ πρότερον λαβόντας ὑπόσχεσιν ὡς ἀποστήσεται τῆς γυναικός. Καὶ τούτου πολλάκις ῥηθέντος κρύπτει τὸ βούλημα τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ χεῖλεσι πληροφορίαν δοὺς ἔνορκον  
50 ὡς | ἀποβέβληκε τὴν γυναῖκα, τυγχάνει τῆς περι τὸν παῖδα ἐφέσεως, καὶ B ὡσπερ ἦν ἀγαπητὸν αὐτῷ ἐβαπτίζετο. Ἄλλὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκούοιτε. Οὐπὼ τρίτη ἐκ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἡμέρα διεληλύθει, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις εἰσήγετο βασιλικῶς δορυφορουμένη καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς τὴν βασιλέως γαμετήν, τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ὄρκων οὐς ἐπεποιήτο  
55 διαβεβαιούμενος ἀπηλλάχθαι αὐτῆς εἰς ἀέρα διαλυθέντων, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς μέγα κακὸν [τῆς] κορυφωθέντων. Ἦδη γὰρ οὐκέτι λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἔργοις τὰ περι τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκράτει, τελουμένου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ὡς ἐνομίζετο γάμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στέφους τῇ γυναικί περιτιθεμένου, μὴθ' ἡμῶν τὴν νενομισμένην ἱερολογίαν ἐπιτελεσάντων μὴτ' ἄλλου τινὸς  
60 ἀρχιερέως, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ βασιλέως χρηματίζοντος αὐτῇ | ὅσα ἐβούλετο, καὶ C νυμφίου καὶ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ στέφει ποιούντος ἱερολογίαν καὶ στέφοντος. Καὶ ταῦτα ἐγένετο· καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, οὐ μόνον τὸ ἀρχιερατικὸν καὶ ἱερατικὸν πλῆθος, ὡσπερ ὅλης ἀνατετραμμένης τῆς πίστεως, συντετάρρακτο.

65 Τί οὖν ἔδει με ποιεῖν; Ἦρμεῖν καὶ καθεῦδειν, ἢ ὅσα ἦν εἰκὸς τὸν φίλον, τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καταστάσεως μεριμνῶντα φρονεῖν τε καὶ πράττειν; Τοῦτο ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν σὺν θεῷ. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν παρηνοῦμεν κυβερνήτας ὄντας μὴ τὰ τῶν ἀκυβερνήτων πάσχειν, ἀλλὰ μακροθύμως τὸ συνενεχθὲν φέρειν μετὰ  
70 τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν ἐλπίδος. Τοῦ δὲ τῶν γονάτων ἠπτόμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ποδῶν, ἐδεόμην, παρήνουν ὡς φίλον, ἐδυσώπου ὡς βασιλέα, καὶ μὴ | πάντα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἔλεγον χαρίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐνοεῖν ὅτι ἐστὶν ὁ ὑπεράνω τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ καθήμενος, ὁ κενώσας ὑπὲρ D τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ ἀχραντὸν αἶμα. Προσετίθουν καὶ ταῦτα· «Ἐδει, τέκνον  
75 ἐμὸν καὶ βασιλεῦ, φιλόθεόν σε ὄντα καὶ δεδοξασμένον ὑπὸ θεοῦ μᾶλλον σοφία καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ, τοῖς τρισὶν ἀρχιεσθῆναι γάμοις. Τάχα γὰρ καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἀνάξιος ἦν τῆς σῆς βασιλείας· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἔχει συγγνώμην ἵσως τὰ πρὸς τὸν Φράγκον σύμφωνα, διότι συμπεφωνημένον ἦν ὑπὸ σοῦ τὴν σὴν θυγατέρα, ἦν μόνην ἐκέκτησο, νύμφην ἀποστέλλειν αὐτῷ (ἦν δὲ ὁ

faith, especially in regard to the importance of the party involved—he gave way a little, and we had some hope that the evil would not be victorious.

But this was before the baptism of the boy: for all the archpriests and priests resolved that I should not even baptize the child, far less with the imperial honors demanded by his father, unless I obtained his promise in advance that he would renounce the woman. This was told him many times over; but he hid the design of his heart, and by giving a verbal assurance, on oath, that he had rejected the woman, he obtained his desire regarding the boy, who was baptized in the manner he wished. But hear what followed. The third day after the baptism was not past when the mother was introduced into the palace with an escort of imperial guards, just like an emperor's wife; and those promises and oaths which he had made in assurance that he was rid of her were dissolved in thin air, or rather culminated in mighty evil. For now not in word only but in very deed the plan concerning the wife prevailed, and the imperial marriage ceremony was—as was thought—celebrated: the very crown was set on the woman's head, though neither I nor any other archpriest had made the accustomed prayer, the Emperor himself serving her, as he saw fit, both as bridegroom and archpriest, uttering the prayer over the crown and crowning her with it. This was what happened; and the whole City, not just the archpriestly and priestly body, was in uproar, as though the whole faith had been subverted.

What then was I to do? Be silent and sleep? Or devise and do what became a friend, who had his Emperor's honor and the Church's order at heart? This was my struggle, with God's aid. Those that were pilots I exhorted not to behave as though without a helm, but to bear the disaster with long-suffering and with good hope in Christ our God. As for him, I embraced his knees, and even his feet; I prayed, I exhorted him as my friend; I entreated him as my Emperor; and said he should not carry everything by his authority, but should realize that there is One Who is enthroned above his state, One Who emptied out His pure Blood for the Church's sake. I went on: "You ought (my Son and Emperor), you who love God and have been glorified by Him with wisdom especially and with other virtues besides, to be content with your three marriages. Even the third was perhaps unworthy of your Majesty. But that perhaps found its excuse in the treaty made with the Frank, because it was agreed by you that your only daughter should be sent



80 τῆς Βέρτας ἀνεψιός, ᾧ συνέπεσε δυστυχῆσαι οἷα δεδυστύχηκεν), καὶ ἐπειδὴ συμπεφώνητο τὴν σὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς τὴν Φραγκίαν ἀπιέναι, δεῖ δὲ γυναῖκα τῷ | παλατίῳ προσεῖναι τὴν διοικοῦσαν τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα τῶν 200 σῶν ἀρχόντων ταῖς γυναῖξιν, ἔστιν συγχώρησις τῷ τρίτῳ, τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐκδίδοσθαι μελλούσης· πλὴν ὅτι καὶ ἱεροὶ κανόνες τὸν τρίτον οὐκ ἀποβάλλουσι παντελῶς, ἀλλὰ συγχωροῦσιν, εἰ καὶ ὡς ῥύπον' παρορώντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας'. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου, καὶ ὁ τοῖς Ἀγαρηνοῖς γνώριμον, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ διαίρεσιν γυναικῶν, τίς ἀπολογία; Ἐπὶ ποίαν δὲ καταφευξόμεθα πρόφασιν, μάλιστα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς σῆς δόξης τοῦ μιάσματος ἐξεταζομένου; Βασιλεὺς', φασίν, ἄγραφος νόμος', οὐχ ἵνα παρανομῆ

90 καὶ πράττη ἀπλῶς τὰ δοκοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὥστε τοιοῦτον εἶναι διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀγράφων οἷος ὁ νόμος ὁ ἔγγραφος. Εἰ γὰρ βασιλεὺς τῶν νόμων ἐχθρὸς καὶ πολέμιος, τίς τοὺς νόμους φοβήσεται; Ἡ οὐχὶ τοῦτο Β ἀκόλουθον, τὸ πρὸς οὐς ἂν ὁ ἄρχων ἐχθρῶς ἔχη καὶ πολεμίας, πρὸς τούτους καὶ τὸ ὑποχείριον τὴν ὁμοίαν φυλάσσειν διάθεσιν, κἂν μηδεὶς

95 ὁ βιαζόμενος ᾗ; Ὅτε δὲ καὶ βία, καὶ μάλιστα φύσεως, πῶς οὐχὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ φρόνημα ὑπενεχθήσονται, πρὸς ὃ καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τὴν ῥοπήν ἔχει;»

Ἔλεγον καὶ ταῦτα: «Ἐννοεῖ μοι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ ὅτι ἀστὲρι μὲν ὑποδραμόντος τινὸς σκιάσματος οὐδὲν τὸ γινόμενον, 100 ἡλίου δὲ τοῦτο παθόντος σκυθρωπάζειν ἀνάγκη τὸν κόσμον.» Προσετίθουν καὶ ὅτι «Γῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν | ῥυπανθέντων, ἢ λανθάνει ὁ ῥύπος, ἢ κἂν μὴ λανθάνη, οὐδὲν μέγα εἰς αἰσχύνην· τοῦ δὲ προσώπου ἐρρυπωμένου τυγχάνοντος οὐδὲν εὐρίσκεται τῆς αἰσχύνης παραμύθιον. Πρόσωπον εἶ τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ θεοῦ κληρονομίας, μᾶλλον δὲ κορυφή· μὴ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καταισχύνῃς καὶ ποιήσῃς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς 105 ἀπίστοις αἰσχύνεσθαι διὰ τοῦ κατὰ τῆς σῆς δόξης καὶ σεμνότητος ἀφορμὴν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν πονηρᾶς ἐπιλήψεως.»

Ἔλεγον ταῦτα καὶ πλεῖστα ἕτερα, ὧν ἡ μνήμη καὶ πρόσθεσις περιττή· πλὴν ἔλεγον, ἐδυσώπουν, ἐκέτευον. Καὶ ἐπέειπερ ἐώρων τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἠττωμένους τῆς ἐκείνου βουλήσεως, ἐστρεφόμεν ἔφ' ἕτερα τοιαῦτα λέγων· «Ἐπέειπερ, ὦ βασιλεῦ καὶ τέκνον, ἅπαξ τῷ κράτει σου ἔδοξε καὶ τετάρτη γυναικὶ συνῆφθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀναλογίζῃ τὸ | ἄτοπον, D δέξαι φίλου καὶ πατρὸς ὑπερφλοῦντός σε τέως γοῦν ταύτην τὴν συμβου-

to him as his bride" (he was the nephew of Bertha, the one who fell into the misfortune you know of), "and since it was agreed that your daughter should go to Francia, and since there must be a Lady in the Palace to manage ceremonies affecting the wives of your nobles, there is condonation of the third marriage, because your daughter was to be given away. Moreover, the sacred canons do not wholly reject the third marriage, but condone it, even though averting their eyes—as it were—from a 'smear on the Church.' But for a fourth marriage, in which the Saracens indulge (though without succession of wives), what defense is there? In what excuse shall we take refuge, especially when the pollution is examined with respect to the greatness of your glory? The emperor, they say, is 'an unwritten law,' not so that he may break laws and do whatever he pleases, but so that he may be such in his unauthorized actions as a written law would be. If the emperor is the enemy and opponent of the laws, who shall fear those laws? Does it not follow that, if the ruler puts himself in enmity and opposition to them, then the subject will be of a like disposition toward them, even without compulsion of any kind? But where there is force also, especially the force of natural inclination, must not the mind of the subject necessarily be seduced in the direction toward which the ruler has thrown his weight?"

I also said: "Pray consider the sun and the stars. If a star be occluded by a shadow, it is nothing; but if this happens to the sun, the world must be darkened." I added: "If the other members of the body are dirtied, the dirt is either hidden, or else, if not hidden, is not very disgraceful. But if the face is filthy, there is no palliation of the disgrace. You are the face of the great Inheritance of God, or rather its top: do not disgrace the Body of Christ, and shame It among the infidel, by giving them an occasion of evil reprehension against your glory and dignity!"

This I said, and much more which it is superfluous to recall or append. I spoke, I entreated, I supplicated. But when I saw that these arguments were defeated by his will, I turned to others, and I said: «Since (my Emperor and Son) your Majesty has made up your mind once for all to be joined to a fourth wife, without regard to the scandal of it, receive at least this provisional advice from a friend and father who loves you beyond measure. Let the

84-86: Basil., Ep. 199, can. 50, PG 32,732C4-5. || 89: Themist., Or. 16, p. 304.3 Downey.

81 συμπεφώνητο Wk: -ται P || 85 συγχωροῦσιν Vat.: συγχώρησιν P (συγχώρησιν <παρέχουσιν> propr. Jk) || 87 μὴ κατὰ διαίρεσιν Mai: καταμηδιαίρεσιν P || 105 καταισχύνῃς Vat.: -εις P || ποιήσῃς Mai: -εις P

λήν· ἔστω ἡ γυνὴ ἰδίως διάγουσα καὶ μὴ συνοικοῦσα τῷ κράτει σου, καὶ  
 115 προσκληθῆτωσαν τῆς τε πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχιερα-  
 τικῶν θρόνων ἄνδρες καὶ ἀρχιερωσύνη τετιμημένοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς  
 σεμνύνεται ἀρχιερωσύνη, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς <ἡμῶν> ἐνουμένων κοινῇ ἐπι-  
 κρίσει καὶ γνώμῃ, ἐπειπερ οὕτω σοι παρίσταται, ἴσως γίνεται τὸ ζητού-  
 120 ὁ τάραχος.» Ταῦτα δὲ τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὀρυκτοῦ ἀνα-  
 κρούων ὁ λόγος τέως διωκονόμενι, ἐλπίδος οὐσης ὡς πάντως τελουμένης  
 συνόδου αἰδεσθήσεται ταύτης τὴν ἀπαγόρευσιν τῆς ἀτόπου καὶ ἀθέσμου  
 συζεύξεως. Ἄλλ' ἦν πάντα κωφὰ τὰ | λαλούμενα, τὴν γὰρ ἀκοὴν ἀπέ- 201  
 κλεισε πᾶσι, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὴν καρδίαν, ἢ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα  
 125 ῥοπή, καὶ ταύτης ἔλεγε μὴ ὅτι γε μέχρι συνελύσεως συνοδικῆς, ἀλλ'  
 οὐδὲ μιᾶ διαχωρίζεσθαι ἡμέρα, ἀλλ' εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ ταύτην οἷα δὴ γαμετὴν  
 γνησίαν καὶ τιμωμένην ὡς βασιλίδα, καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἡ σύνοδος τελεσθῆ  
 κυρώσειν αὐτῷ τὰ δοκοῦντα.

Παρήσαν οἱ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης μετὰ μῆνα ὄγδοον ἢ ἑνατον  
 130 τῆς συναφείας τῆς γυναικός, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπέρδεινον πάσῃ τῇ καθ'  
 ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίᾳ. Προπεφήμιστο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ὡς ἄγοι Ῥω-  
 μαίους ἐπιτρέφοντας αὐτῷ τὸν γάμον. Καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλε βαρέως  
 φέρειν ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησία τούτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπερικαλύπτως λεγο-  
 μένων, | ὡς τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα παρ' οὐδὲν τίθεται, τὴν δ' ἡμῶν ὀφειλομένην B  
 135 τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπαρχίας διοίκησιν κατὰ τὰς τεθειμένας ἀνωθεν καὶ ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ἱερὰς διατάξεις ἐτέροις ἐπιτρέπει, καὶ τότε περὶ πράγματος ἀπη-  
 γορευμένου τοῖς κανόσιν ὑπάρχοντος καὶ κατακρίτου; Ποῦ γὰρ θεμιτόν,  
 ποῦ δὲ τῇ καταστάσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρέπον, ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐξωθεῖσθαι τῆς  
 παρὰ θεοῦ δεδομένης ἐξουσίας, ἐτέρους δὲ διοικεῖν ἢ οὐδ' ἡμῶν δυνατὸν  
 140 διὰ τὴν τῶν κανόνων ἀπαγόρευσιν ἐπιτελεῖν; Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔλεγεν ἦκειν  
 ὑφ' ὧν δεήσει αὐτὸν λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, κἂν μηδαμόθεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦτο  
 κανονικῇ ἐπιτροπῇ. Οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν δὲ ὡς ἐλογοποιήθη καθ' ἡμῶν ὅτι  
 μὴ βεβουλήμεθα ἐξ ὑπερηφάνου γνώμης πρὸς ὅψιν καταστῆναι μηδ'  
 εἰς λόγους συνελθεῖν τοῖς τότε παραγενομένοις Ῥωμαίοις· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὸ C  
 145 μάρτυρι φημι θεῷ, παρ' ᾧ καὶ νῦν ὁ λογοποιήσας παρέστηκεν καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 τυχὸν μὲν σήμερον, τυχὸν δὲ αὔριον παρεστήξομεν, ὡς ἔλεγον αὐτῷ  
 δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀρχιερεῖς τὴν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 προσομιλίαν καὶ παντελῶς ἀποτρέπειν, προτεθορυβημένους ὄντας «τοῖς  
 ὑπὸ σοῦ πολλάκις εἰρημένοις, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι δώσουσι τὸ ζητούμενόν σοι,  
 150 κἂν μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἐθέλοι διδόναι. Διὰ ταῦτα εἰσηγοῦμαί σοι τὴν ἐν τῷ

woman live privately, and not in cohabitation with your Majesty; and let  
 there be summoned, from Old Rome and from the other archpriestly sees,  
 men honored with the rank of archpriests, and with other honors such as dignify  
 their archpriesthood; and if *we* join with them in a common judgment and  
 decision, then perhaps, since your mind is set on it, your desire will be granted.  
 Otherwise, to this evil will be joined a worse, the tumult of the Church.”  
 Such was the temporary solution I spoke of, in an effort to repress the  
 violence of the assault on the Church: for I hoped that, when the synod had  
 met, he would certainly respect its prohibition of this scandalous and illegal  
 union. But he was deaf to all my speeches; his passion for the woman had  
 stopped his ears to everything, and his heart even before his ears. He said  
 that he should not be separated from her a single day, let alone until the  
 synod met; but that she should be with him as his lawful wedded wife,  
 and honored as an empress; and that when the synod met, it would ratify  
 his decisions.

The delegates of Old Rome arrived, eight or nine months after his  
 union with the woman. It was a frightful affair for the whole of our Church.  
 It had been rumored in advance, by the Emperor himself, that he was  
 bringing Romans who would permit his marriage. It was natural that our  
 Church should be deeply incensed when he said openly that he had no regard  
 to my position and that he was entrusting others with the administration of  
 my diocese, which was my due according to the holy ordinances established  
 by Heaven from the beginning—and this, over an action forbidden and  
 condemned by the canons! How could it be lawful, how could it conform to  
 the order of the Church, that I should be expelled from the authority con-  
 ferred on me by God, and that others should arrange what I myself could not  
 effect because of the prohibition of the canons? But he said, those were  
 coming by whom he must be granted his desire, though no canonical sanction  
 could be found for it anywhere. I know very well that it was slanderously  
 said of me that in my arrogance I refused to meet or discuss with the Romans  
 who had then arrived. My witness is God, before Whom that slanderer stands  
 even now, and I shall stand myself today or tomorrow, that I said to him  
 that our archpriests objected to joint discussion with the Romans, and  
 altogether refused, “because they have been terrified in advance by what  
 you have often said to them, that the Romans will give you what you want

παλατίῳ πρόσκλησιν ποιήσασθαι αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν, ὥστε κατενώπιόν σου ἐνωθέντας ἡμᾶς καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ περιπτύξασθαι καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν.»

Ἄλλ' ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρὸς ἓν μόνον ὄρον τὴν ἡμῶν ἐκδίωξιν, καὶ  
 155 διὰ πάντων συνέλεγεν ἀφορμὰς | ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τὸ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν κενῶσαι D  
 πικρίαν. Οὐδαμῶς οὖν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατένευσεν, οὐδ' ἐβούλετο εἰσελ-  
 θόντας ἡμᾶς τε κἀκείνους ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἀλλήλους συνομιλῆσαι· καὶ  
 ἦν οὕτως ἐν μετεώρῳ ἢ καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ μελετωμένη ἐπιβουλὴ, ἐπεὶ  
 τέως ἐν ἦν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ μηδεὶς μῆτε ἀρχιερεὺς μῆτε  
 160 ἱερεὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπήκτο μηδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου γεγόνει μοίρας. Ὡς δὲ κατ'  
 ὀλίγον δώροις, ἐπαγγελίαις ἀξιωματῶν ἐκείνων αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπαγομένων  
 καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων, ἡμῶν μὲν ἀπέσπασεν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ  
 προσήνησε τοὺς πεισθέντας, καὶ ὡσπερ δύναμιν τινα ἰδίαν προσεκτῆσατο,  
 τότε καὶ τὸ κρυφῆ μελετώμενον εἰς φῶς προάγει. Προσκαλεῖται τοίνυν  
 165 ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ὡς δῆθεν συνεορτάσσοντας καὶ συνεστια|σομένους 204  
 (ἦν γὰρ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος ἑορτὴ Τρύφωνος, ἥτις αὐτῷ ἐπανη-  
 γυρίζετο), καὶ κοινῆς μετασχόντας τραπέζης ὡς εἶχεν εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβα-  
 λῶν ἐρήμους πάσης θεραπείας ὑπερορίους καθίστησιν, μῆτε χιτωνίσκον  
 μῆτε στρωμνῆς τι μέρος, μὴ βιβλίον, μηδὲνα τῶν εἰς παραμύθιον ἐσομέ-  
 170 νων συγχωρήσας ἀκολουθῆσαι ἄνθρωπον, πλὴν σὺν δυσὶν ἀγραμμάτοις,  
 ἀγλώττοις, μικροῦ μηδὲ ἑαυτῶν ἐπαισθανομένων, εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν  
 ἐκπέμψας. Πῶς ἂν τὰ λοιπὰ διηγῆσωμαι, τὴν πῆξιν τοῦ κρυμοῦ, τὴν  
 στενοχωρίαν, τὴν τῶν φυλάκων βίαν; Εἶφη γὰρ καὶ τόξα καὶ θυροὶ ὡς  
 πολεμίους, οὐχ ὡς ἄθλιον περιστοιχίζον ἀρχιερέα, μηδ' ἀέρα συγχωρού-  
 175 μενον ὄραν, μὴ ὅτι γε ἄνθρωπον, ἐν μέσοις ἀχύροις κατακεκλιμένον τῇ  
 ἀπορίᾳ τῆς στρωμνῆς. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσον ἀρχιερατικὸν B  
 σύστημα τὰ βελτίω περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐφρόνου, καὶ οὗτοι ἐν εἰρκταῖς,  
 ἐν ὑπερορίαις, ἐν λιμῷ καὶ δίψῃ, πάσης ἔρημοι παραμυθίας συγγενῶν,  
 φίλων, συνέχοντο ταλαιπωρούμενοι, μηδὲ προκύψαι τῆς φρουρᾶς παρα-  
 180 χωρούμενοι ἐν ἧ ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι ὡς ὑπεύθυνοι κατακέκριντο.

Καὶ οἱ πρὸς κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπεσταλμένοι Ῥωμαῖοι  
 παρόντες ἐνταῦθα, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἦκοντες ἐκ Ῥώμης τοῦ  
 πόλεμον ἄρασθαι καθ' ἡμῶν, ἐκύρου ἐξορίαν μηδὲν μῆτε πολυπραγμο-  
 νήσαντες μῆτε μαθεῖν βουλευθέντες παρ' ἡμῶν· καίτοι γε κἂν μηδεὶς ἄλ-  
 185 λος, αὐτοὺς ἔδει τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀντεχομένους προνομίου ἐκκλησιαστικῆς  
 ὑπεροχῆς, καὶ μάλιστα μέλλοντας ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπαίρειν καὶ τῶν  
 πραγμάτων ἔσεσθαι ἀγγέλους, καὶ ὀφείλοντας διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἰδεῖν, εἰ

even if nobody else will. For this reason I suggest that you should invite both them and me to the Palace, and when we are all together in your presence, I can see and embrace them, and hear what they have to say."

But the man was aiming at one thing only, my expulsion, and was continually collecting occasions for venting his bitterness against me. He would therefore by no means assent even to this, and allow me and them to enter the Palace and talk to one another: and thus the plot devised by him against me was poised over my head. For, up till that time, the opinion of the Church had been unanimous and no one, whether archpriest or priest, had been drawn away to him or taken sides with him. But when, gradually, by bribes and promises of dignities, to those whom he was seducing and to their relatives and friends, he had detached from me those so persuaded and had attached them to himself and had thus acquired, so to say, a power of his own, then he brought his secret design into the light of day. He invited me into the Palace, supposedly to celebrate and dine with him: for it was the festival of the holy and great martyr Tryphon which he was celebrating. And, when I had sat at table with him, on a sudden he cast me on board ship quite unattended, and sent me into exile, allowing me neither a shirt, nor a piece of mattress, nor a book, nor to be waited on by a single servant of those who could have comforted me; but, in the company of two illiterate, tongue-tied fellows, nearly insensible of their own existence, he sent me forth into exile. How shall I tell the rest? the freezing cold, the confinement, the violence of the gaolers? For swords and bows and shields encompassed me as though I had been a man of war and not a miserable Archpriest, one not permitted to draw breath, let alone a human being who lay in the midst of straw for want of a mattress! And not I only, but as many of the archpriestly body as chose the better counsels concerning the Church were also afflicted and distressed, in bonds, in exile, in hunger and thirst, deprived of all solace of relations and friends, and forbidden even to peep out of the confinement in which they were condemned to suffer like criminals.

And those Romans who had been sent to settle matters arrived here, and, as though they had come from Rome with the very same purpose of declaring war on me, they confirmed my exile, not bothering their heads or wishing to learn anything at all from me: although they, if no one else, should have done so, since they claim as their prerogative the primacy in the Church, and especially since they were to go back to you and report on the circumstances, and ought therefore, even if they refused to see me, to have

καὶ μὴ ἡμᾶς ἐβούλοντο, ἀλλὰ τινὰ τῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν συγκινδυνεύοντων, C  
καὶ πυθέσθαι καὶ μαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, ἵν' ἔχοιεν ἀκριβῆ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
190 ἀγγελίαν ποιεῖσθαι. Ἄλλ' ὅμως τοιαῦτα πάσχοντος ἀρχιερέως δι' οὐδὲν  
ἕτερον ἢ ὅτι βδέλυγμα πορνείας μὴ συνεχώρει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, μᾶλλον  
δὲ τὸ κοινὸν πλήρωμα τῶν Χριστιανῶν καθυβρίζειν, ἐκδιωχθέντος καὶ  
τοσοῦτον ζωῆς ἀπολαύοντος ὡς εἶναι τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ ἢ τὸ ζῆν αἰρε-  
τώτερον, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκδικεῖν, ἀντὶ τοῦ προστῆναι, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης  
195 ἀντέχεσθαι, εἴλοντο συντυραννεῖν τοῖς τετυραννηκόσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ μετὰ  
τῶν βιασαμένων συντετάχθαι, καὶ συνεπιψηφίζονται τῇ καθ' ἡμῶν  
τυραννίδι, οὐκ οἶδα τί παθόντες· οὐ γὰρ βούλομαι εἰπεῖν ὅτι αὐτοὶ προτυ-  
ραννηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς κραταιᾶς τοῦ χρυσοῦ τυραννίδος. | Καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτον D  
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφορήσαντες ψεύδους καὶ ἀπάτης  
200 ὄχλον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤκουσι κατηγοροὶ πραγμάτων ὄντες ἃ ἤδεσαν ἀσφαλῶς  
μήτε γεγονότα μηδ' ὅλως ὄντα, μόνα δὲ ἀναπλάσματα πονηρᾶς καρδίας  
καὶ τῷ χρυσῷ ἐξηνδραποδισμένης. Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως φορητόν,  
ἄνδρας δύο ἢ καὶ τρεῖς ἀπατηθῆναι, τυχὸν μὲν ὑπὸ λογοποιίας πονηρᾶς,  
ὑπὸ γλώσσης αὐτόνομου καὶ μὴ δειλιώσης πλάττειν ἀπ' ἐξουσίας, ἢ ὑπὸ  
205 ἄλλης τινὸς αἰτίας· τὸ δὲ ὅλην ἐκκλησίαν ὑπαχθῆναι ψευδέσι λόγοις,  
μηδὲν ἕτερον εἰς σύστασιν κεκτημένοις ἢ τὴν κοσμικὴν ματαιότητα, πῶς  
ἂν τις οὐχ ὑπερεκπλαγεῖ; Τίς οὖν ἀκοή τοιαύτην παρέλαβε κρίσιν ὅποιαν  
ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησία, ὡς φασιν οἱ | ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει πλή- 205  
ρωμα δοκοῦντες ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἐξήνεγκεν καθ'  
210 ἡμῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ἀφορμὴν μέμφεως καθ' ἑαυτῶν; Καὶ μὴ δόξη ἐπα-  
χθὲς ὑμῖν τὸ εἰρημένον· μεμπτὰ γὰρ τὰ μὴ καλὰ, καὶ κἂν ὁ λόγος σιγήσῃ,  
τὰ πράγματα φέρει τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐξ αὐτῶν.

Ἄλλὰ πρῶτον τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν ψευδολογίας, καὶ οἷα ἐπ' αὐταῖς  
ἐκρίνατε, καλῶς ἔχει παραστῆσαι ὑμῖν, εἴτα ὅσα κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῇ  
215 αὐθεντικῇ ὑπουργήσατε οἰκονομία. Λίβελλοι καθ' ἡμῶν ἐκομίσθησαν,  
καὶ εἴτε ἀληθεῖς ἦσαν εἴτε ψευδεῖς, λόγος οὐδεὶς· πῶς γὰρ λόγος, ὅτε  
ζήτησις ἀπολογίας τῶν κατηγορουμένων οὐκ ἔστι; Καίτοι νενόμισται  
καὶ βαρβάρους καὶ ἀνόμους μηδένα κατακρίνειν τῶν κατηγορουμένων, εἰ  
μὴ πρότερον παραστάς ὁ διωκόμενος τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὑπέξει τῶν κατη-  
220 γορημάτων. Ἄλλὰ καὶ Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν φονόντων κατ' αὐτοῦ τῶν  
παρανόμων Ἰουδαίων τὴν ἄνομον | ὑπέστη κατάκρισιν παραστάς τῷ B  
συνεδρίῳ καὶ ἀπαιτηθεὶς ἀποκρίνασθαι. Ἡ δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, κρί-  
σις <ἦν> καὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀποφαίνετε Ῥώμην, καὶ ἄλλα  
διαπράττεται ὅσα ἐγὼ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὐ προαιροῦμαι, ὁ μέλλων δὲ οὐ

seen one of those who was with me in peril, and have enquired and learned  
accurately, so as to be able to make an accurate report to you. Nevertheless,  
though an Archpriest was so afflicted, and though cast out for no other reason  
than that he refused to allow the Church, and indeed the general body of  
Christians, to be insulted by the stench of fornication, and though he was  
enduring such a life as made death seem preferable to him, yet, instead of  
vindicating him, instead of taking his part, instead of insisting on justice,  
they chose to join with the tyrants who had tyrannized over me, and to  
range themselves with those who had done me violence. Yes, they lent their  
support to the tyranny practiced against me (I cannot say from what motive:  
for I am reluctant to state that they themselves had previously been practiced  
upon by the powerful tyranny of gold), and not only so, but they also col-  
lected from my enemies a rabble of lies and deceit, and came to you to accuse  
me of things which they knew for certain had never happened and did not  
exist at all, but were simply the fabrication of an evil heart enslaved by gold.  
But perhaps it might have been borne if two or three men had been deceived,  
perhaps by evil slander, or by some self-willed party who did not shrink  
from forgery at the behest of authority, or by some other cause. But how  
can we not be beyond amazement that the whole Church should have been  
seduced by lies having no other support but the vanity of this world? What  
ear ever received such a judgment as that which the Church of the Romans,  
as was said by those in Constantinople who purported to be a complement of  
the Church, passed against me in those days; though it was rather a ground  
of censure against themselves? Do not be angry at what I have said: what  
is not well must be censured, and even if no word is spoken, the events carry  
their own condemnation with them.

But first I had better represent to you the lies that were told against  
me and the judgments you formed upon them; and then the evils you have  
promoted in the Church by your authoritative dispensation. Libels against  
me were brought to you, and whether they were true or false is no matter:  
how can it matter, when there was no demand for a defense against the  
charges? And yet it is the practice even among barbarians and lawless  
peoples to convict no one on charges laid against him unless the accused has  
been brought up and pleaded his defense to them. Even Christ our God, when  
the lawless Jews shouted against Him, received His unlawful condemnation  
only after being brought before the Sanhedrin and asked for His defense.  
But the judgment passed by you, Brothers, both here and in your own Rome,  
leads to further consequences, of which I do not choose to speak, but which

225 σιγήσει ἀπαγγέλλων χρόνος, ἐπειπερ δυνατώτερος πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ περινοίας καὶ δυνάμεως.

“Ὁμως τὸ ἡμέτερον παρὰ φαῦλον κείσθω. Τί γάρ, εἰ ἄνθρωπος ἐλευνός, καὶ τυχὸν οὐδὲ ἀναπνεῖν ἄξιός τὸν ἀέρα, ἐκδιώκομαι θρόνου καὶ ὑπερορία καταδικάζομαι, ἵνα τοὺς καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀπολείπω θανάτους; 230 Ἀλλὰ τέως τὴν τιμὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς πίστεως, τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων τὸ σεβασμιον, τὴν ἀνωθεν ἱεράν παράδοσιν, πῶς οὐκ ἐδυσωπήθητε, πῶς οὐκ ἐλογίσασθε; Ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἶδα ποία χρώμενοι ἐξουσία, ἢ πόθεν αὐτὴν λαβόντες, πορνείαν εἰς τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν εἰσηγάγετε ἅγια, καὶ οὐκ ἤβουλήθητε λαβεῖν ἐπὶ νοῦν ὡς εὐθέως καὶ κατ’ ἀρχὰς τοῦ 235 κηρύγματος τοῦτο τοῖς θείοις παρηγγύηται ἀποστόλοις, τὸ πορνείας ἀπέχεσθαι, ὅτε περὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ καὶ εἰδωλοθύτου ἀπέστελλον. Καὶ τοῦ σκεύους δὲ τῆς ἐκλογῆς ὅσας ἐστὶν παρακελεύσεις λαβεῖν περὶ τοῦ μὴ πορνεία συμφύρεσθαι, τίς ἠγνόηκε, μὴ ὅτι τῶν εἰς κλῆρον ἀριθμουμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς λαϊκῆς πληθῆος, εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις παντάπασιν ἀλλότριος 240 ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου λογίων ἀνήκοος; Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ παρατίθημι τὰ περὶ πορνείας αὐτῷ εἰρημένα, ἵνα μὴ περιττὸς εἶναι δόξω, δηλῶν ἂ μὴδ’ ὄντινα | λέληθεν. Πῶς οὖν τοῦ τῆς πορνείας ἄγους κατακεκριμένου D παρὰ πάντων, Ῥωμαίοις ἔδοξε, διότι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀκολουθοῦντες τῇ κρίσει τῶν ἀποστόλων, τῇ ψήφῳ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν 245 κατὰχρῃσιν τὸ πρᾶγμα πεποιήμεθα, νομίζειν ἡμᾶς ὑπευθύνους καὶ τοῦ ποιμνίου διώκεσθαι καὶ πάσχειν τὰ τῶν κακούργων;

Ναί, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ γάμος τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ οὐ πορνεία. Γάμος, ὃ σεμνὲ νυμφαγωγὴ καὶ τιμῶν τὸν γάμον οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα θεῶθεν νόμον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν σὸν οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ γεγραμμένον νόμον, γάμος ἢ 250 πρὸς τετάρτην γυναῖκα δι’ ὑπερβάλλοντα οἷστρον συνάφεια; Ποῦ τὸν γάμον τοῦτον εὐρῶν εἰσάγεις εἰς τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἅγιον ἔθνος, τὸ βασι- 208 λειον ἱεράτευμα; Ποίων εὐαγγελίων, ποίας ἀποστολικῆς διατάξεως, ποίας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν γένος ἐγνώρισται παραδόσεως ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοιαύτης φανείσης; Παῦλος ὁ μέγας φησί· «Τίμιος 255 ὁ γάμος ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος.» Εἰ γάμος οὗτος ὁ σὸς γάμος, τί τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπελαύνουσιν ἱεροὶ θεσμοὶ τὸν εἰς τοιοῦτον περιπεπτωκότα παρανόμημα; Εἰ γάμος τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τῆς τοιαύτης κλήσεως, τί «κτηνώδες καὶ ἀλλότριον φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης» τὴν τοιαύτην ὀνομάζουσι μίξιν, καίτοι γε τῆς ἄλλης ἐνεργουμένης πορνείας τοῦτο αὐτὸ

234-236: Act. 15.29. || 237: Act. 9.15. || 237-238: 1 Cor. 6.18; Ephes. 5.3; Coloss. 3.5; 1 Thess. 4. 3. || 251-252: 1 Petr. 2.9; Exod. 19.6. || 254-255: Hebr. 13.4. || 256-257: Basil., Ep. 188, can. 4, PG 32,673A1-B5. || 258-259: id., Ep. 217, can. 80, PG 32,805A14-B1. || 259-260: cf. id., Ep. 199, can. 26, PG 32,724B14.

the coming time shall loudly declare, since time is stronger than any device and power of man.

However, my own case may be set aside as of little importance. What does it matter if a miserable man, probably unworthy to breathe, is expelled from his see and condemned to exile, not to speak of the deaths daily endured by him? But, at least, how was it that you were not moved by the honor of the Church, the dignity of the Faith, the reverence due to the holy canons, the holy tradition from olden days? Why did you not think of these? But no. I know not by what authority, or whence derived, you introduced fornication into the holy life of Christians, refusing to consider that, straight away from the beginning of the Message, this commandment had been confirmed by the divine Apostles, when they pronounced on what was strangled or offered to idols, that we should abstain from fornication. How many are the injunctions, not to be polluted by fornication, which one may receive from the Vessel of Election, everyone well knows—not only of the clerical body, but even of the multitude of laymen, unless he be wholly estranged from the Church and deaf to the *Apostle's* teaching. For this reason I do not cite his words on fornication, lest it should seem superfluous to declare what everybody is familiar with. Why then, if the stain of fornication is condemned by all, should the Romans have seen fit, because I, too, following the judgment of the Apostles and the decision of the Holy Fathers, had likewise condemned it, to regard me as a criminal, to be expelled from my flock and punished as a malefactor?

Yes, you will say: but this is a question of marriage, not of fornication. Marriage, is it, O reverend groomsman, who honor marriage not according to the law given by God, but according to your own law, written I know not where? Marriage is it, the union with a fourth woman under the spur of overwhelming lust? Where did you find such a marriage as this that you introduce into the holy nation of the Christians, the royal priesthood? From what Gospel, what apostolic decree, what tradition of this kind that has appeared in the Church since the origin of the Christian race? Paul the mighty says: “Marriage is honorable among all, and the bed is undefiled.” If this of yours is a marriage, why do the holy ordinances expel from the church one who has fallen into this sin? If the matter be marriage, and not far off from such a title, why do they call such intercourse “brutish and alien to human nature”? Whereas the ordinary practice of fornication they call fornication

260 πορνείας ὀνομαζομένης, ἀλλ' οὐ κτηνώδους οὐδ' ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀλλοτρίου τοῦ πάθους δοκοῦντος;

Ἄλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐχ οὕτω δοκεῖ συγκεχώρηται γάρ, ὡς φησιν, B  
παρ' αὐτοῖς. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτό εἰσιν οἱ λέγοντες (οὐκ οἶδα βουλόμενοι  
τιμᾶν ὑμᾶς ἢ ὑβρίζειν) ὡς οὐ μόνον τετάρτη ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμπτη καὶ ἐπὶ  
265 ταύτῃ ἑτέρα· καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἕκτης τὸν βίον ἀπολιπούσης πρὸς ἄλλον συμ-  
πλέκεσθαι γάμον τοιοῦτον, καὶ αὖθις ἐπ' ἄλλον, καὶ μέχρι τάφου πυλῶν  
ἢ ἀφθονος οἰκονομία, κρεῖττον δ' εἰπεῖν τῆς ἀσελγείας ἢ φιλοτιμία,  
προέρχεται παρ' ὑμῖν. Καὶ τῆς βδελυρᾶς ταύτης φιλοτιμίας τὸ αἴτιον  
εἰς τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον ἀναφέρουσιν εἰπόντα «Κρεῖσσον γαμῆσαι ἢ  
270 πυροῦσθαι.» Καλὴ γε ἡ σοφία τῶν οὕτως ἐκλαμβανομένων τὸ λόγιον,  
πάνυ εὐστόχως τῆς Παύλου ἐφικνοῦνται διανοίας. Τοῦτο νομοθετεῖ ὁ  
τῆς οἴκου|μένης διδάσκαλος, τὸ διὰ παντὸς χαρίζεσθαι τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς C  
σαρκός, ὁ λέγων «Παράγει τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ἵνα καὶ οἱ  
ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ᾧσιν ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες» καὶ «Θέλω πάντας εἶναι ὡς καὶ  
275 ἑμαυτὸν» καὶ μὴδ' ἐπὶ δεῦτερον γάμον συνελθεῖν ἀνδράσι συγχωρῶν  
τῷ φάναι «Λέγω δὲ τοῖς ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς χήραις· καλὸν ἐὰν μείνωσιν  
οὕτως, εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν» γυναῖξί μὲν χηρεύουσας  
ἐπιτρέπων δευτέραν συνάφειαν διὰ τὸ ἀσθενές, ἀνδράσι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ  
χηρεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς οὕτω συναφείας ἀφιγμένοις πρὸς πείραν «Κρεῖσ-  
280 σον γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι»;

Εἰ μὲν οὖν γάμος ἢ τετάρτη γυνή, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πορνεία, μᾶλλον δὲ  
πορνείας πλέον καὶ ἀσελγεία, καθὼς δοκεῖ τῷ θειοτάτῳ Κλήμεντι, ἐπί-  
τρεπε καὶ | τὴν σύζευξιν. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, ποῦ χώραν ἔχει ἐνταῦθα τὸ «Κρεῖσ- D  
σον γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι»; Καὶ ἄκουσον οἷά φησι Κλήμης ὁ τοῦ κορυ-  
285 φαίου Πέτρου μαθητῆς καὶ αὐτήκοος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῶν κατωτέρω τις καὶ  
μακρὰν τῆς ἐκεῖνου μετ' ἀνθρώπων βιοτῆς διεστῶτων· «Μονογαμία μὲν  
κατὰ νόμον γινομένη δικαία, ὡς ἂν κατὰ γνώμην ὑπάρχουσα θεοῦ· διγα-  
μία δὲ μετὰ ἐπαγγελίαν παράνομον, οὐ διὰ τὴν συνάφειαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ  
ψεῦδος· τριγαμία δὲ ἀκρασίας σημεῖον· τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν τριγαμίαν προ-  
290 φανῆς πορνεία καὶ ἀσελγεία ἀναμφίβολος.» Τί λέγεις; Κλήμης αὐτό  
φησι πορνείαν καὶ ἀσελγείαν ἀναμφίβολον, καὶ σὺ τῷ τοῦ γάμου τιμᾶς  
προσρήματι; Ἄλλ' οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας φωστῆρες, ὧν τὸ φῶς τῆς διδασκα-  
λίας καὶ τῶν πράξεων εἰς | πᾶσαν ἐξέλαμψε τὴν οἰκουμένην, «κτηνώδες» 209

269–270: 1 Cor. 7.9. || 273–274: 1 Cor. 7.31,29. || 274–275: 1 Cor. 7.7. || 276–277: 1 Cor. 7.8–9. || 279–280: 1 Cor. 7.9. || 282: Basil., *Ep.* 217, can. 80, PG 32,805B1–2. || 282–290: Clemens, *Const. Apost.* III 2. || 293–294: Basil., *Ep.* 217, can. 80, PG 32,805A15–B1.

269 εἰπόντα — 284 τοῦ alt. m. ser. P || 289 τριγαμίαν] τρι- P<sup>c</sup> (τετρα- P<sup>1</sup>?)

and nothing else, the vice not seeming to be “brutish and alien from human nature.”

Well, the Romans do not think so; for, you say, it is condoned among them. Indeed there are those who say (I am not sure whether in your honor or your disgrace) that you allow not only a fourth, but a fifth wife, and even another after her: yes, and if the sixth dies, your abundant dispensation, or rather your grant of licentiousness, goes on to allow the contraction of yet another such marriage, and another on the top of that, and so on until the doors of the grave. And the cause of this abominable grant they refer to the mighty Apostle, who said, “it is better to marry than to burn”! Excellent is the wisdom of those who so receive his dictum! Most surely have they hit upon Paul’s meaning! So then, continual surrender to the lust of the flesh is the law laid down by the world’s teacher, who said: “The fashion of this world passeth away, so that both they that have wives be as though they had none,” and “I would that all men were even as I myself.” And he forbids men to contract even a second marriage, in the words: “I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide thus; but if they cannot contain, let them marry”: thus permitting a second union to women who are widows because of their weakness, but nowhere to men who are widowers; it is those who are as yet without experience of marriage for whom “it is better to marry than to burn.”

If a fourth woman is marriage, and not fornication—or, indeed, as the most divine Clement holds it, a debauchery worse than fornication—then you may allow the union. But if so, what is the relevance here of “it is better to marry than to burn”? Hear the words of Clement, who learned and listened to the teaching of the chief Apostle, Peter, and was not one of inferior status or one who lived a long while after the Apostle’s sojourn among men. “Single marriage is righteous according to the law, as being in accordance with the approval of God; a second marriage, after the truth, is contrary to law, not because of the union, but because of the lie; a third marriage is a sign of incontinence; and any beyond a third is manifest fornication and unquestionable debauchery.” What say you? Clement calls it “fornication and unquestionable debauchery”; and do you honor it with the name of marriage? When the beacons of the Church, the light of whose doctrine and deeds has



αὐτὸ καὶ «τῆς φύσεως ἀλλότριον», καὶ δὴ καὶ «βίων» καλοῦσι «χοιρώδη»  
 295 καὶ σὺ ἀποχρῆσθαι ὡς γάμῳ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κελεύεις τῷ τοσοῦτῳ  
 βδελύγματι; Ὡς θαυμαστὸς εἶ τῆς προνοίας τοῦ διδάσκειν ἐν σεμνότητι  
 καὶ ἀξίως τῆς Χριστοῦ κλήσεως τοὺς ὑπὸ σοῦ διδασκομένους πολιτεύε-  
 σθαι. Ἄνθρωπε, οὐδεὶς ἀγιασμοῦ χωρὶς τὸν κύριον ὄψεται· ἀγιασμὸς δὲ  
 πῶς ἂν τινι προσγένοιτο τῇ ἀκαθάρτῳ πορνείᾳ συμπεφυρμένῳ; Καὶ  
 300 ἄλλος ἔφη· «Μισοῦντες καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐσπιλωμένον χιτῶνα»  
 τοῦτο δὲ τί ἄλλο βούλεται ἢ τὸ φεύγειν τὰς τῆς πορνείας κηλίδας;

Ἄλλὰ βασιλεὺς ὁ τὴν τετάρτην γυναῖκα ζητῶν, καὶ δεῖ παραχα-  
 ρεῖν βασιλικῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ. Καλῶς γε σὺ τιμᾶς τὸ στέφος τῆς βασιλείας,  
 καλὴν αὐτῷ δόξαν | χαρίζῃ. Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερκάθηται, διὰ B  
 305 τοῦτο δεήσειεν αὐτὸν ῥυπαδέστερον εἶναι καὶ ἀτιμότερον; Σὺ μοι δοκεῖς  
 καὶ τῶν ποδῶν μᾶλλον ὥστε καθαρὸς εἶναι φροντίζειν ἢ τοῦ προσώπου,  
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν μὴ προσεμβιβάζειν πηλῷ, τῆς δὲ κεφαλῆς μὴ φροντίζειν  
 εἰ καταχέοιτο. Ἄλλ' ὑπολαμβάνω μὴ δόξειν ταῦτα τοῖς ὀρίζειν εἰδόσιν  
 ὑψηλοτέρων πραγμάτων καὶ ταπεινοτέρων διαφορὰν. Μέγα μὲν γὰρ τὸ  
 310 τῆς βασιλείας πρᾶγμα, καὶ δέον πείθεσθαι βασιλεῦσιν μηδὲ τοῖς προσ-  
 τάγμασιν αὐτῶν ἀντιτείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς προσταγμάσιν ἐν οἷς  
 διαφαίνεται τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα. Προστάσσει δικαιοπραγεῖν; Τοῦτο  
 βασιλικὸν ἀληθῶς πρόσταγμα, καὶ δεῖ μὴ ἀντιλέγειν. Κελεύει κατ' ἐχ-  
 θρῶν ὀπλιζέσθαι; Ἐδοξεν | αὐτῷ συνεισφέρειν τι πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν C  
 315 λυσιτέλειαν; Τιμᾶν πάσῃ σπουδῇ τὸ δόγμα. Εἶπεν ἄλλο τι πράττειν τῶν  
 σύστασιν φερόντων καὶ τιμὴν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα τελούσιν;  
 Ποιεῖν ταχέως τὸ προσταττόμενον. Ταῦτα βασιλικά, καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, μᾶλ-  
 λον δὲ ἀπαραίτητον, ἔτοιμον παρέχειν εἰς τὸ ἀκούειν τὸ οὖς. Κελεύει πά-  
 λιν, οἷα τὰ τοῦ διαβόλου πονηρὰ ὑποβλήματα, εἰς θεὸν ἀσεβεῖν; Τοῦτο  
 320 οὐ βασιλικόν, οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ πειστέον αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀσεβοῦς ἀνδρὸς ἀσεβὲς  
 πρόσταγμα παρὰ φαῦλον ποιητέον. Κελεύει συκοφαντεῖν, ἢ δόλῳ ἀναι-  
 ρεῖν τινας, ἢ γάμους ὀρύσσειν ἀλλοτρίους, ἢ ἀδίκως ἀφελέσθαι τὰ ἀλλό-  
 τρια πράγματα; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ λωποδύτου καὶ  
 συκοφάντου καὶ μοιχοῦ καὶ ἄρπαγος· καὶ εἴ τις θεοφιλὴς καὶ | τὸ θεῖον D  
 325 τιμῶν καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παρασχεθεῖσαν ἐπὶ γῆς βασιλείαν, οὐκ ἂν πει-  
 σθείη τοιοῦτοις μιαινοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἔλοιτο ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν  
 ἀφεῖναι ἢ τοῦ κελεύοντος τὰ τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι ὑπηρέτης· εἰ καὶ (οἷμοι  
 τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης βροπῆς ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω) πλείστους ἢ κακία ἔχει τῆς θερα-  
 πείας αὐτῆς ἐραστάς.

294: Greg. Naz., Or. 37,8, PG 36,292B9-10. || 297: Ephes. 4.1. || 298: Hebr. 12.14. ||  
 300: Iudas 23.

295 κελεύεις P<sup>c</sup>: -ει P<sup>1</sup> || 299 τινι Jk: τι P<sup>1</sup>: τις P<sup>c</sup> || τῇ P<sup>1</sup>: τῷ P<sup>c</sup>

illuminated all the world, call it "brutish and alien from nature," yea, even  
 the "life of swine," do you bid men indulge in this huge abomination as though  
 it were marriage? How wonderfully careful you are in teaching your pupils  
 to live soberly and worthily of Christ's calling! Sir, "none shall see the Lord  
 except he be sanctified"; and how shall a man attain sanctity if he be defiled  
 with impure fornication? And another said: "Hating also the garment that  
 is spotted from the flesh"—and what else does that mean than to flee from  
 the stains of fornication?

"But it was an emperor who desired the fourth wife, and one must give  
 in to the imperial desire." Fair is the honor you bestow on his imperial crown,  
 and fair the reputation you give him! Because he sits above others, must he  
 then be fouler and more dishonored than they? You seem to be more concerned  
 with the cleanliness of the feet than of the face, and to be careful lest  
 the feet step into the mud, but not to care if mud be deluged over the head.  
 But I believe that this will not commend itself to those who can discriminate  
 between higher and more lowly things. The imperial dignity is indeed a great  
 matter, and it is right to obey emperors, and not to resist their edicts, but  
 only in those edicts which display the dignity of the imperial rule. Does he  
 order us to do justly? These are truly imperial edicts, and these we must not  
 resist. Does the emperor order us to take arms against his enemies? Does he  
 decide that *we* must contribute something to the common weal? His decision  
 must be obeyed with all willingness. Does he order us to do whatever else may  
 bring strength and honor to his rule and to his subjects? We must do his  
 bidding at once. These things are the emperor's duties, and it is needful,  
 indeed imperative, that we should lend a ready ear to him. On the other hand,  
 does he (such are the devil's insinuations) bid us renounce our piety toward  
 God? But this is not an emperor's duty: so that we must not obey, and must  
 ignore his order as the impious edict of an impious man. Does he bid us to  
 slander, to slay another by guile, to corrupt another's marriage, or wrong-  
 fully take away another's goods? But neither is this a work of imperial  
 government, but rather of a footpad, a slanderer, an adulterer, a thief; and  
 if we love God, and honor His divinity and the earthly empire which He has  
 bestowed, we shall not obey these infamous edicts, but rather choose to lose  
 our life than to be ministers of him who so commands us. And yet—alas for  
 man's propensity to vice!—most people are the loving servants of wickedness.

330 Ἄγνοεῖς ὅτι πέφυκε τὸ ἀρχόμενον οἶον πρὸς παράδειγμα τὸν  
 ἀρχοντα βλέπειν; Καὶ τί τοῦτο λέγω; "Ὅπου γε καὶ τοῦ ἀρχοντος πάση  
 κοσμιότητι βιοῦντος, ἕμως τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία κέκτῃται τὴν  
 ἐπιφορὰν διὰ τὴν αἰεὶ τρέχουσαν πρὸς τὰ κάτω καὶ τὴν ὕλην προαίρεσιν  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νόμοι τέθεινται, ὅτι μὴδ' ἔστι τὸ πα-  
 335 ράδειγμα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀρχοντος ἱκανὸν βελτίους ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,  
 ὡς ἂν τῷ φόβῳ τῶν νόμων | ἀναστελλόμενοι τῆς πονηρᾶς προαιρέσεως καὶ 212  
 ἄκοντες μετὰ τοῦ βελτιοῦς γένοιτο. Ἄνάγει θεὸς εἰς ἀρχήν, εἴτ' οὖν  
 εἰς βασιλείαν ἢ ἐτέραν, οὐχ ἵνα διότι πλέον τῶν ἄλλων δεδόξασται παρὰ  
 θεοῦ, αὐτὸς ἀτιμάζῃ ἐαυτὸν τε καὶ τὸν δοξάσαντα, οὐδ' ἵνα τὴν θείαν  
 340 κρίσιν ὥσπερ ἐσφαλμένην ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ δείξῃ, ἀλλ' ἵνα δι' οἰκειᾶς ἀρετῆς  
 ἄξιος ὀφθῇ καὶ τῆς θεϊκῆς κρίσεως, καὶ δοξάζεσθαι μὲν θεὸν παρα-  
 σκευάσῃ, προσθήκῃ δὲ δόξης καὶ ἑαυτῷ περιποιησῆται. Εἰ δέ τις διότι  
 πλέον εἴληχε παρὰ θεοῦ τιμῆς, διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον οἶεται τὸ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ  
 τῆς τιμῆς τῶν θείων νόμων καταφρονεῖν, λέληθεν ἑαυτὸν παραπλήσιος  
 345 ὢν τοῖς διὰ κόρον ὑβρίζουσι κτήνεσιν. Κακὸν οὖν δόγμα καὶ πάγιακον  
 τὸ λέγειν διότι βασιλεύς, συγκεχώρηται ἁμαρτάνειν ὃ μὴ τοῖς ὑπὸ  
 χεῖρά τις | συγχωρήσειεν. «Δυνατοὶ δυνατῶς ἐτασθήσονται,» λέγει πού B  
 τῶν σωφρόνων ὁ λόγος· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, ποῦ χώραν ἔξει τὸ ἡμέτερον συγχώ-  
 ρημα; Ἐγὼ καὶ στρατιώτῃ καὶ στρατηγῷ τὸ αὐτὸ πταίσασιν οὐκ οἶδα  
 350 τὴν ἴσῃν ἐπαγομένην ποινήν, ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν στρατηγὸς ἀναλογοῦσαν ἔξει τῷ  
 μεγέθει τῆς τιμῆς τὴν τιμωρίαν, ὃ δὲ στρατιώτης κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς  
 τάξεως. Ἄλλὰ καὶ ναύτῃ καὶ κυβερνήτῃ, εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ δεσπότη καὶ  
 οἰκέτῃ, τῷ αὐτῷ σφάλματι περιπεπτωκόσιν οὐχ ἢ αὐτῇ ἀπαντήσῃ  
 κατηγορία οὐδὲ κατάκρισις, ἀλλὰ τῇ διαφορᾷ τῶν προσώπων συνδιατι-  
 355 θεμένη.

Ἄλλ' οἰκονομίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἢ Ῥωμαϊκῇ ἐξουσία πεποιήται, καὶ  
 δεῖ πρὸς τὸ οἰκονομηθὲν μὴ ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἡμῖν δεδογμένα τιμᾶν. C  
 Τί λέγεις; Καὶ ἔξεστι τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις οἰκονομεῖν, ὥστε παρανομοῦντά  
 τινα μὴ δίκην ὑπέχειν, καὶ ὥστε χερσὶν ἀκαθάρτοις τῶν ἁγίων ἐφάπτε-  
 360 σθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐλαυνομένους τῶν θείων περιβόλων ἐπὶ μιάσματι, τούτους  
 μὴ ἀποθεμένους τὸ μίasma εἰσάγειν ὅθεν καλῶς καὶ ἐνδίκως ἀπελήλαν-  
 ται; Μεγάλῃς ἂν ἐξουσίας εἴης ἐπειλημμένος, καὶ ἥς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ τὰς  
 ἁμαρτίας αἴρων τοῦ κόσμου ἐπέληπται, μὴ ὅτι γε ἄλλος ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου  
 ἱερῶν μαθητῶν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας διδασκάλων. Ἦκε μὲν  
 365 γὰρ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν βαστάσαι, ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν ἡμῶν

347: Sap. 6.6. || 362-363: Ioann. 1.29.

330 οἶον P<sup>c</sup>; οἶ P<sup>1</sup> || 343 fort. ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ τὸ || 351 μέτρον] μέτριον prop. Jk

You know that the subject will naturally look on his ruler, as it were, as on an example. Let me go further still. Why, even where the ruler lives in all propriety, even there the subject has this tendency toward the opposite, owing to the human disposition still to run toward the base and the material. For this reason are laws laid down, because the good ruler's example is not sufficient to make men better, and so that they may by fear of the laws be restrained from their evil disposition, and take the better course even against their desire. God raises up to rule, whether imperial or other, not in order that the ruler, inasmuch as he has been glorified by God beyond his fellows, may dishonor himself and Him Who has glorified him, nor in order to demonstrate that the Divine Judgment has made some mistake in choosing him, but in order that he may through his own virtue be shown to be worthy of the Divine Judgment, and may give cause that God be glorified, and acquire an addition to his own glory. And if a man, because he has been allotted more honor by God, thinks that on that account he has more authority to set at naught the honor of the divine laws, he insensibly becomes like those brutes which grow vicious from overfeeding. It is evil, it is most evil doctrine to say that "because he is an emperor" he is permitted to sin in a way that no one would permit his subjects to do. "The mighty shall be mightily put to the proof," saith the word of the sages; which if it be so, where will there be room for our "indulgence"? If a soldier and his general commit the same offense, I for my part do not consider the same punishment applicable to each: the general shall have retribution proportionate to the greatness of his honor, and the soldier to the *modesty* of his rank; nay, seaman and pilot, or if you wish master and servant, if they have fallen into the same transgression, shall not meet with the same prosecution and condemnation, but what is adapted to the difference between those persons.

"Well, but the authority of Rome has made dispensation for him, and you must not oppose what has been dispensed, but respect our decision." What do you mean? Is it in the power of Rome so to dispense that a law-breaker goes unpunished, and with impure hands lays hold on what is holy? and to lead back into the divine precincts, whence they have been rightly and justly expelled, those who have been driven forth for pollution, even though they have not put their pollution aside? This would be a mighty authority indeed of which you are possessed—an authority possessed not even by Him Who "taketh away the sins of the world," let alone by any other, whether of His holy disciples or of the other teachers of His Church! He indeed came to bear our sins, but, naturally, only when we have ceased



παυσαμένων, οὐκ ἐπιμενόντων δὲ οὐδὲ πραττόντων ἀδεῶς ὧν ἐκεῖνος τὴν  
 ἄρσιν ποιεῖται. Ἄκουα γὰρ τῷ τεθεραπευμένῳ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δοθέντος D  
 παραγγέλματος· «Ἴδε ὑγιῆς γέγονας, μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε.» Πρόσσχες ὡς  
 κωλύει, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει τὸ ἀμάρτανεῖν τοῖς τοῦ ἐλέους αὐτοῦ κατηξιωμέ-  
 370 νοις. Οὐμενοῦν οὐδὲ Πέτρος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Παῦλος, οὐδέ τις ἄλλος ποτὲ ὦφθη  
 παρορῶν μὲν τὸ ἀμάρτημα, τῷ δὲ ἀμαρτάνοντι τὸ ἀνεύθυνον ἐπαγγελ-  
 λόμενος. Ποῦ ταύτην τὴν ἀτοπον οἰκονομίαν ἐξεῦρες, τὴν οὐκ ἐλαφρύνου-  
 σαν τὸ βᾶρος τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος, ἀλλὰ βαρύτερον αὐτὸ ποιοῦσαν, τὴν μὴ  
 σφύζουσαν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀπώλειᾳ παραδιδούσαν, τὴν μὴ καθαίρουσαν, ἀλλ'  
 375 ἐπὶ πλεόν τὸν ῥύπον προστιθεῖσαν; Τίς ποτε τοιαύτην οἰκονομίαν ἄχρι  
 τοῦ νῦν ἔγνω; Οἰκονομία μὲν γὰρ σωτηριώδης ἐστὶ συγκατάβασις, σφύ-  
 ζουσα τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα, χεῖρα βοηθείας ὀρέγουσα καὶ ἀνιστῶσα τοῦ πτώ-  
 ματος τὸν πεσόντα, οὐχὶ τῷ | πτώματι ἐπιτρέπουσα κεῖσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ 213  
 πρὸς ἐλεσιῶν βάραθρον συναθοῦσα. Οἰκονομία ἐστὶ μίμησις τῆς θείας  
 380 φιλανθρωπίας, ἀρπάζουσα ἐκ στόματος τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν ὠρουμένου θηρὸς  
 τὸν μέλλοντα τῷ ἐκείνου ὀλεθρίῳ καταπίνεσθαι στόματι· ἀρπάζεται  
 δὲ πάντως οὐχ ὁ πράττων τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ἀλλ' ὁ ταύτης τῇ θείᾳ μεθόδῳ  
 τῆς οἰκονομίας πόρρω καταστάς καὶ τὴν δίωξιν αὐτῆς ἀποκλίνας.  
 Εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸ πρᾶγμα μὴ ἐστὶν ἀμάρτημα μηδὲ πορνεία ἢ τετραγα-  
 385 μία, μᾶλλον δὲ «πλεόν πορνείας,» ἀλλὰ τὴν φύσιν ταύτης ἐνήλλαξας (σὸν  
 δ' ἂν εἶη καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τὸλμημα, τὸ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν μὴ δοκεῖν ἀμαρτίαν νο-  
 μίζειν), ἄλλος ἂν εἶη λόγος, ὃν ἡμεῖς οὔτε γινώσκουμεν οὔτε γνωσόμεθα·  
 μηδὲ γὰρ γένοιτο τοιοῦτον ἡμᾶς πονηρὸν μάθημα γινῶναι, ὅτι τὸ ἀμαρ-  
 τάνειν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀμάρτανεῖν. Εἰ δ' ὡς ἐστὶ φύσεως τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὕτως  
 390 καὶ διαμένει, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸ δύναται | διαμείβειν τρόπος οὐδὲ τὴν πορ- B  
 νείαν ποιεῖν μὴ εἶναι πορνείαν, καὶ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν μὴ τυγχάνειν ἀσέλγειαν,  
 καὶ τὸν κτηνώδη καὶ τὸν χοιρώδη βίον μὴ τοῦτο εἶναι ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ λέγε-  
 ται, τίς ἢ παράδοξος, μᾶλλον δὲ ὀλέθριος οἰκονομία, ἣτις ὀκονόμηται  
 σοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ μὲν καταγνώσει, ἐπὶ βαρυτέρῳ δὲ κατακρίματι τοῦ δοκοῦν-  
 395 τος ἐπ' αὐτῷ διοικονομεῖσθαι σοὶ τῷ ἀσελγαίνειν; Κακὸν μὲν καὶ ἄλλως  
 ἀπώλεια, εἰ καὶ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας εἰς ταύτην περιπίπτοιμεν· τὸ δὲ καὶ μετὰ  
 τέχνης καὶ μετὰ σοφισμάτων πρὸς ταύτην ἑαυτὸν ὑπάγειν πόσου ἂν τις  
 κακοῦ ἀριθμήσεται; Ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ εἴ τις ἐμοὶ πείθοιτο, μᾶλλον <δὲ> τοῖς

367-368: Ioann. 5.14. || 385: Basil., *Ep.* 217, can. 80, PG 32,805B1-2. || 390-391: id., *Ep.*  
 188, can. 4, PG 32,673A7; *Ep.* 199, can. 50, PG 32,732C6-7; Clemens, *Const. Apost.*  
 III 2. || 391: Clemens, loc. cit. || 392: Basil., *Ep.* 217, can. 80, PG 32,805 A15. || ib.:  
 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 37,8, PG 36,292B9-10.

392 μὴ Wk (an <ἕτερον> ἦ?); ἦ P || 395 τῷ Wk: τὸ P || 398 ἀριθμήσεται P\*: ἀριθμηθή-  
 σεται P<sup>1</sup> || δὲ P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup>

to sin, not when we are cleaving to and performing without scruple those  
 things which He "taketh away." I hear His injunction to the man He has  
 healed: "Lo, thou art whole! Sin no more!" Mark how He forbids, not permits,  
 to sin those who have been found worthy of His mercy. No: neither Peter  
 nor Paul nor any other was ever known to ignore the sin and to promise license  
 to one still sinning. Where have you discovered this unseemly dispensation,  
 which does not lighten the burden of sin, but makes it heavier? which brings  
 no salvation, but surrenders to destruction? which does not cleanse, but  
 rather increases the filth? Who has ever heard of such dispensation until now?  
 Dispensation is a concession unto salvation, saving him who has sinned,  
 stretching out the arm of help, and lifting up the fallen from his fall; not  
 permitting him to lie where he has fallen, or rather pushing him toward a  
 miserable pit. Dispensation is an imitation of the Divine Mercy, a snatching  
 out of the jaws of the beast that howls against us the man who is about to  
 be devoured by those jaws of destruction. But he who still commits the sin  
 is by no means snatched away: only he who by the Divine expedient of this  
 Dispensation puts himself far off from his sin, and avoids its pursuit of him.

If there is no sin in the matter, and if a fourth marriage is not fornication  
 or indeed "worse than fornication," and you have changed its nature  
 (it is you who will have made this bold innovation too, to lay it down that  
 what is sin shall not appear as such), then that would be another matter,  
 which we neither know nor will know: God forbid that we should learn a  
 lesson so depraved, as that sin is no sin! But if the thing still remains what  
 in its nature it is, and if no device can change it, nor make fornication to be  
 not fornication, and debauchery no debauchery, and if the life of brutes and  
 swine is nothing else than what it both is and is said to be, then what is this  
 strange, this indeed ruinous "dispensation" which you have granted to your  
 own condemnation and to the heavier guilt of him who thinks you are giving  
 him dispensation for no other purpose than debauchery? Ruin is bad enough  
 at best, even if we fall into it unawares; but if a man embraces it with deceit  
 and sophisms, who shall measure the extent of the evil? If anyone obeys me,

ιεροῖς νόμοις, καὶ μετάνοιαν ἀποδέχομαι τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων καὶ οἰκονο-  
 400 μίαν ἐπὶ τούτοις κυρῶ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀπρακτεῖν ποιοῦσαν, οὐ τὴν ἐνεργεῖ- C  
 σθαι παρασκευάζουσαν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τῆς ἀμαρτίας  
 ἐπιτελουμένης καὶ διηνεκῶς, οἰκονομεῖν τι πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὑπολαμβάνειν  
 τὸν ἄδειαν αὐτῷ παρεχόμενον τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ συζῆν· εἰρωνευομένου γὰρ  
 τοῦτο μᾶλλον, οὐκ οἰκονομοῦντος, καὶ παίζοντος τὴν τῆς οἰκονομίας  
 405 βοήθειαν.

Τί ἐτι ἐπὶ προλαβόντα λοιπὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖά τινες καταφεύγουσι  
 πράγματα, ὧν ἀτόπων ὑπαρχόντων οἱ τότε παρόντες ἐν βίῳ ἠνέσχοντο;  
 Ἐγὼ δὲ πρῶτόν φημι ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλές αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ καταφεύγειν οὐ μήτε  
 θείαν ψῆφον πολιτευομένην ὁρῶσι μήτε κρίσιν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινουμέ-  
 410 νην· πῶς δ' ἂν εἴη θεοῦ ψῆφος ἢ γνώμη ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πράγμασι προξε-  
 νοῦσιν αἰσχύνην, μέμψεως δὲ τοὺς ἐργάτας | ἐξαιρεῖσθαι μὴ δυναμένοις; D  
 Δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι μὴδ' ἄξιον εἶ τι πόρρω τοῦ πρέποντος τοῖς ἀρχαιοτέροις  
 ἐπράχθη, τοῦτο παράδειγμα ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς νεωτέρους· λήσομεν γὰρ  
 ἑαυτοὺς πολλὰ τῶν κολάσεως ἀξίων εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς γενεάν εισάγοντες·  
 415 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο φιλοθέων ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲ ζωὴν ἀγαπώντων θεοφιλῆ.  
 Κακῶς οὖν καὶ τοῦτο λέγεται, τὸ πρὸς τὰ πρεσβύτερα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων  
 ὁρῶντας βούλεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτάνειν, καὶ διότι μὴ εὐαγῶς ὁ δεῖνα  
 καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, ἢ ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὧν παρηνέχθη πρὸς φαύλην πράξιν, διὰ  
 τοῦτο καὶ ἡμᾶς εἶ τι φαῦλον ἀνακύπτει, τοῦτο καταδέχεσθαι. Ἦν δὲ  
 420 ἄμεινον καὶ πολλῶ ἄμεινον τοῦτο καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ὡς ἐπειδὴ  
 ἐκεῖνο κακῶς ἐπράχθη, δεῖ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα λόγον διαπε-  
 πράχθαι· τοῦτο | γὰρ κοινῶς παρὰ πᾶσι κρατεῖ, τὸ μὴ πρὸς τὰ χεῖρω τὴν 216  
 μίμησιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅση δύναμις ἐκ τῆς τῶν χειρόνων κατηγορίας  
 ἀσφαλιζέσθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μὴ τοῖς ἴσοις περιπεσεῖν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πρὸς  
 425 τὰ βελτίονα φέρεσθαι.

Τί οὖν μοι τὸν Οὐαλεντινιανὸν παράγεις ἢ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα; Εἰ  
 μὲν ἢ τούτου πρᾶξις ἐπαινετή, μιμησώμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἵνα τῶν ἴσων  
 ἐπαινῶν κληρονομήσωμεν· εἰ δὲ μῶμον ἔχει καὶ διαβέβληται, τί με  
 ποιεῖν προτρέπεις ἃ καὶ σοὶ τὴν διαβολὴν καὶ ἡμῖν φέρει; Ἄλλ' ἐδέξατο  
 430 Δάμασος ὁ ἀγιώτατος. Εἰ τὴν παραδοχὴν ὅλη ψυχῇ ἀποδέχη καὶ νομί-  
 ζεις αὐτὴν καλῶς ἔχειν, τί καὶ σὺ μὴ θαρρεῖς δυσὶ γυναίξει κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ  
 συνεῖναι δογματίζεις; Ἄλλὰ φεύγεις τὸ δόγμα, καὶ οὐκ ἂν σοὶ τοῦτο |  
 δόξη (οὐμενοῦν οὐκ ἂν ἀρνηθείης) προτρέπεις; Δῆλος εἶ καταγινώσκων B  
 τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τὴν ἀποδοχὴν μὴ καλὴν οὔσαν ὑπολαμβάνειν. Ἐμο-

434-436: Exod. 32.

427 μιμησώμεθα Vat.: μιμηώμεθα, -ώ- ex -σό- ut vid., P || 431 θαρρεῖς Jk: -ῆς P ||  
 433 post προτρέπεις non dist. P || 434 leg. ὑπολαμβάνων?

or rather obeys the sacred laws, I for my part accept the penitence of sinners  
 and confirm the dispensation for them, but only if it puts an end to the sin,  
 and not if it gives license for the sin's indulgence. If the sin continues to be  
 performed, without interruption, it is impossible to suppose that he who  
 gives the sinner license to live in his sin can make any dispensation leading  
 to salvation. This is the dispensation of a cynic rather than of a dispenser,  
 of one who derides the healing of dispensation.

Why then do some still take refuge in previous and archaic examples,  
 which those then living put up with though they were unseemly? I must say  
 at once that it is dangerous for them to take refuge in examples where they  
 can find neither divine sanction operative nor a reputable judgment of men.  
 And how can there be God's sanction or approval of men for what brings  
 shame and inevitably involves its perpetrators in condemnation? Again, if  
 men of olden days did something that was far from proper, this is no excuse  
 for later ages to hold it up as an example: in so doing we shall introduce  
 unawares into our own generation many things worthy of punishment. This  
 is not the conduct of God-loving men, nor of those who love the life acceptable  
 to God. It is an ill saying that wishes us to sin ourselves by reference to sins  
 committed heretofore; or that, because so-and-so or so-and-so was impure,  
 or, in human weakness, was misguided into unworthy conduct, for this  
 reason we accept whatever unworthiness may present itself. It would have  
 been better, far better, to think and say this: "Because this was ill done, we  
 ought in all reason to do the opposite"; since it is a commonplace of universal  
 validity that we should not imitate the worse example, but protect ourselves  
 as far as we can from the guilt of the worsen part, so as not to fall into the  
 same, but rather to strive toward the better.

Why then do you cite me Valentinian, or this or that other? If his  
 conduct was praiseworthy, let us also imitate it, that we may inherit equal  
 commendation. If it was reprehensible and is discredited, why urge me to do  
 what brings discredit on you and me alike? "But the most holy Damasus  
 permitted it." If you wholeheartedly approve his permission and think it  
 was well, why have you also not the courage to promulgate the doctrine  
 that a man may live with two women at once? But you reject such doctrine,  
 and would never (you cannot deny this) think of recommending it? In that  
 case it is clear that you disapprove of the affair and that you do not believe  
 the permission was given rightly. Aaron once made a calf, and God permitted

435 σχοποιήσέ ποτε Ἀαρών, καὶ συνεχώρησε τοῦτο θεός, οὐ γὰρ ὑπήχθη  
τῇ δίκῃ· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤρκεσε τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα μοσχοποιούσι τὸ τοῦ Ἀαρών  
ἀκατάγνωστον εἰς τὸ μὴ δοῦναι δίκην τῆς μοσχοποιίας. Ὅρᾳς πῶς οὐχ  
ικανὸν τοῖς μὴ καλῶς τὰ οἰκεία διατιθεμένοις πράγματα ἐπανατρέχειν  
εἰς προγενέστερα σφάλματα; Τίνος δὲ χάριν καὶ πολιτικοὶ νόμοι καὶ θεῖοι  
440 κανόνες ἐκτέθενται, εἰ τὰ προλαβόντα εἶχε τὴν μίμησιν ἀκατάκριτον;  
Ἄλλὰ σκοπός, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἀμαρτήμασι περιπίπτοντες  
ἄνθρωποι καταφεύγοιεν εἰς ἀπολογία, ὡς «Τὸ ἡμαρτημένον ἐμοὶ | καὶ C  
ἄλλῳ τινὶ προγενεστέρῳ ἐξείργασται».

Οὐκ ἀπολύει οὖν, ἀδελφοί, οὐδ' ἡ πρόφασις αὕτη τοὺς καταφεύγον-  
445 τας ἐπ' αὐτὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σύστασιν τῇ τετραγαμίᾳ παρεχομένους,  
ἀλλὰ κατακρίνει μᾶλλον, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ διεστραμμένου  
τὰ πολλῆς εὐθύτητος χρήζοντα πράγματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγνώκασι διοι-  
κεῖν. Εἶτα εἴ τις τῶν σῶν οἰκετῶν τὸν οἶκον ἢ τὸν χιτῶνα μολύνει, ἐπί  
τι πρόσωπον ἕτερον αὐτὸ τοῦτο προδιαπεπραγμένον ἀναφέρων ἐρεῖ ὡς  
450 «Ἐπειδὴ προλαβὼν ἕτερός τις τῶν συνθεραπόντων τοῦτο ἐξήμαρτεν,  
διὰ τοῦτο κάμοι πράττειν οὕτως ἐπῆλθεν,» οὐκ ἂν δέξῃ τὴν ἀπολογία,  
ἀλλὰ στρεβλώσεις καὶ μαστιγώσεις ὡς εἰς τοιαύτην ἦκοντα καταφρόνη-  
σιν, ὀφειλομένου ὄντος ἐκ τοῦ προημαρτημένου τῷ συνθεράποντι τοῦτον D  
τὴν πράξιν φυλάξασθαι· καὶ τὰ κακῶς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συμπίπτοντα ἐκ τῶν  
455 προλαβόντων ἀξιοῖς παραδέχεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἴσῃ οὐ τηρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας γνώμῃ τοῖς περὶ σὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν πραττομένοις, ἀλλὰ  
δικαιοῖς αὐτὰ παρορᾷ διὰ τὴν τῶν προλαβόντων σφαλμάτων παρόρασιν;  
Καὶ τίς ἂν εἴποι σε εἰκότα ποιεῖν ὀρθὰ φρονεῖν ἐπιστάμενος; Τὸ δὲ καὶ  
πρὸς τὴν παλαιότητα συγκρίνει τὴν χάριν καὶ τὸν μακάριον Δαυὶδ εἰς  
460 μέσον παράγει, οὐκ οἶδα τί συναντιλαμβάνεται τοῖς τοῦτο προφέρουσιν·  
εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ τὸν Ἰακώβ σὺν ταῖς δυοῖς γαμεταῖς αὐτοῦ ἀδελφαῖς οὐσαῖς  
ἡμῖν προσοίσουσιν, εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ τὸν Σαμουὴλ κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς τοῦ  
Ἄγαθ τὸ ξίφος βάπτοντα, καὶ τὴν περιτομήν, καὶ τὰ σφάλματα, καὶ ὅσα  
τῇ παλαιότητι πραττόμενα τέως ἐγνωρίζετο.

465 Ἄλλὰ γὰρ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων προσόντων ἃ ῥηθῆναι ἢ ὑπόθεσις ἐπι- 217  
ζητεῖ, πλείστα οἶμαι καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ γράμματος. Ἀφέντες  
οὖν τὸ πλεόν τι λέγειν περὶ τούτων ἐκεῖνό φαμεν· Ἐπιστρέφητε πρὸς  
ἑαυτοὺς, ἀδελφοὶ τιμιώτατοι, καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων τὸ παράλογον κατα-  
νόησαντες καὶ τῆς πρὸς χάριν ἀνθρωπίνην οἰκονομίας ὑμῶν ὡς ἀσχήμε-

459: 1 Reg. 25.42-44; 2 Reg. 5.13-16; 11.27. || 461-462: Gen. 29.15-30.13. || 462-463:  
1 Reg. 15.32-33.

446 εὐθέος Vat.: -ως P || 450 τοῦτο P<sup>x</sup>: τούτων P<sup>1</sup>

it, for he went unpunished. Yet the fact that Aaron was not condemned did not  
excuse subsequent calf-makers from being punished for their calf-making. You  
see it is not enough for those who go astray in their own conduct to refer to  
errors made before them. For why should civil laws and holy canons have  
been laid down, if precedents can be imitated without incurring guilt? The  
object is to prevent men who have fallen into the sins of their fathers from  
taking refuge in the plea, "As I have sinned, so has another done before me!"

So, then, Brothers, this excuse is equally ineffectual to exonerate  
those who take refuge in it and thus give standing to a fourth marriage:  
rather it condemns them for choosing to regulate the affairs of the Church,  
that have great need of straightness, not straightly but crookedly. Surely,  
if one of your slaves soils your house or your shirt, and then refers to another  
as having done the same and says, "Because one of my fellows committed  
the same offense, for this reason it occurred to me to do so," you will not  
accept his defense, but will torment and flog him for such impudence,  
because it was his duty, in view of his fellow's previous offense, to have  
guarded against it himself. Do you then think it right to condone by preced-  
ents the evils done to the Church? Do you not apply this same rule to  
the Church as to conduct concerning yourself and your house, but think it  
right to condone offenses against her on the plea that such offenses have  
been condoned in the past? Who in his senses would call your conduct  
reasonable? As for comparing your indulgence with that shown in antiquity,  
and bringing the blessed David into the discussion, I cannot see what help it  
can be to those who cite his case; unless they are to cite also Jacob with his  
two wives, and sisters at that, or Samuel plunging his sword in the throat of  
Agag, and circumcision, and blood sacrifices, and everything else that was  
ever reported as done in antiquity.

Though there are many other things which the matter demands should  
be spoken of, yet in respect of the length of my letter, I believe I have  
already said more than enough. I abstain therefore from writing more on  
this subject, and say merely: Return to yourself, most honorable Brothers;  
realize the folly of what was done; condemn your dispensation, given out of

470 νος καταγρόντες, τὸ πρέπον καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς φρονήσατε καὶ τὸ πρὸς  
τιμὴν διαβαῖνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν σεμνότητος,  
μηδὲ βουληθῆτε γενέσθαι διήγημα, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι τετραγαμίαν προφάσει  
βασιλικῆς χάριτος εἰς τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἅγιον ἔθνος εἰσήγαγον. Οἴδατε  
γὰρ ὡς ὄξεια τοῦ κακοῦ ἢ φορὰ, καὶ ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα μάλιστα ἐκ δυνάμεως,  
475 καὶ τότε τοσαύτης, οὐ βραδίως ἀνακόπτεσθαι. Οὕτω | καὶ τριγαμία ἐν B  
ἀνθρώποις ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε πολιτεύεσθαι· συνεχωρήθη πρὸς χάριν ἑνός, καὶ  
δεύτερος ἦλθεν εἰς μίμησιν, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ πλείστους διελ-  
θὸν εἰς πονηρὰν κατέστη τῷ βίῳ συνήθειαν. Μὴ οὖν ἀνάσχηθε καίτοι  
γεγηρακυίας τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως τὸν ξένον τοῦτον γάμον καὶ ἀλλό-  
480 τριον τοῦ γένους διδάξαι αὐτήν, μηδὲ τοιούτου μισροῦ πράγματος ὡς  
γεγόνετε διδάσκαλοι τῷ βίῳ καταλίποιτε ὄνομα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς  
ἐπανορθώσατε. Οὐ γὰρ φέρει αἰσχύνην ἢ τῶν παρὰ τὸ δέον γεγενημένων  
ἐπανόρθωσις, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ σύνεσιν προσμαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἀρετῆς  
ἔρωτα, καὶ τιμᾶ, οὐχ ὑβρίζει τοὺς οὕτω πεφρονηκότας. "Ὅπερ καὶ ὑμᾶς  
485 ἄξιον φρονῆσαι, μάλιστα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ | ἀπάτης καὶ κακιουργίας C  
τὴν ὑπαρξίν λαβόντων, ἣν ὑμᾶς ἀποκρυψάμενοι παρήνεγκαν ἐφ' ἃ μὴ  
ἔδει οἱ ταῦτα σκεψάμενοι. Καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν εἰ ἄνθρωποι ὄντες δι'  
ἀπάτης ἐσφάλητε· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν μᾶλλον, εἰ ἄλλους ἐπαγγελλό-  
μενοι διορθοῦσθαι μὴ τὰ <μὴ> εὐαγῶς ὑμῖν πεπραγμένα τῆς τοιαύτης  
490 προνοίας καταξιώσητε. Τοῦτο δὲ πάντως προνοηθήσεται ὑμῖν ἀθετουμέ-  
νων καὶ ἀκυρουμένων καὶ ἀναθέματι παραπεμπομένων τῶν προγεγονό-  
των καὶ τῶν εἰσαγαγόντων τὴν τῶν σκανδάλων αἰτίαν εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ  
ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ὑμᾶς πρὸς μέμψεις τηλικαύτας συνελασάντων.

Τοῦτο δὲ φαμεν οὐ περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ βασιλέως (μὴ γένοιτο) οὐδὲ D  
495 περὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου προέδρου Σεργίου, οὐδ' ἵνα ἐκεῖνοι τῷ ἀναθέματι  
παραπέμποιντο· ἤδη γὰρ χεῖρα ἐπορέξαντος θεοῦ τῷ καλῷ βασιλεῖ,  
αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς ζωῆς γεγονώς, καὶ τοῦ κατακρίματος καὶ τοῦ  
ἀναθέματος (πεποιθήαμεν τῇ θεϊκῇ εὐμενείᾳ) τὴν φυγὴν ἑαυτῷ περιπε-  
ποιήται, τὸ μὲν οἰκτεῖον ἀμάρτημα ἐπιγνούς, συγγνώμην δὲ καὶ λύσιν  
500 τῆς καταδίκης ἐξαίτησάμενος ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν ὑποβέβλητο, καὶ ἀποδοὺς καὶ  
ἡμῖν τὸ ποιμνιον ἐξ οὐπερ ἠλάθημεν, καὶ πάντα διοικῆσαι ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψας  
καθὼς συνορώμεν καὶ θεῶ ἀρέσκον καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς <καὶ> ἱεροῖς κανόνσιν  
ἀρμόδιον. Καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου δὲ προέδρου τὸν βίον λιπόντος καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ  
καὶ μεγάλῳ τὸν λόγον τῆς αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίας ὑπέχοντος ἀρχιερεῖ, ἀπόχρη  
505 τούτῳ καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης ὑποτιμήσεως. "Ὡστε 220  
τούτους μὲν ἐξαιρετέον· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καὶ τῷ βίῳ περιόντας τῇ ὀφειλο-

favor to men, as unseemly; resolve upon what is worthy of yourself and con-  
duces to the honor of the Church and of the dignity of Christians! Let it not  
be told that Romans introduced fourth marriages into the holy nation of  
the Christians on the excuse of pleasing an emperor! You know how eager is  
the assault of evil, and that when, especially, it draws its authority from  
power, and from such power as this, it is not easily stemmed. Even so did  
third marriage begin to pass current among men, when it was allowed in  
favor of one, and a second came after in imitation, and then another, and so,  
passing through very many examples, it established itself as an evil custom  
in life. Do not, now that human nature is in its old age, bring yourself to  
teach it this strange marriage that is alien from our race, nor leave behind  
the repute that you were the teachers of so vile a thing! Nay, correct yourself!  
There is no shame in correction of what is done wrong—on the contrary, it  
shows intelligence and love of virtue, and does honor, not insult, to those  
who so determine. And so should you also determine, especially since this  
affair took its being from deceit and malice, and its instigators, by concealing  
this from you, misled you into a wrongful course. It is no wonder if you,  
being men, should have been the victims of fraud; this, rather, would be the  
wonder if you, while instructing others to correct themselves, were not to  
accord the same care to what has been *unrighteously* done by yourselves.  
And this care will certainly be applied by you if you set aside and cancel and  
anathematize what has gone before, and has introduced the occasion of  
stumbling into the Church of God, and has driven you into such fearful  
condemnation.

I do not speak this of the good Emperor—God forbid!—nor yet of  
your Pope Sergius. I do not mean that these should be anathematized. For  
when God had already stretched forth his hand upon the good Emperor, he,  
being near the end of his life, found for himself (as I trust in the Divine Favor)  
an escape from the condemnation and the anathema: for he acknowledged  
his own transgression, and implored pardon and release from the ban which  
I had laid upon him, and gave me back the flock from which I had been  
expelled, and entrusted all things to be administered by me as I thought  
pleasing to God and in conformity with the divine and holy canons. Now,  
too, that your predecessor has quitted this life and is submitting the defense  
for his dispensation to the First and Great High Priest, this suffices for him  
without rebuke from men here below. These two must therefore be exempted.  
But the rest, who are still alive, you should consign to the fitting condem-

475 fort. ἀνακόπτεται || 477-478 διελθὸν Wk: -ὄν P || 482 γεγενημένων Jk: -νη P ||  
489 μῆ² Jk: om. P || 502 καί³ Jk: om. P

μένη παράδοτε καταδίκη, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων γραμμάτων μαθόντες  
 ὅσα ἐπονηρεύσαντο καὶ οἷς ὁ φιλόχριστος καὶ μέγας ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς πρό-  
 νοιαν ἔθετο γινῶναι ὑμᾶς τὰ ἐκείνους δραματοποιηθέντα καὶ μηδὲν λα-  
 510 θεῖν τῆς ψευδοῦς αὐτῶν συσκευῆς ἐν τῷ καταπράξασθαι διὰ τοῦ περι-  
 βλέπτου αὐτοῦ μαγίστρου πρὸς ὑμᾶς κοιμισθῆναι τὰ κακῶς μελετηθέντα,  
 πολὺ δὲ χεῖρω καὶ γραφῆς ἀξιοθέντα. Δι' ὧν πάντων τῆς ἀληθείας  
 ἐμφανιζομένης, ὑμέτερόν ἐστιν καταγνῶναι τοῦ ψεύδους, καὶ ἂ μὴ ἔδει  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν πραχθῆναι, ταῦτα εἰ καὶ διεπράχθη κατακρῖναι καὶ τὴν ἐξ  
 515 ἀρχῆς ὑμῶν δόξαν ἀνασώσασθαι, πάντα ἐκεῖνα βίψαντας εἰς κεφαλὴν  
 τῶν κακουργησάντων καὶ ὅσον | ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦκεν πλεον τῆ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ- B  
 κλησία ἢ τῆ ἐνταῦθα λυμνημαμένων.

### 33. Τρύφωνι μονάζοντι

Οὐδὲν ἔλαττον καὶ ἡμῖν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καθέστηκεν τῇ σῆ ὁσιότητι  
 συγγενέσθαι καὶ παρουσίας καὶ ὁμιλίας κοινωνῆσαι ἢ ὅσον αὐτός, ὃ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε, τῆς τοιαύτης ὑπάρχεις ἐφέσεως. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ τῶν πραγμά-  
 5 των αἱ περιπτώσεις σωματικῶς γενέσθαι τοῦτο μὴ βούλονται, κρεῖττονί  
 τινη κοινωνία θεραπεύομεν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν νοερῶς συγγινόμενοι καὶ βλέμ-  
 μασι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἔχοντες. Τοῦτο οἶδα καὶ τῇ σῆ ὁσιότητι  
 τοῦ Ἰσοῦ πόθου παρεχόμενον ἀπολαβεῖν. Περὶ δὲ τῆς λυπούσης ἀσθε-  
 νείας, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἀδιαλείπτως | ἀλγη- C  
 10 δόσιν βάλλει τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν, ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ νῦν προσθήκη ἀλγη-  
 δόνος. Ὅμως οὖν ἀναφέροντες ἐπὶ τῷ σωτήρι θεῷ ἡμῶν τὴν ἐλπίδα  
 προσδοκῶμεν τῆς ἐπὶ σοὶ ἀλγηδόνας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν εὐρεῖν τὴν θεραπείαν,  
 ἐὰν μόνον σὺ βουληθῆς, ὥσπερ ἠτήσω τὴν τῶν βοηθημάτων ἀποστολήν,  
 ἃ καὶ ἀπεστείλαμεν, οὕτω καὶ τῆς χρήσεως αὐτῶν πείραν λαβεῖν μὴ  
 15 βραδέως. Διότι οὐκ ἄδηλον ὅτι παντὸς ἐναντιώματος ἐν ἀρχῇ βῆδία ἢ  
 ἀποφυγή, ἢ δὲ τοῦτου παρενόχλησις ἐν καταφρονήσει τιθεμένη, δύναμιν  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λαμβάνουσα οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐθέλει ἀνιέναι τοὺς πρότερον  
 καταφρονητάς, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν καθισταμένους τῆς τοῦ παρεν-  
 οχλοῦντος διάξεως. Δεῖ οὖν καὶ τὴν ὑμῶν τελειότητα τῶν βοηθημάτων D  
 20 καταλαμβανόντων σὺν θεῷ μὴ βραδύμως αὐτῶν τὴν χρῆσιν ποιήσασθαι.  
 Πάντως γὰρ εὐέλπιδές ἐσμεν ὡς εἰ σπουδαιότερον χρῆσιν αὐτοῖς, ἐπανε-  
 λεύσεται ἢ φυσικῇ τοῦ σαρκίου κατάστασις.

nation, now that you have learned of their evil practices both from my letter  
 and by the steps which our Christ-loving and great Emperor has taken to  
 acquaint you of their machinations and to see that nothing should escape  
 you of the lying fraud enacted by them; which exposure of their wicked  
 plans, and of the far worse things committed to writing, is conveyed to you  
 by the hand of his excellent Magister. So, now that the truth has been made  
 plain by all those means, it is your duty to convict the fraud, and to condemn  
 what should never have been done at all, though done it was, and recover  
 your former reputation, casting all those crimes upon the heads of the crim-  
 inals, who, so far as it lay with them, have injured the Church of Rome  
 more than our own.

### 33. To the Monk Tryphon

I am no less desirous to be with your Holiness and partake of your  
 presence and conversation than you (O man of God) desire the like yourself.  
 But since the circumstances of our affairs do not allow of our meeting cor-  
 poreally, I am, in a higher communion, satisfying my desire by meeting you  
 in spirit, and having my joy with the eyes of the soul. This I am sure will  
 enable your Holiness too to indulge an affection no less than mine. From  
 the illness that afflicts you, on the top of those other matters which, for my  
 sins, wound my soul with continual sorrows, I have now received an augmen-  
 tation of sorrow. But, placing my hope in God my Saviour, let me expect  
 that my sorrow for you will find a speedy cure, if only you will not delay in  
 trying the use of those remedies which I am sending, as you requested me.  
 It is obvious that every adversity may be easily escaped in the beginning,  
 but that, if its annoyance be neglected, it derives strength from time, and  
 will no longer be induced as easily to quit those who once neglected it, but  
 who later try earnestly to expel the annoyance. So your Perfection, when  
 the remedies, God willing, arrive, must not be dilatory in your use of them:  
 for I am wholly confident that, if you apply them diligently, your flesh will  
 return to its natural condition.

507 παράδοτε P<sup>c</sup>: παραδέδοται P<sup>1</sup> || 511 κοιμισθῆναι Wk: -θέντα P || 515 βίψαντας P<sup>c</sup>: -ες P<sup>1</sup>  
 33: P 161r-162r || 4 ὑπάρχεις Mai: -ης P || 21 εἰ Vat.: εἰς P

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον. Σὺ δὲ εἰδὼς οἷα εἰκὸς πάσχειν ἡμᾶς,  
 ἐν τοιαύταις καταγίγισι πραγμάτων στρεφομένους οἷας οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τις  
 25 ποτε πραγμάτων ἐπήγειρεν βιαιότης, ταῖς ὁσίοις ἐπαμύνειν εὐχαῖς γενοῦ  
 μοι καὶ προθυμότερος καὶ συντονώτερος.

#### 34. Στρατηγῶ Ἑλλάδος

Τέκνον ἡμῶν ἡγαπημένον, οἶδαμεν ὅτι χάριτι θεοῦ φρονήσει  
 κοσμούμενος καὶ συνέσει καὶ θεοφιλῆς ὑπάρχων, ὅσα εἰς τιμὴν καὶ  
 κατάστασιν τῶν | ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, ταῦτα καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἡμετέρας 221  
 5 παραινέσεως καὶ διανοῆ καὶ πράττεις. Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἡ ὅλη μέριμνα  
 καὶ ἡ φροντίς ἡμῶν ἐπίκειται τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, γράφομέν σοι καὶ ἡμεῖς δ  
 καὶ σοὶ μισθὸν οὐράνιον προξενεῖ καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις εἰς συμφέρον  
 ἐστίν.

Ἄλλὰ τέως μὲν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σιγῶμεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν  
 10 Θηβῶν ἀγίας ἀνεμάθομεν ἐκκλησίας ὡς οἱ κληρικοὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων στα-  
 σιάζοντες ἀντὶ τοῦ τύπος εἶναι καταστάσεως τοῖς κοσμικοῖς αὐτοὶ ἀτα-  
 ξίας καὶ μάχας συνιστῶσιν, καὶ τὸ ἐλεεινότερον καὶ πληγᾶς ἐπιφέρουσιν  
 ἀλλήλοις, ὀρίζομεν ἵνα τούτους εἰς ἓν ἡ σὴ προσκαλέσῃται σύνεσις, καὶ  
 λόγους καὶ παραινέσεις πείσῃ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀταξίας ἀποσχέσθαι καὶ  
 15 παραγγεῖλη τοὺς μὲν μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου συλλειτουργοῦντας, | ἐκεῖ- B  
 νους τὴν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατέχειν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ δοξολογίαν τοῦ  
 θεοῦ ἐπιτελεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, οἱ τέως τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ οὔτε συνελει-  
 τούργησαν οὔτε ἐκοινωνήσαν, ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκκλησίαις συνάγεσθαι καθ'  
 20 θεὸς εὐδοκῆσῃ τι οἰκονομηθῆναι εἰς τὰ κατασχόντα πράγματα διὰ τὰς  
 ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν τὴν ἀγίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν. Τούτου γὰρ γινομένου καὶ οἱ  
 παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διατηρηθέντες ἄμεμπτοι ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ προσ-  
 κόψωσιν καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώπινόν τι παθόντες καὶ σφαλέντες μετὰ τῆς  
 ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος ἔσονται ἀναμένοντες τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς γενησομένην οἰκο-  
 25 νομίαν, ὅταν ὁ μέγας ἡμῶν ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ θεὸς τοῦτο εὐδοκῆσῃ ἐπιτε-  
 λεσθῆναι. Ἐρρωμένον σε δια|φυλάξει ὁ κύριος, τέκνον ἡμῶν ποθεινόν, C  
 ἐν πᾶσι καλοῖς προκόπτοντα καὶ εὐδοκιμοῦντα καὶ ὄντα παντοίας ἐπη-  
 ρείας ἀνώτερον.

34: P 162r-v Q 186r-v || 1 tit. P: om. Q || 5 καὶ<sup>1</sup> P: om. Q || ἐπεὶ ἡ P: ἐπειδ(ῆ)  
 Q || 9 τῶν<sup>2</sup> P: om. Q || 10 κατ' P: om. Q || 11-12 ἀταξίας Q: ἀταραξίας P || 12 ἐλεεινότα-  
 τον P: -τερον Q || καὶ<sup>3</sup> P: om. Q || 13 σύνεσις P: ἄνεσις Q || 14 καὶ παραινέσεις P: παραι-  
 νέσει Q || πείσῃ P: -σης Q || ἀταξίας ἀποσχέσθαι P: ἀπέχεσθαι ἀταξίας Q || 15 παραγγεῖλη  
 P: om. Q || 16 αὐτῇ P: -ῶ Q || 16-17 τοῦ θεοῦ P: om. Q || 17-18 συνελειτούργησαν P Q<sup>o</sup>:  
 συλλειτούργησαν Q<sup>1</sup> || 20 εἰς - 28 ἀνώτερον P: om. Q

So much for that. But do you, knowing what I must be suffering amidst  
 these tempests, which are such as I doubt whether any violence of circum-  
 stances has ever aroused till now, be the more eager and constant to protect  
 me with your holy prayers.

#### 34. To the Military Governor of Hellas

My beloved Son, I am aware that, as by God's grace you are adorned  
 with prudence and wisdom, and are besides loved by Him, you both intend  
 and practice, without exhortation from me, those things which make for the  
 honor and good order of the Churches of God. Nonetheless, because all the  
 responsibility and care for those Churches rest on me, I myself write to you  
 of matters which shall gain you a heavenly recompense and are for the good  
 of the Churches.

Leaving the rest aside for the moment, I have learned concerning the  
 holy Church of Thebes that the clergy are at odds with one another, and  
 instead of giving an example of good order to the laity, are themselves pro-  
 voking disorders and clashes, and, what is most pitiable of all, are inflicting  
 wounds on one another. I therefore command that your Wisdom shall invite  
 them together, and by word and exhortation persuade them to abstain from  
 this disorder, and to require that those who celebrate with the Archbishop  
 shall occupy the cathedral church, and there perform the glorification of God;  
 and that the others, who up to the present have neither celebrated nor com-  
 municated with the Archbishop, shall gather by themselves in the other  
 churches, so that the sacred office be undisturbed until the Holy God may  
 approve that His holy Church be dispensed from the troubles which, for our  
 sins, have come upon us. In this way, those who have been kept blameless  
 by God in their ministry shall in no way be offended; and those who in human  
 wise have suffered and strayed may abide in good hope the coming dispen-  
 sation concerning them, when our Great Archpriest and God grants it con-  
 summation. The Lord keep you in health (my tenderly loved Son), prospering  
 and approved in all goodness, and above the reach of any kind of malice.

Οἶδα, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἡγαπημένον, ὅτι καὶ φρονήσει καὶ συνέσει  
 κοσμούμενος ἐκεῖνα φρονεῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὅσα πρέπον  
 ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων θεοφιλῆ καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ νῦν τιμηθέντα καὶ δοξασθέν-  
 5 τα καὶ εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ  
 ἐλπίζοντα· καὶ ἴσως περισσόν τι ποιοῦμεν τὴν σὴν διανοηθέντες παραι-  
 νεῖν θεοφιλῆ ψυχὴν περὶ τοῦ προῖστασθαι τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς μεγάλης  
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ἧ καὶ | ἐδοξάσθη παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, D  
 διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν ταπεινῶν ἡμῶν χειρῶν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ πατρικίῳτητι  
 10 εὐλογίαν δεξάμενος· ἐν ἧ πάντως καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχεις, τουτέστιν εἰς τὴν  
 ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ παντὸς κατοικοῦσαν χάριν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος.

Ἄλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴ γράμματα ἐδεξάμεθα παρὰ τοῦ τῶν κτημάτων  
 αὐτῆς προεστῶτος, λέγομεν δὴ τοῦ Στρογγυλίζοντος, ὑπόμνησιν ποιού-  
 μενα τοῦ γράφαι πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ὥστε τῆς σῆς ἀντιλη-  
 15 πτικῆς χειρὸς ἐν ἀπολαύσει αὐτόν τε τυγχάνειν καὶ τοὺς καταπεπιστευ-  
 μένους αὐτῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τόπους, οὗ ἂν ἡ χρῆσις καλῆ, τὴν ἐκείνου πλη-  
 ροῦντες ὑπόμνησιν ταῦτά σοι τὰ γράμματα διαπέμπομεν, καὶ ὥσπερ  
 παρόντες δι' αὐτῶν προσομιλοῦμεν καὶ παραινοῦμεν τοῦ μὴ περιορᾶν τοὺς  
 βου|λομένους ἐπιτηδᾶν ἀτάκτῳ γνώμῃ καὶ ὀρμῇ ἐν τοῖς τόποις τοῦ ἁγίου 224  
 20 ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ παρασπᾶν μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς  
 ἐκείνου δεσποτείας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν δεσποτείαν ἄγειν. Εἰσὶν δὲ ὡς μαν-  
 θάνομεν τοιαύτης προαιρέσεως μοχθηρᾶς οὐκ ὀλίγοι τινές, οἳ, ὡς φασιν,  
 μόνῃ πλεονεξίᾳ κινούμενοι οὐ τρέμουσι τὰ τοῦ θείου ναοῦ ἀποσπαράσσειν  
 καὶ οἰκεῖα ποιεῖσθαι, ἱερόσυλοι τινες ὄντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἱερωτάτης  
 25 ἐκκλησίας καταφρονούντες.

Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν τοιοῦτοι. Σὺ δέ, τέκνον ἐμόν, ὡς φρόνιμος ἐνοῶν ὅσος  
 ὁ κίνδυνος καὶ τοῖς τολμῶσι ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς παρορῶσι τὴν τόλμαν καὶ δυ-  
 ναμένοις διεκδικεῖν τοῦτο μὴ πράττουσιν, μήτε ἐκείνοις συγχωρῆς διὰ  
 τῆς τοιαύτης ζημίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτοὺς ζημιοῦν ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας,  
 30 μήτε σὺ διὰ τοῦ παρορᾶν τὴν πλεονεξίαν αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἱερο|συλίαν, B  
 ὥσπερ ὑπόδικον σεαυτὸν καταστήσης τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ κατακρίματι. Ὁ γὰρ  
 δυνάμενος κωλύειν τὴν πονηρίαν, εἴτα τοῦτο μὴ πράττων, οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχει  
 τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς κατακρίσεως. Καὶ εἰ τὸ μὴ προσφέρειν θεῷ ἐκ τῶν  
 οἰκειῶν μέμψιν ἔχει καὶ κατάγνωσιν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ ἀρπάζειν τὰ τοῦ  
 35 θεοῦ;

I am aware (my beloved Son) that, adorned as you are with prudence  
 and wisdom, you have that disposition concerning the Church of God which  
 becomes a man beloved of God, whom God has honored and glorified in this  
 life, and who looks to receive glory and honor from Him in the life to come;  
 and it may be that I am acting unnecessarily in deciding to exhort your pious  
 heart in the matter of defending the properties of the Great Church of God,  
 in which you were glorified by the Holy Spirit when you received the blessing  
 upon your patriciate through the laying on of my humble hands; and in  
 which you surely have your hope, I mean, in the Grace of the All-holy Spirit  
 That dwells continually within it.

However, since I have received a letter from the Curator of its estates  
 —I mean, at Strongylizon—suggesting that I should write to your Excellency  
 to the end that both he and the estates of the Church committed to his charge  
 may have the benefit of your supporting arm where need may arise, I am  
 carrying out his suggestion and dispatching this letter to you and through it,  
 as though I were in your presence, I speak to you and exhort you not to  
 ignore those who are trying, with lawless purpose and violence, to invade the  
 estates of the holy Church of our Great God and Saviour, and to tear those  
 estates away from the Church's ownership, and bring them under their own.  
 There is, as I learn, a considerable number of persons with this criminal  
 purpose, who, it is said, out of sheer greed, do not fear to tear away the  
 property of the divine Temple and make it their own: for they are temple-  
 robbers, and thus contemners of the most holy Church.

So much for them. But you (my Son), who are wise enough to see how  
 great is the danger, both to those who dare to commit those crimes and to  
 those who overlook their insolence and who, though having the power to  
 punish, do not use it, do you not allow these men by this damage done to  
 the Church to damage the salvation of their own souls, nor do you by ignoring  
 their greed—or rather their temple-robbing—make yourself, in a sense,  
 liable to the condemnation of God. For he that is able to repress evil, and  
 does not, is near to fellowship with its guilt. And if it is censurable and dam-  
 nable not to offer of one's own to God, how much more so is it to seize the  
 property of God?



"Απερ ὡς φρόνιμος, τέκνον μου, συναρῶν, δεῖξον τὸν πρέποντα τῇ σῇ ἀρετῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ζῆλον καὶ ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ πεποιθήσῃ ἔχεις, ἵνα καὶ σεαυτῷ χάριν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν παρὰ θεοῦ περιποιήσῃ καὶ οἱ κακῶς ἐπιπηδῶντες εἰς τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θράσους ἐπισχεθέντες  
 40 μὴ ἐν οἷς οὐ δεῖ μὴδ' εὐλογόν τι φαίνωνται κεκτημένοι τὴν πονηρὰν αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν ἐπεκτείνωσιν.

### 36. Τῷ κουράτωρι τοῦ Στρογγυλίζοντος

Δι' ὑποδείξεως γράμματος παρὰ σοῦ σταλέντος πρὸς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱερώτατον ἄνθρωπον καὶ οἰκονόμον τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐμάθομεν ἀλύειν σε καὶ δυσφορεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀγλήσεσι τῶν  
 5 πραγμάτων, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὅτι γράμματα παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸ χρόνου τινὸς ἐδέξω μέμψεις σοι φέροντα. Καὶ ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἐκείνου μέμψεων οὐκ ἀποδεχόμεθά σε λυπούμενον. Αἱ γὰρ πατρικαὶ πρὸς τὰ τέκνα ἐπιτιμήσεις καὶ μέμψεις, ὅποια ἂν ᾖσιν, εὐφροσύνης μᾶλλον εἰσι παρασκευαστικαὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ λύπης καὶ θλίψεως. Διὰ τί; "Ὅτι πρὸς τὸν  
 10 σκοπὸν τῆς μέμψεως καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀφορᾶν ὀφείλει ὁ ταύτη καθυποβεβλημένος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι | μόνους προσέχειν. Εἴτε οὖν μὴ σφαλλόμε- D νος ἐδέξω τὴν μέμψιν, χαίρειν ὀφείλεις ὅτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ σφαλλῆναι ὥστερ τις προασφάλεια γέγονεν ἢ μέμψις· εἴτε σφαλλομένῳ σοι ἐπετίμησεν, καὶ οὕτω πλέον ἔδει χαίρειν ὅτι διόρθωσις καὶ θεραπεία τοῦ πταίσματος  
 15 ἐκ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως ἀπαντᾷ. Καλὰ δὲ ἀμφοτέρα· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς οὐκ ἔδει σε φρόνιμον ὄντα ἐκεῖνο παθεῖν ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς καὶ ἀσυμφόροις ἀκολουθεῖ, ταῦτα γὰρ μόνον λυπεῖν οἶδε τὸν λογιζόμενον ἐμφρόνως. "Ὡστε τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς γράμμασι τοῦ οἰκονόμου λύπην ἀπόθου καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀφες τῆς ἀκηδίας καὶ τὰ παραιτούμενα ῥήματα τὴν διακονίαν,  
 20 ἐξ ἧς σοι ὀρθῶς καὶ ὀλοψύχως διακονοῦντι ἀσύγκριτος ἀπόκειται ὁ μισθός. Μὴ γὰρ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρόντα βλέπῃς, ἄνθρωπος συνετὸς ὑπάρχων | καὶ πλέον τῆς παρουσίας ζωῆς ὥς γε ὑπολαμβάνω ἐφιέμενος 225 τῆς μελλούσης· πάντως δὲ οὐ διστάζεις ὅτι ἀπόκειται σοι μισθός ἐκεῖθεν παρὰ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας πονεῖς. "Ἡ  
 25 σὺ ἐάν τις ἐν τοῖς σοῖς πόνον καὶ σπουδὴν ἐπιδείκνυται πράγμασιν, ὥστε

37-38: cf. Phil. 3.4.

36 συναρῶν P\*: -ᾶν P<sup>1</sup>

36: P 163v-164r || 21 βλέπῃς Wk: -εις P

This (my Son) you are wise enough to realize: therefore show that zeal on behalf of the Church of God which befits your Virtue, and the faith which you have in that Church, that you may win for yourself no ordinary thanks from God, and those who are evilly encroaching on the properties of the Church may be checked in their insolence, and may not extend their wicked purpose where they have no right and obviously have no reasonable claim.

### 36. To the Curator of Strongylizon

From the tenor of the letter sent by you to that most holy man of God, the Oeconomus of the Great Church of God, I gather that you are distraught and angry, the one because of troublesome circumstances, the other because you received a letter from him some time ago which blamed you. So far as his strictures are concerned, I do not approve your resentment. Rebukes and strictures of whatever kind, sent by fathers to sons, are cheerfully received by intelligent men, and not with resentment and grief. And why so? Because the man so rebuked should consider the aim and end of the stricture, and not have regard simply to its wording. If you have been blamed when you have done no wrong, you ought to be grateful, because the blame has acted as warning against your doing so; if you have done wrong, and been rebuked for it, you should be even more grateful, because the rebuke has corrected and healed the transgression. Both are good; and you, as an intelligent man, should not allow good things to trouble you as though they were evils and disasters, by which alone a sensible person is afflicted. So, put aside your resentment at the Oeconomus' letter, drop this attitude of heedless indifference, and withdraw your resignation of your stewardship, from which, if you work at it uprightly and wholeheartedly, an incomparable reward awaits you. You, an intelligent man, do not regard only things present, but, beyond this present life, you desire (I suppose) that which is to come. You surely do not doubt that your reward is laid up for you by God in Heaven for your labor in the affairs of His Church? If somebody works zealously in



ὠφέλειάν τινα τούτοις γίνεσθαι, τῆς ὀφειλομένης χάριτος οὐκ ἀποστε-  
ρεῖς τὸν σπουδάζοντα, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τρόπῳ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν τῶν πόνων τούτου  
περισκοπεῖς, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν λείπεσθαι τῆς σῆς προαιρέσεως  
30 ὑπολαμβάνεις; Ἄλλ' ἄτοπον τοῦτο, καὶ μὴ ποτε εἰς νοῦν ἀνθρώπινον  
ἔλθοι.

Ὡς εἶπον, κατάβαλε τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ γράμματι ἀθυρίαν. Περὶ δὲ τῆς  
τῶν πραγμάτων περιστάσεως καὶ δυσκολίας ἐγράψαμεν τῷ στρατηγῷ,  
καὶ λογιζόμεθα τοῦτον μὴ ἐν παραλογισμῷ θέσθαι | τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν B  
γραφέντα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιχορηγηθῆναί σοι παρ' αὐτοῦ βοή-  
35 θειαν καὶ ἀντίληψιν. Ὡστε καὶ ἐν τούτοις εὐθυμότερος γενόμενος σπου-  
δαιότερον τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντέχου, καὶ συγγινόμενος τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ  
τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀναμανθάνων γράφε πρὸς ἡμᾶς· καὶ  
τῆς δυνατῆς οὐκ ἐν δευτέρῳ ποιησόμεθα βοηθείας σε μὴ ἀποτυγχάνειν  
μηδὲ τῆς ὀφειλομένης προνοίας τε καὶ προστασίας.

### 37. Στυλιανῷ διακόνῳ

Προστάξεις καὶ διδασκαλίας πράξεων ἐκείνοις ἀναγκαῖαι ὅσοι μὴ  
τὸν οἰκεῖον νοῦν διδάσκαλον ἔχουσι. Τοῦτο ἡμεῖς οὐ λογιζόμεθα περὶ σοῦ·  
διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ γράφειν σοι ὅπως δεῖ σε τὰ τῆς <τοῦ> θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας  
5 πράγματα διοικεῖν ἀπεσχόμεθα. Πείσαντες γὰρ ἅπαξ ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι πρῶ-  
τον μὲν εἰς θεὸν ὄρας καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου κατάκριμα φρίτεις, ἔπειτα δὲ ὅτι  
καὶ | τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν ὡς τὸ δέον γίνεται οὐχ ὑστερεῖς, C  
περιττὸν ἡγησάμεθα τοῦ προστιθέναι τι παρ' ἑαυτῶν πρὸς τὴν δέουσαν  
τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων διοίκησιν, ὅση τε ἐν τῇ καταστάσει τῶν  
10 ἱερέων καὶ ὅση ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ γεωργικῇ.

Τοῦτο δὲ μόνον γράφομεν, ὑπερ ἤτησας, τοῦ ἀνοῦξαι μὲν τὸ  
σκευοφυλακεῖον, ἐξενεγκεῖν δὲ τὸ χαρτίον ὃ πρὸς τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον τῶν  
ἱερέων τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἱ κατὰ καιροὺς ἔδωκαν βασιλεῖς· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥστε  
τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ τῇ μητροπόλει προσόντα καὶ τὴν τούτων  
15 παραγραφὴν ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Τοῦτο ἐπιτελεσάμενος καὶ τὰς  
ἡμῶν ἐλπίδας μὴ κατασχῆναι διὰ σπουδῆς ποιούμενος, ἔρρωσο.

your own affairs so that they are benefited thereby, you would not deprive  
that zealous servant of his due reward, but would take care that his labors  
were recompensed in full; and do you suppose that God, Who is above us all,  
is inferior to you in this attitude? That is absurd, and no human being  
should think it for a moment.

As I say, get rid of your sulkiness over the letter. But as regards the  
crisis and difficulty of events, I have written to the Military Governor, and  
I imagine he will not neglect what I have written, but will furnish you with  
all possible assistance and support. So on this score too you should cheer up,  
and get to work more vigorously, and act in collaboration with the Military  
Governor and find out what he thinks from now on; then write to me, and  
I will make it a matter of urgency to see that you get what help is possible,  
together with the necessary care and protection.

### 37. To Stylian, Deacon

Orders and instructions on conduct are needful for those who are not  
instructed by their own intelligence. I do not think this of you, and so I have  
abstained from writing to instruct you how to administer the affairs of the  
Church of God. Having once convinced myself that you look toward God  
and fear His condemnation, and then that you are not deficient in human  
intelligence as a guide to proper conduct, I regard it as unnecessary to add  
anything of my own concerning the proper administration of the affairs of  
the Church, either in respect to the good order of the clergy or in respect to  
agricultural efficiency.

I write only this, regarding your request, that you should open the  
cathedral treasury and extract the document which emperors have issued  
from to time in favor of the immunity of the priests of the Church: make  
an audit at the same time of all the sacred objects belonging to the me-  
tropolis, and send me the summary. When you have done this, and not  
disappointed my expectation of your zeal, fare you well!

## 38. Φιλητῶ μονάζοντι

Ἐγώ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τοῦτο εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς εὐχομαι, πάντας D  
 ἐκείνην τὴν ὁδὸν βαδίζειν ἥτις ἀφίστησι τῆς κοσμικῆς αὐτοῦς συγχύ-  
 σεως, πρὸς δὲ τὴν σωτήριον ἀπάγει καὶ κατασκήνωσιν καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν·  
 5 καὶ εἴ γε δυνατὸν, οὐ μόνον τὴν αἴτησιν εἰς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν εἰμι πρόθυμος,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τι πλεόν, μόνον εἰ ἐπηκολούθει τὸ σπουδαζόμενον τῇ προαι-  
 ρέσει, ποιεῖν ἐβουλόμην. Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς δέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ χωρὶς τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων λόγων τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἐσμεν  
 δυνατοὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν συμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅποσα καὶ ἀγωνιεῖσθαι  
 10 δόξομεν, ῥυθίσεται διὰ κενῆς ὁ ἀγών. Τί οὖν φημι, ὡς ἐν τοιοῦτῳ καιρῷ,  
 ἢ τὸ πᾶν ἀνατιθέναι θεῷ; Καὶ ὁ μὲν τῷ πόθῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναφλεχθεὶς,  
 εἴ γε ἀληθῶς ἐπεπόθησεν αὐτόν, πληρο|φορήσει τὸν ἀναφθέντα πόθον 228  
 διὰ τοῦ ἀκολουθῆσαι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν, τῷ αἰτησαμένῳ καὶ  
 ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἐπιτροπὴν λαβεῖν περὶ τῆς τῶν οἰκείων διοικήσεως μὴ μόνον  
 15 ἐπιτρέψαντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπαγορεύσαντι μέριμναν, καὶ κατα-  
 λιπεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀκαμάτῳ προνοίᾳ τὴν ἐπιχειρημαμένην  
 αὐτῷ φροντίδα, ὡς ἐκείνου ἱκανοῦ ὄντος καὶ ἃ φροντίζει ἀναδέξασθαι καὶ  
 συμφερόντως διεξαγαγεῖν καὶ τούτῳ προξενῆσαι τὸ ἀπερίσπαστον.  
 Ἐπιβλέπομεν γὰρ εἰς ἀρχαίας γενεάς, καὶ οὐχ ὀρῶμεν ἀνατεθειμένην ἐλ-  
 20 πίδα πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν, εἶτα καταισχυνθεῖσαν. Ταῦτά σοι,  
 τέκνον ἐμόν, καὶ ὡς συνετῷ καὶ ὡς τὰ θεῖα μελετῶντι καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς  
 δυσκολίας τοῦ καιροῦ συμβαλέσθαι τι ἀνθρωπίνως τῇ σῇ ἐξαιτήσει μὴ |  
 συγχωρούμενοι γράφομεν. Σὺ δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀνωθεν εὐμενείας τὸν ἐκ τοῦ B  
 βιωτικοῦ κλύδωνος ἐξελάσαι ποθοῦντα, καὶ παραινέσσει καὶ εὐχαῖς  
 25 ἐκεῖθεν ἐξάγαγε· καὶ πιστεύομεν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ περὶ  
 ὧν φροντίζει, τούτων πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον γενήσεται ἢ διεξαγωγῇ. Τὰ δ'  
 ἄλλα ἔρρωσό μοι καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινότητος μὴ διαλιμπάνης ὑπερευχό-  
 μενος.

## 39. Γρηγορίῳ μητροπολίτῃ Ἐφέσου

Ἴσως περιττὸν ὁ ποιούμεν· γράφομεν γὰρ ἃ χειλέων ἡμῶν ἤκουσας,  
 οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σπουδῆς ὅσην ἐώρας ἐν τῷ ἀκούειν ἃ ἐλέγομεν.  
 Πλὴν ἰδοὺ σοι καὶ γράμματι ἀπόντι προσφθεγγόμεθα ὅσα καὶ παρόντι

38: 13-15: Luc. 9.61-62. || 19: Sirac. 2.10.

38: P 164v-165r || 14 μὴ μόνον] cf. supra 27.26

39: P 165r-v

## 38. To Philetus the Monk

I (my Son), though a sinner, pray for this, that all may tread that  
 path which leads them away from the turmoil of this world, and draws them  
 toward the abode and peace of salvation. And, if it were possible, I should be  
 eager not only to fulfill your request, but should even be ready to do some-  
 thing further, if only my goodwill could achieve the object desired. But you  
 are aware (my Son), even without my telling you, what the state of affairs is,  
 and that I am able to give no assistance in the affair; but that, however I  
 might be seen to struggle, my struggle would go for nothing. What can I say,  
 at such a conjuncture, save to entrust the whole to God? And let him who is  
 inflamed with the desire of Christ, if truly he has desired Him, confirm the  
 desire that has been kindled by following after our Christ and God, Who, to  
 another who asked His permission to settle his affairs, not only did not  
 allow this, but forbade him such an anxiety, telling him to repose on Him  
 and on His unwearying Providence the care which weighed on him: for He  
 was sufficient to bear and bring to a happy issue what was troubling him,  
 and to free him from distraction. We survey past generations, and we do  
 not find that that hope which reposes on Christ our God is put to shame.  
 This I write to you (my Son), who are wise and a student of the divine things,  
 since the difficulty of the time allows me, humanly speaking, to give you no  
 help in your request. But do you, with the Divine Favor, draw hence with  
 your exhortations and prayers him who desires to take refuge from the storm  
 of life: and believe in Christ our God that there will be a fortunate issue out  
 of his troubles. For the rest, fare well, and cease not to pray for my Humility.

## 39. To Gregory, Metropolitan of Ephesus

I may be doing what is unnecessary, for I write what you heard from  
 my lips—words not idly spoken but with all the earnestness you observed  
 when I pronounced them in your hearing. And now, you see, I address you

5 ἔφημεν. Οὐ συγχωρεῖ τὰ πράγματα τὴν διάστασιν ἡμῶν· τίνα μὲν γὰρ  
 ἐστὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαβιβαζόμενα παρὰ τῆς φήμης, αὐτοὶ ἂν εἰδείητε· | & C  
 δὲ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο μὲν ἀκούομεν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μανθάνομεν ἐναργῶς, πολλὴν  
 ἔχει δύναμιν τοῦ λυπεῖν ἡμᾶς. Ὡς οὖν τοιούτοις συνεχόμενοι, ἐκεῖνό σοι  
 γράφομεν, μὴ τὸ σὸν ἐπίπροσθε ποιεῖν, εἴ γε καὶ ἐστὶ τοῦτο σὸν τι καὶ  
 10 σοὶ χαρίζεσθαι δυνάμενον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κοινὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνωμαλίαν,  
 καὶ σὺν τῷ δυνατῷ τάχει καταλαβεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ ταῦτον παθεῖν  
 τῷ Κυζίκου, ὃς ἔοικε παντελῶς ἐκλελῆσθαι τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν  
 μετριότητος. Ὡς τέκνων πρὸς πατέρας στοργὴ καὶ φροντίδες καὶ μέριμναι,  
 ποῦ ποτε ἀπανέστητε; Νῦν γὰρ ἐν βίῳ οὐ πολιτεύεσθε. Ἐρρωσώ μοι, καὶ  
 15 ὑπερέχου τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος.

#### 40. Μαλακινῷ πατρικίῳ

Οὐκ ἠλγήσαμεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνειδισμοῖς οὓς καθ' ἡμῶν ἀπερρίπτει τὸ D  
 γράμμα, διότι καὶ τοῦτο μέγα νομίζομεν, τὸ ἀξιοῦσθαι ὅλως μνήμης,  
 ἀνθρωποὶ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν μηδὲ τὸν ἀέρα σπᾶν δίκαιοι τυγχά-  
 5 νοντες. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἡμῖν ἀλγεινὸν ἐφάνη, ὅτι νοῦν ἔχων ἄνθρωπος καὶ  
 πράγματα κρίνειν εἰδὼς ἀπήχθη τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς φύσεως καὶ οὐκ  
 ἔδωκεν σκέψιν τῷ λογισμῷ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μόνην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀπέβλεψεν  
 ἐπιθυμίαν. Μέμφεται οἷς οὐκ ἔδει μέμφεσθαι, καίτοι γε εἰδὼς ἐκ προλα-  
 βούσης πείρας τὴν ἡμετέραν προαίρεσιν, ὅτε καιρὸς ἦν μὴ δυσκολίαν  
 10 ἐπάγων τοῦ πρὸς ἔργον τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξιέναι γνώμην. Εἰ δ' ὅτι οὗτος  
 κἀκεῖνος ἔτυχόν τινος παρ' ἡμῶν ἔδακε τὴν καρδίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ πρὸς  
 τὰς μέμφεις ἠρέθισεν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο εὐλογον. Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ γὰρ | οὐδὲ τοῦτο 229  
 φρόνιμος ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι μεγάλην ἔχει ῥοπήν ὁ καιρὸς· πολλὰ τῶν  
 διοικημάτων οὐ κατὰ τὴν βούλησιν τοῦ διοικοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε καὶ  
 15 ἀσχάλλοντος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰς ὑπόστασιν ἔγει. Ταῦτα γινώσκων ὡς νουν-  
 εχῆς καὶ συνετός, ἄφες τὰς μέμφεις καὶ τὰς μικρὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς  
 ἡμῶν εὐχου (χρεωστεῖς γὰρ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι φίλος ὑπὲρ φίλου τὴν  
 εὐχὴν), εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπαρέσκει θεῷ, ἐκ τοῦ περιστοιχίζοντος βάρους  
 τῶν θλίψεων ἀνέτους διαγαγεῖν.

40: 16-17: Gen. 47.9.

40: P 165v-166r V 90v-91r || 3 διότι P: διὸ V || 7 ἑαυτοῦ P: αὐτοῦ V || 13 καιρός,  
 <ὅς> Jk || 18 ἀπαρέσκει V: -η P || περιστοιχίζοντος V: -στοχ- P

by letter in your absence in the same terms as I spoke to you when you were  
 here. Affairs do not permit our separation. What rumors have found their  
 way to you, you will know yourself; but what I partly hear and partly  
 learn on plain evidence could hurt us very much. I am afflicted by this, and  
 so I write to you not to put your own business first, even if you have such as  
 to bring you some advantage, but rather the general commotion of the  
 Church; and to come to me as soon as you possibly can, and not to act like  
 the *metropolitan* of Cyzicus, who seems totally to ignore the common interest  
 and my Mediocrity. Oh, affection and care and consideration of children for  
 your fathers, whither have you vanished? For you are not now to be found  
 in life! Fare well, and pray for my Mediocrity.

#### 40. To the Patrician Malacinus

I was not pained by the insults cast on me by the letter, because I  
 regard it as a great compliment to be thought deserving of any notice  
 whatever—I who, for my sins, am unfit so much as to draw breath. But  
 what did seem painful to me was that a man of sense, capable of appreciating  
 the situation, should have been led astray as to its nature, and, instead of  
 thinking it over rationally, should have looked merely to his own desire.  
 He blames those who do not deserve to be blamed, although he knows my  
 willingness to help from past experience, when circumstances did not thwart  
 the realization of my purpose. If he has been incensed and provoked to blame  
 me because certain others got some help out of me, then that too is unrea-  
 sonable: an intelligent man must also be aware that time is a factor of great  
 importance, *which* realizes many of our plans in a way not according to the  
 wish of the planner and sometimes to his intense annoyance. You, with your  
 good sense and wisdom, are aware of this: so stop blaming me, and pray  
 (as it is your duty to do, more especially since your prayer will be that of  
 a friend on behalf of his friend) that I may pass the few days remaining to  
 my life in freedom from the burden of sorrows that now beset me, unless God  
 is wholly averse from my doing so.

## 41. Γρηγορίω μητροπολίτη Ἐφέσου

Καὶ ἄλλως ἡμῖν λυπηρῶς καὶ ἀθύμως διακειμένοις ἐφ' οἷς διὰ τὰς  
ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐσμεν συνεχόμενοι, τὰ γράμματα τῆς ὑμῶν ἀρχιερατικῆς  
τελειότητος ἀναλεγόμενοις ἐπὶ πλεον προσέγευε τοῖς εἰρημένοις κατα- B  
5 σχεθῆναι, δι' ὧν ἐκεῖθεν ἐμανθάνομεν μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης ταλαιπωρίας καὶ  
νόσῳ περιπεσεῖν ὑμᾶς· μάλιστα καὶ τὴν τοῦ καιροῦ ὑφορώμενος φλόγα,  
ἣν φασι τοῖς αὐτόθι ἐπιχωριάζειν. Τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἠνίασε σφοδρότερον καὶ  
ἀνιᾶ, εἰ καὶ τῆς θείας εὐμενείας ἐλπίς τὰ χρηστότερα ὑποφαίνουσα  
δίδωσιν ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ βάρους ὡσπερ ἀναφέρειν τῆς λύπης.

10 Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐνταῦθα καταλήψεως οὐ χρὴ δυσφορεῖν. Ἄναγκαία  
μὲν γὰρ ἡ ὑμετέρα συναναστροφή τῇ παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐγκε-  
χειρισμένη σοι ἐκκλησίᾳ· πλὴν ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα πράγματα μετὰ  
τὴν ὑμετέραν ἔξοδον (οὐκ οἶδα δὲ τὸν τρόπον ὅπως εἰς τοιοῦτον καθέ-  
στηκε σχῆμα) τὴν σὴν ἐπιζητεῖ παρουσίαν, δεύτερα χρὴ λογίζεσθαι |  
15 τέως τὰ ἐν τοῖς αὐτόθι καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι φοιτήσεως. C  
Οἶδας γὰρ ὡς κατὰ ῥοῦν φερομένων τῶν ὧδε πραγμάτων καὶ τὰ κατὰ  
πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀγαθὴν ἔχει τὴν κατάστασιν· τούτων δὲ ἀνωμάλως  
ἐχόντων ἀνάγκη πολὺ χειρὸν τὰ ἔξω καθίστασθαι πράγματα. Μηδὲν οὖν  
σε τοῦτο ἀνιάτω, καθὼς εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον θεοῦ εὐμενῶς ἐπιβλέπον-  
20 τος καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ὡς γε πεποιθήκαμεν τῆς νόσου διδόντος, καὶ δίχα  
τῆς τῶν παρακελευομένων ἐπιτροπῆς μὴ βραδύνης καταλαβεῖν.

Τὸ δὲ χαρτίον δ' ὑπεσχόμεθα οὔτε ἀναβολῆς τινος ἢ μεταμελείας  
ἐγγενομένης μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τῶν σῶν ἀπελείφθη χειρῶν (καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸ  
τῆς ἱερᾶς πανηγύρεως τοῦ μεγάλου γέγονεν ἀποστόλου), ἀλλ' ὅτι λόγοι  
25 τοῖς ὡσὶν ἡμῶν προσήεσαν τὴν σὴν ἀπαγγέλλοντες μετὰ τὴν πανήγυριν  
διὰ τάχους πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀνακομιδὴν, γέγονεν ἡ ὑστέρησις. Νῦν δὲ σοι  
τοῦτο ἀπεστείλαμεν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς φροντίδων ἦς ἀπηλλαγμένος ἕνεκεν  
τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπρεποῦς ὑπονοίας ἔξω διατελώμεν.  
Ἐρρωσὸ μοι, τέκνον ἱερώτατον, μεμνημένος ἐν ταῖς ὁσίαις εὐχαῖς τῆς  
30 ἡμῶν μετριότητος.

Ὅτε τὸ γράμμα τῆς ὑμῶν ἀρχιερατικῆς τελειότητος χερσὶν  
ἐδεξάμεθα, τῶν συνεχόντων ἡμᾶς λυπηρῶν βραχεῖά τις ἄνεσις προσῆλ-  
θεν ἡμῶν τῇ ψυχῇ, τὸ μὲν ὅτι ποθομένου τέκνου καὶ ἀδελφοῦ λόγους

## 41. To Gregory, Metropolitan of Ephesus

Grieved and depressed as I was in any case at those things which for  
my sins are afflicting me, yet when I read the letter of your Archbishoply  
Perfection, I was even more distressed at its contents, from which I learned  
that, together with your other hardship, you had fallen ill; especially when  
I can imagine the season's scorching heat which they tell me prevails where  
you are. This has distressed me very keenly, and still does so, even though  
hope in the Divine Favor reveals a better prospect and allows me (as it were)  
to bear up beneath the load of my grief.

About your coming here, you must not be angry. Doubtless your  
presence is requisite for the Church entrusted to your hand by the Holy  
Spirit; but because matters here since your departure (I cannot say how  
they have assumed this posture) demand your presence, you must for the  
time being consider your local affairs as of secondary importance, and be  
willing instead to visit us. You know that when things here are going  
smoothly, then things throughout the whole Church are in a good state; but  
when they are unquiet here, matters abroad must necessarily be far worse.  
So, as I say, do not let this trouble you, but, when God favors and gives you  
release (as I trust He will) from your illness, hasten your arrival, even without  
the permission of your advisers.

That the document I promised has not been in your hands before now  
is due to no delay or change of mind—it was ready before the holy Festival  
of the Great Apostle; but since I heard a report announcing your arrival in  
the City soon after the Festival, I put off sending it. I send it to you now, to  
ease your mind on this score, and to clear myself of any improper suspicion.  
Fare well (most Holy Son), and remember my Mediocrity in your holy  
prayers.

When the letter of your Archpriestly Perfection reached my hands,  
my heart experienced a brief respite from the pains that afflict me, partly  
because I was about to hear from a tenderly loved Son and Brother, and

ἔμελλον ἐντυγχάνειν, τὸ δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἠλπίζομεν οὐ προσαγγέλλειν ἡμῖν τὸ  
5 γράμμα ἃ προσήγγειλε λυπηρὰ (λυπηρὸν γὰρ ἢ τῶν τέκνων κάκωσις)  
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰ ἠδύνοντα καὶ φέροντα ψυχαγωγίαν ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ διακο-  
μίζειν τὸ μήνυμα τῆς ὑμετέρας υἰείας καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς καθ'  
ὑμᾶς ἐκκλησίας ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τὴν ἀμείνω κατάστασιν.

232

Νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδήλου κατέχεσθαι νόσῳ ὑμᾶς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ  
10 οὐδὲν εἰς ἄνεσιν φέρον καὶ παραμύθιον τῶν ἐμῶν ὀδυνῶν (ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν  
ἐκκλησιῶν εὐταξίας) τῆς αἰεὶ δι' εὐχῆς ἡμῖν ὑπαρχούσης, εἰ καὶ διὰ τὰς  
ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἀτέλεστος ἡ εὐχή [ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εὐταξίας].  
Ὅμως ταῦτα καὶ ἐκόντες καὶ ἄκοντες τὴν ἡμῶν ταπεινὴν διαξαινόντα  
καρδίαν καὶ καρτεροῦμεν καὶ καρτερήσομεν, μέχρις ἂν τὰ ἀνεξιχνίαστα  
15 κρίματα τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα κρίνη τῇ ταλαιπώρῳ καὶ δυστήνῳ ἡμῶν ζωῇ  
συμπολιτεύσθαι.

Σὺ δέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερώτατον, εἰ καὶ τὸ σαρκίον πεπόνθηεν ταῖς  
ἀσθενείαις, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἔτι πονεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε ψυχὴν χάριτι θεοῦ ὡς  
ἐρωμένην κεκτημένος μὴ διαλίπης τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος  
20 ἐγκεχειρισμένον σοι ποιμνιον ταῖς σαῖς καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων | καὶ τῶν B  
ἔργων ὀδηγίας καὶ παραινέσεσιν οὕτω καταρτίζων, οὕτως ἰθύνων καὶ  
ὀδηγῶν, ἵνα καὶ θεὸς διὰ σοῦ εὐαρεστηθῇ, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ταπεινοὶ μαν-  
θάνοντες τὴν σὴν σωτηριώδη πρόνοιαν τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπαρχίας ἐκ τοῦ  
βάρους ἀναφέρωμεν τῆς ἀθυμίας, καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς φωστὴρ ἐν κόσμῳ  
25 λόγον ἐπέχων ζωῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ τὰ σὰ ἔργα τοῦ φωτὸς ἐπι-  
δείξης τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι μετὰ τῶν τοῦ  
φωτὸς κληρονόμων (ὑπερπεποίθαμεν ὡς ἔσται) συντεταγμένος ὀφθείης.  
Τὰ δ' ἄλλα μὴ διαλίπης ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις εὐχαῖς σου τῆς ἡμῶν μεμνημένος  
ταπεινότητος.

### 43. Ἀνδρέα μητροπολίτη Πατρῶν

Τὴν παροῦσαν ἐπιστολὴν γράφομέν σοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, εἰδότες  
ὡς καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν πράξιν ἢ σὴ ἐξεπί-  
σταται σύ|νεσις. Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς καθ' οὐδ' ἐνηχῆθημεν λόγους τὴν C  
5 οἰκίαν σοι γνώμην ἐμφανίζομεν, ἵνα εἰ συμβαίνουσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῖς  
ἀπηγγεγλεμένοις ἡμῖν εὐροις, τοιαύτην τινὰ ποιήσῃ καὶ τὴν διοίκησιν.

partly because I had no notion that your letter would announce the painful  
tidings which in fact it did (for the suffering of one's sons is painful), but  
rather hoped for news joyful and gratifying to me, arising from your conveying  
the intelligence of your own health and the better state of the affairs of your  
Church in Christ our God.

As it is, you state first that you are afflicted by illness, and thereafter  
say nothing to give me any respite or comfort for my sufferings over the good  
order of the Churches, for which I pray unceasingly, though for my sins my  
prayer remains unanswered. But this, willy-nilly, though it tears my lowly  
heart, I do and shall endure, so long as the inscrutable judgments of God  
ordain it to be part of my weary and miserable existence.

But for you (my most holy Son), though your flesh has been sore with  
its sicknesses and perhaps is so still, yet you have by God's Grace a healthful  
soul; do not therefore cease, by your counsels and exhortations both in word  
and deed, so to equip, so to direct and to guide the flock entrusted to your  
hand by the All-holy Spirit that God may be well pleased in you and that  
my Humility, learning of your care unto salvation for your diocese, may bear  
up under the weight of my depression; and you yourself, as a beacon that  
carries the word of life in this world, shall in this present life show forth  
your works of light to them who love virtue, and in the world to come may  
be found (as I believe you will be) numbered among the heirs of light. For  
the rest, cease not to remember my Humility in your holy prayers.

### 43. To Andrew, Metropolitan of Patras

I write you this letter (my holy Son) in the knowledge that even  
without words of mine your Wisdom will know the proper course to pursue.  
Nonetheless, in the light of reports I have heard, I will set out my own  
opinion, so that if you find that what I have been told is true, you may  
regulate the affair in some such way as this.

14-15: Rom. 11.33.

4 προσαγγέλειν P (scr. -ελεῖν?) || 6 ἡμῖν Jk: ἦν P || 8 ὑμᾶς] ἡμᾶς, sscr. υ, P || 10-12  
ὑπὲρ — εὐταξίας transp. Jk || 25-26 ἐπιδείξης Wk: -εις P

43: P 167r-v || 4 ἐνηχῆθημεν Jk: ἐνήχθημεν P || 6 ἀπηγγεγλεμένοις Vat.: ἐπ. P

Ἐπει γὰρ ὁ τὸ γράμμα κομίζων ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς γυνή τις ἀνδρὸς  
 χηρωθεῖσα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ φρονίμης ψυχῆς, ἀντὶ τῆς κοσμικῆς ζωῆς τὴν  
 πνευματικὴν προέκρινεν πολιτείαν καὶ τῷ τάφῳ προσκαρτεροῦσα τοῦ  
 10 ὁμοζύγου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῆς πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ζωὴν  
 προσήνεγκε τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν ἐν μοναδικῇ διεξάγουσα πολιτείᾳ,  
 ταύτη δέ, οἷα τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πονηρεύματα, καὶ ὁ τοῦ διαβόλου φθόνος  
 ἐπήγειρε τρικυμίας, τὴν σὴν ἐπιχορηγήσεις βοήθειαν καὶ μὴ ἐάσης τὸν  
 ἐπίσκοπον | ἐκεῖνον, ὅστις ποτέ ἐστιν, ἐπηρεάζειν αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον D  
 15 ταύτην συνεπιροτήσεις ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ διαμένειν τάξει, εἴτε ἡγουμενείας  
 ἐπέχει βαθμόν, εἴτε ἄλλως ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ βούλεται διαμένειν καὶ  
 προσκαρτερεῖν. Ἄδικον γὰρ καὶ λίαν ἀπάνθρωπον, οὕτως εὐλαβεῖα τὴν  
 γυναῖκα ζῶσαν ἐξελαύνειν τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧ τὸ λείψανον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατέ-  
 θηκεν καὶ οὐ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῇ προσήνεγκεν εἰς τε σωτηρίαν τῆς  
 20 ἰδίας ψυχῆς καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ τόπου διαμονὴν τε καὶ σύστασιν.  
 Ὡς οὖν εἴρηται, τὴν βαρεῖαν καὶ πλεονεκτικὴν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου  
 χεῖρα ἐκεῖθεν ἀπόστρεψον, καὶ δίδαξον μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν τὴν  
 κτήσιν, ἀλλ' εἴπερ ὅλως ἐν λειτουργίᾳ θεοῦ συναριθμεῖσθαι φιλεῖ, καὶ  
 τῶν οἰκείων καὶ αὐτῷ προσόντων τοῖς δεομένοις δι' ἀπορίαν κατὰ τὴν  
 25 τοῦ πνεύματος ἐντολὴν ἐπαρκεῖν.

## 44. Πρὸς στρατηγόν

233

Καὶ νῦν, ὥσπερ αἰεὶ, χάριν ὁμολογοῦμεν τῷ ἁγίῳ θεῷ, ἐφ' οἷς,  
 τέκνον ἡμῶν ἠγαπημένον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν διαφυλάττει ζωὴν καὶ τὴν  
 κατευόδωσιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχορήγησεν καὶ πεποιθήμενοι ὅτι καὶ ἔτι  
 5 χορηγήσει· εὐχόμενοι διὰ παντός καὶ ἔτι μείζοσι κατορθώμασι λαμπρύ-  
 νεσθαι τὴν σὴν στρατηγικὴν ἀρετὴν, ὥστε διὰ τῶν σῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων  
 τὸ θεῖον ὄνομα μεγαλύνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὁμοδόξων γένος κοινῆς  
 ἀπολαύειν εὐεργεσίας καὶ εὐφροσύνης, καὶ σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρ-  
 ὄντι βίῳ καρπούς τῶν ἰδίων πόνων τὰς μείζονας τιμὰς καὶ τὴν ἐπι  
 10 πλέον αὔξησίν τε καὶ προκοπὴν ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλαντι αἰῶνι τῆς  
 κοινῆς καταξιοθῆναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς  
 ἐκείνου δόξης | ἀγωνιζομένων ἀντιδόσεως. B  
 Τὰ δὲ ἀποσταλέντα ἡμῖν ἀπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἀπεστείλαμέν σοι  
 εὐλογίας χάριν ἀλειπτὰ ρ', ἐπευχόμενοι τὴν θεῖαν καὶ ἀμάραντον εὐωδίαν  
 15 μηδέποτε τὴν σὴν ψυχὴν ἐπιλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς εὐωδιάζεσθαι καὶ  
 εἶναι πάσης ἀηδίας ἀνωτέραν καὶ καθαρὰν.

13 ἐπιχορηγήσεις aut -ης P || 14 αὐτήν P<sup>c</sup>: -ὄν P<sup>1</sup> || 17 fort. <ἐν> εὐλαβεῖα vel <συ>ζῶσαν  
 44: P 167v-168r || 14 ἀλειπτὰ P

The bearer of the letter has stated that a widow woman, as befits her  
 good sense, has chosen, instead of the worldly, to pursue the spiritual life,  
 and, keeping watch over her husband's grave, has embraced the monastic  
 order and offered up her own life and all her property to Christ our God.  
 Since (such being the nature of human villainies) the devil's envy is stirring  
 up tempests against her, you will extend her your protection, and not allow  
 that bishop, whoever he is, to vex her; on the contrary, you will strengthen  
 her hand in maintaining her in her proper station, whether she holds the  
 rank of abbess or prefers in some other capacity to abide and keep vigil in  
 that monastery. It would be unjust and altogether inhuman to expel a  
 woman of such piety of life from the place where she has laid the body of her  
 husband to rest, and where she has devoted her property both for the sal-  
 vation of her own soul and for the continuance and maintenance of the place.

As I say, then, protect her from the heavy and grasping hand of the  
 bishop, and teach him not to covet the property of others, and if he has any  
 care to be numbered among the ministers of God, let him supply those who  
 beg of him in their need out of his own revenues, according to the com-  
 mandment of the Spirit.

## 44. To a General

Now, as ever, I give thanks unto the Holy God, because (my beloved  
 Son) he preserves your life and has granted prosperity to your affairs; and  
 I am sure that He will continue to grant it, and I pray unceasingly that your  
 strategic Virtue may be illuminated by achievements yet greater than these,  
 so that through your exploits His Divine Name may be magnified, and the  
 joint race of co-believers may enjoy common benefaction and happiness;  
 and that you (my Son) may in this life receive as the fruits of your labors  
 yet greater honors and further increase and advancement, and in the life to  
 come may be granted the common reward of all those who strive for Christ  
 our God and His glory!

I have received what you sent me, and I send you for a blessing one  
 hundred flasks of perfume, praying that your soul may never want the  
 divine and unfading fragrance, but may be perfumed by it, and be above the  
 reach of, and pure from, every taint.

## 45. Ἀρσενίῳ μονάζοντι

Ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀπουσίᾳ τῆς σῆς ὁσιότητι καὶ οὐπω ἡμῖν ἐγνωσμένη, μόνῃ φήμῃ τῆ ἀνακηρυκτούσῃ τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν συνηπτόμεθα ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι τῷ δεσμῷ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγαπῆσεως· καὶ ἰδόντες σε καὶ πείραν 5 λαβόντες ὅσῃν ἐλάβομεν, καὶ ἠγαπήσαμεν καὶ τῆ πνευματικῇ ἐνώσει ἐπι πλέον συνήφθημεν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ παρέσχομεν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνώσεως C ἐκ πραγμάτων γνωριζομένην, οἴμαι τῆς μέψεως ἡμᾶς ἀπολύσει τὸ μηδὲν παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος ἀναδιδαχθῆναι ὧν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐπιτελεῖν δυνατοί, σὺ δὲ ἐν χρεῖα καθέστηκας. Οἶδας γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲν εἰς αἴτησιν 10 προεβάλου ὧν παρασχεῖν ἡμεῖς ἱκανοὶ οὔτε προβαλλόμενος ἀπέτυχες τῆς πληρώσεως. Πλὴν εἰ καὶ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀγαπῶ τὸ ἐγκλημα· φίλων γὰρ πνευματικῶν πρὸς ὁμοίους φίλους ἡδέα καὶ ὠφέλιμα τὰ ἐγκλήματα.

Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ὧν ἐδόξαμεν ὑπ' αἰτίαν πεσεῖν ὅτι παρορῶντες ὠφθημεν τὴν σὴν ὁσιότητα. Περὶ δὲ τῆς κινουμένης φιλονεικίας (καὶ 15 εἶθε πᾶσα φιλονεικία διάθεσις ἀπώλετο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν τὴν πνευματικὴν πολιτείαν ἐπανηρημένων) ἐξαπεστάλη μετὰ ἐντάλματος ὃς τῷ τὴν βασιλικὴν | δεχομένῳ κέλευσιν συνεπισκεπτόμενος τὰ πράγ- D ματα (παράσχοι δὲ ὁ ἅγιος θεὸς τελείαν τὴν διάλυσιν δοῦναι) τῶν ἀμφιβόλων τὴν κρίσιν ποιήσεται.

Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῦ γράμματος, ὧν τε ὁ κύριος Βάρδας ἐδίδου, καὶ ὧν εἰ παρῆς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ κυροῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου περιόντος πεφιλοτίμησο ἂν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρεχομένων παρὰ τοῦ κυροῦ Λέοντος, ἴσμεν καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ γράμματος ὡς εἰ τῶν ἀγαπώντων ὑπῆρχες δεδέσθαι κοσμι- καῖς ὑλαίς, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ νῦν ἀπορήσης τοιούτου πλοῦτου. Ἀλλὰ πάντως 25 ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτίμησας καὶ ἀντὶ παντός εἴλου ἀπόλαυσιν, τὴν μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν κακοπάθειαν, ταύτην μακαριωτέραν ἡγῆσιν κτήσιν τῶν πολλὰ πλέθρα κεκτημένων καὶ πολυπλοῦτους περιουσίας· δι' ἣν 236 καὶ νῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἀληθῶς τὰ καλὰ εἰδῶσιν μακαρίζῃ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μακαριστὸς ἔσῃ ἐν τῇ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείᾳ τοῖς παρὰ θεοῦ μακαρίζο- 30 μένοις συμπλουτῶν καὶ συνδοξαζόμενος.

## 46. Τῷ ὑπερφουεστάτῳ καὶ ἠγαπημένῳ ἡμῶν υἱῷ τῷ περιδόξῳ ἐξουσιαστῇ Ἀβασγίας

Ἐπὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατρὸς σου ἐλυπήθημεν, ὥσπερ ἦν ἀκόλουθον, τὴν τε σὴν ἐννοοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει

45: P 168r-v || 10 ἡμεῖς Jk: ἡμᾶς P || προβαλλόμενος Mai: -ον P || 21 παρῆς Jk: παρεῖς P || 24 ἀπορήσης aut: -εις P || 25 ἦν Vat.: ἦν (sic) P

46: P 168v-169v || 4 ἐννοοῦντες] -τες ex corr. P

## 45. To the Monk Arsenius

Even when your Holiness was absent and as yet unknown to me, yet by the mere report which proclaimed your virtue I was already bound to you in the Holy Spirit, by the bond of His love; and now that I have seen you and received of you such proof as I have received, I have both loved you and been yet more bound to you in spiritual union. And if I have given no practical and tangible proof of this union, I believe I may be excused by the fact that I have not been acquainted by your Holiness with anything that I can do for you or that you stand in need of: since you are aware that you have made no demand on me for anything in my power to bestow; and that, if you had, you would not have wanted satisfaction. But though this is so, yet I welcome the rebuke, since the rebukes of spiritual friends to their fellows are pleasant and profitable.

So much for my apparent fault in seeming to neglect your Holiness. But as regards the quarrel that has arisen (and would that all disposition to quarrel were to vanish from among men, and especially from among such as have embraced the spiritual order!): an official has been dispatched with an injunction, who will, jointly with him who is receiving the imperial mandate, examine the state of affairs (may the Holy God grant a complete solution!) and will give judgment on the points at issue.

For the rest of your letter, concerning what the Lord Bardas offered you, and what you would have been granted by the Lord Alexander if you had been here while he still lived, and moreover what you received from the Lord Leo: I know, without your writing it, that if you had been one of those who choose to be in bondage to the material things of this world you would even now be in enjoyment of these riches; but that that satisfaction which you have esteemed from the beginning and chosen before any other—to suffer with our Christ and God—you certainly regard as a possession more blessed than *that* of those who have acquired many acres and wealthy properties; and for this you are accounted blessed by those who know what true goodness is, and shall hereafter be blessed, growing rich and glorious in the Kingdom of Heaven together with those who are blessed of God.

## 46. To my most excellent and beloved Son, the glorious Prince of Abasgia

At the departure (my Son) of your Father, of most blessed memory, I am grieved, as is natural, when I reflect upon your own anguish of heart



5 πληγὴν τῆς καρδίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι φιλεῖν οἶδασιν ἄνθρωπον ἀρετῇ  
κεκοσμημένον, μάλιστα οἷος ἦν ὁ σὸς πατήρ, παρὰ πάντων καὶ ἐπαινού-  
μενος καὶ θαυμαζόμενος. Πλὴν εἶχομεν τῆς λύπης ἀπαλλαγὴν, ὅτι σὲ  
βλαστὸν αὐτοῦ ὄντα γνήσιον καὶ καρπὸν τῆς ἐκείνου σπορᾶς ἡ θεία  
εὐδόκησεν πρόνοια καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναδέξασθαι καὶ ὡσπερ B  
10 εἰκόνα τινὰ τῷ οἰκείῳ ἔδνει ἀντὶ τοῦ χωρισθέντος ἐκ τῆς ματαίας  
ταύτης ζωῆς παρέσχεν ὁρᾶσθαι. Τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἀπήλλαξε τῆς λύπης καὶ  
μᾶλλον πρὸς θεῖαν εὐχαριστίαν μετήνεγκεν· καὶ ἠὲ εὐχαριστήσαμεν καὶ  
εὐχαριστοῦμεν, δεόμενοι τῆς θεϊκῆς ἀγαθότητος ἐν μηδενί σε τῶν πα-  
τρικῶν ἀπολειφθῆναι κατορθωμάτων, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑπερβαλεῖν, καὶ γενέ-  
15 σθαι τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς ὑποχειρίοις πατέρα καὶ ἄρχοντα οἷος καὶ τὴν τοῦ  
θεοῦ ψῆφον ἐπ' ἔργοις μαρτυρῆσαι δικαίαν ἐπὶ σοὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸν  
πατέρα ἔτι μακαριώτερον ἀποφῆναι διὰ τοῦ σοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῆς καλο-  
κάγαθίας, καὶ σεαυτῷ ἀείμνηστον κλέος ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι αἰῶνι περι-  
ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τὴν ἀθάνατον δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ  
20 ἀπόλαυσιν.

Ἄπεστείλαμεν εὐλογίας χάριν ἰμάτιν. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου C  
Ἀλανίας, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τί γράφειν οὐκ ἔχω. Αὐτὸς γὰρ συνετὸς ὢν καὶ  
φρόνιμος καὶ εἰδὼς τὸ ἐκείνου ἔργον, ὅτι πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι  
πρὸς δόξαν τοῦ μεγάλου ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ, πάντως καὶ χωρὶς ἡμετέρας  
25 γραφῆς διὰ τὴν ἀποκειμένην ἐκεῖθεν μισθαποδοσίαν τοῖς φιλοθέοις καὶ  
συνεπικουρήσεις αὐτῷ καὶ συναντιλήψῃ τῶν πόνων καὶ εἴ τινος ἐν ἔδνει  
τοιοῦτω καὶ γῆ ξένη τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἄνεσιν τῇ ζωῇ φερόντων ἐνδεῆς  
ἐστίν, προθύμως ἐπιχορηγήσεις τοῦ θεοῦ σοὶ δύναιμι παρασχόντος. Καὶ  
εἴης καὶ ἔτι ἐπὶ πλέον εἰς εὐπορίαν τῆς τοιαύτης δυνάμεως καθιστάμενος,  
30 βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις.

47. Κωνσταντίνῳ παρακοιμωμένῳ παραμυθη|τικῇ D  
ἐπ' ἀδελφῆ κοιμηθείσῃ

## I

Ὅταν, τέκνον μου τίμιον, τὴν ἀπροσδοκῆτως καταλαβοῦσαν θλιῖψιν  
καὶ τὸ πικρὸν ἄλγος ἐννοήσω, πρὸς ἀφωνίαν συστέλλομαι καὶ αὐτὸς  
5 ἐγώ, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω τί εἰπω ἢ τίνα λόγον εὔρω παραμυθεῖσθαι δυνάμενον  
οὔτε τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἄλγῆμα οὔτε σὲ οὔτε τὴν θεοφιλεῖ μητέρα οὔτε  
τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους, ὧν τὸ πικρὸν τοῦτο πάθος διασπαράσ-

12 πρὸς P<sup>c</sup>: καὶ P<sup>l</sup>

47: I: P 169v-170v || I παρακοιμω(μένω) P: -μουμ- V || παραμυθ(ητικῇ) P: om. V

at the loss, and on that of all who know how to esteem a man adorned with  
virtue, especially one who was, like your Father, approved and revered by  
all. But I have this escape from my grief, that Divine Providence has  
granted to his lawful offspring and the fruit of his seed the succession to the  
power of his rule, and has provided his own nation with—as it were—an  
image of him who has departed out of this vain life. This has banished my  
grief, and turned it indeed rather toward thankfulness to God. And thanks  
I have offered, and offer still, praying the Divine Goodness that you may in  
nothing fall short of your Father's achievements, but rather may surpass  
them, and be among your subjects such a father and prince as will in your  
deed bear witness to the justice of God's award which has fallen upon you,  
and show your Father yet more blessed in your character and virtuous  
conduct, and win for yourself undying glory in this present life, and in the  
life to come the eternal glory and honor and felicity.

I send you a mantle with my benediction. But, as touching the Arch-  
bishop of Alania (my Son), I do not know what to write. You, as an intelligent,  
sensible man, and as one who knows that *the Archbishop's* work is devoted to  
the salvation of men and the glory of God's mighty Name, will, I am sure,  
without my writing, *and* for the reward which is reserved in Heaven for those  
who love God, both lend your aid to him and assist his labors. And if in that  
foreign nation and strange land he is in need of anything essential or tending  
to bring comfort to his life, you will provide it willingly, if God gives you  
power to do so. And may you be yet more plentifully supplied with that  
power, so as to help those who are in need of it!

47. To Constantine the Chamberlain, a consolation for the  
death of a sister

## I

When I consider (my honored Son) the blow which has unexpectedly  
fallen on you, and your bitter grief, I am myself dumbfounded and know  
not what to say, or what words to find which can console the grief of my  
heart, or you, or your Mother beloved of God, or your other relatives and  
friends whose hearts are lacerated by this bitter suffering. For in truth the

σει τὴν καρδίαν. Νικᾶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς πᾶσαν παρηγορίαν καὶ παράκλησιν  
 λόγων τὸ (οἴμοι πῶς εἶπω;) συμβεβηκὸς ἡμῖν ἀτύχημα. Τί γὰρ τις  
 10 πρῶτον πενήθῃσει; Τῆς καταλιπούσης ἡμᾶς τὸ ἄωρον καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ  
 τῷ ἄνθει τῆς ἡλικίας τομὴν ἣν ὁ πικρὸς οὐκ ἐφείσατο θάνατος ἐπενεργεῖν;  
 "Ἡ τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ συζύγου ταύτης μόνωσιν, ὅς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἴσῳ | τῷ ἄν- 237  
 θει, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τομὴν ὑπέστη, ἀλλὰ πικροτέραν ἐδέξατο  
 τὴν πληγὴν; Τί δὲ εἴπομεν πρὸς τὴν διάστασιν σοῦ τοῦ ταύτης ἀδελφοῦ,  
 15 ὃς διὰ τὸν συμπαθῆ τρόπον, οὐ μόνον πρὸς ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς  
 ξένους καὶ πόρρω συγγενεῖας ἔχεις τὸ συμπάσχειν καὶ συναλγεῖν; Τί δὲ  
 πρὸς τὴν γηραιάν μητέρα, ἣτις εἰ καὶ τὸ χαίρειν εἶχεν ἐπὶ σοί, τέκνον  
 ἐμόν, ὡς ἐφ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον τυγχάνοντι, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπ' ἐκείνη ὡς θυγατρὶ  
 καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως (προσθήσω δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἔκγονα τῆς  
 20 ἐκείνης κοιλίας ποθοῦσα φέρειν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτῆς) μείζονος ἀπή-  
 λαυεν ἠδονῆς τῷ βίῳ παρουσίας καὶ συναναστρεφομένης αὐτῆς; "Ὅταν ταῦτα  
 πάντα ὁμοῦ, τέκνον μου τιμιώτατον, ἀναλογίσωμαι, καίτοι καὶ ἐν ἕκαστον  
 αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐχερὲς δέξασθαι παραμυθίαν, ἐπίσταμαι ὡς | οὐκ ἔστι B  
 λόγος οὐδὲ παράκλησις ἢ δυναμένη παρακαλέσαι καὶ τῷ τραύματι  
 25 δοῦναι τὴν θεραπείαν. Καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις ἄπερ εἶπον αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ λογι-  
 ζοίτο, βαρύντατά ἐστιν ἀληθῶς, ὅλον ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους συγκαταφέροντα πρὸς  
 ἀθυμίαν καὶ λύπην ἀπαράκλητον τὸν λογισμὸν· οἷον μικροῦ καὶ ἡμεῖς πε-  
 πόνθαμεν ἀπροσδοκῆτως τῆς πικρᾶς ἀγγελίας ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀκοαῖς  
 προσελθούσης. Καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τοῦτο ἐμάθομεν, οὕτως εὐθὺς ἐκρατήθημεν  
 30 ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης καὶ τῆς ἀθυμίας ὡς μικροῦ μήτε φωνὴν δύνασθαι ἀφεῖναι  
 μήτε ἄλλου πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγοντος βούλεσθαι ἀκούειν· οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρ-  
 οους τῆς θλίψεως συνεκλάσθημεν τὴν καρδίαν.  
 Ἄλλ' ὁψὲ καὶ μετὰ πολὺ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἡμῶν ἀναλαβόντες, καὶ  
 πρῶτον μὲν κατανοήσαντες τὰ κοινὰ τῆς φύσεως | πράγματα καὶ ὅσα C  
 35 ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταλαμβάνει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἰς ἐνθύμησιν καταστάντες ὡς  
 οὐδὲν καινὸν οὐδὲ ξένον ὑπέστημεν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἔστι σύννηθες καὶ γνώριμον  
 τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ζωῇ· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλάστου καὶ δεσπότη  
 οἰκονομίαν ἀναλογισάμενοι, καὶ εἰδότες ὅτι πάντα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον  
 οἰκονομεῖ καὶ ὡς κρεῖττον ἐκεῖνος διευθετεῖ τὰ τοῦ οἰκείου πλάσματος  
 40 ἢπερ ἡμεῖς φρονοῦμεν καὶ διανοοῦμεθα περὶ ἑαυτῶν, ἀναψυχὴν τινα καὶ  
 παραμύθιον εὗρομεν καὶ τοῦ βαθέος ἐκείνου νέφους τῆς ἀθυμίας ὥσπερ  
 ἀνακύπτουσαν ἔσχομεν τὴν ψυχὴν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι καὶ διὰ τῆς θείας

19-20: Deut. 7.13; 28.4,11,18,53; 30.9; Isai. 49.15.

18 ἐκείνη Vat.: -ην P || 20 ποθοῦσα Jk: ποθοῦση P || 23 εὐχερὲς Pc: εὐρὲς P<sup>1</sup> || 40 ἢπερ P<sup>1</sup>

—alas that I should say it!—disaster that has overtaken us is beyond all  
 comfort or consolation of speech. Where shall we begin our lamentation?  
 With the unripe age of her who has left us and the stroke which bitter death  
 has not forborne to deliver while she was in the very flower of her years?  
 or with the bereavement of her virtuous husband, who, equally in the flower  
 of his youth, even though he has not himself sustained the deathblow, yet  
 feels that stroke the more bitterly? And what shall I say of the bereavement  
 of you, her brother, who, tender-hearted as you are, must share suffering and  
 sorrow, not only on her behalf but even on that of strangers and of those  
 quite unrelated to you? And wath of your aged Mother, who, though she has  
 been able to rejoice in you (my Son), as the Mother of such a son may, yet  
 would have found even greater pleasure in her as a daughter and a woman like  
 herself (whose offspring, moreover, she longed to carry in her arms), had she but  
 lived to lend her company? When I consider all these circumstances together  
 (my most honored Son), for any one of which it would be hard to find an  
 acceptable consolation, I know that there is no speech or consolation that  
 has power to assuage or to heal the wound. For if, as I say, we reckon them  
 up one by one, they are most heavy indeed, and beneath their weight they  
 drag down all our thoughts into distress and grief inconsolable. And this was  
 nearly my own experience when the bitter tidings unexpectedly reached my  
 ears: for when I heard them, I was at once so much affected by grief and  
 distress that I could hardly utter a sound, or would listen when another  
 spoke to me: so much was my mind distraught by the weight of sorrow.

But, at long last, I recovered my wits, and reflected first on the common  
 condition of our nature and the fate which has from the beginning attended  
 humanity, calling to mind that we have suffered nothing new or strange, but  
 only what is usual and familiar in human life; and again, I pondered on the  
 dispensation of our Creator and Lord, knowing that he dispenses all for the  
 best, and settles the affairs of his own creature better than we can plan or  
 devise for ourselves. And thus I found some relief and solace, and felt my  
 spirits (as it were) emerging from this deep cloud of gloom, especially since I

ἐλπίζομεν φιλανθρωπίας τὴν καταλιποῦσαν ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς ματαίας ταύτης ζωῆς ἐξελθοῦσαν εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον καταντήσῃ οὐ πᾶσα μὲν  
45 χαρά, πᾶσα δὲ φαιδρότης, πᾶσα δὲ γλυκύτης καὶ ἀπάθεια καὶ ἄνεσις ἄλυτος.

Ταῦτα, τέκνον ἐμόν, καὶ σὲ φρόνιμον ὄντα καὶ συνετὸν θεοῦ χάριτι D καὶ παρακαλείτω καὶ παραμυθείσθω καὶ ἀνακουφιζέτω τῆς ὀδυνηρᾶς διαστάσεως. Οὐκ ἦν ἡμᾶς χωρὶς πένθους καὶ κοπετῶν καὶ σπαραγμῶν  
50 ἐνεργεῖν τὴν διάστασιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν. Ἐπενθήσαμεν, ἐκόψαμεν, ἐσπαράχθημεν. Μέχρι τούτου στήσωμεν τὸ πένθος, παύσωμεν σπαραττόμενοι. Διὰ τί; ...

## II

Οἶδα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὡς τὰ φυσικὰ κέντρα τῆς συμπαθείας μεγάλην (159) ἐμποιεῖ τὴν ὀδύνην ἐπὶ τοῖς πάθεσι τῶν συγγενῶν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἐστὶ ψυχὴ καθαρὸν ὅλως καὶ φυσικὸν διασφύζουσα τὸ φίλτρον, καὶ ὅτι καὶ λόγους καὶ παρακλήσεις φιλονεικοῦσι νικᾶν αἱ τῶν φυσικῶν κέντρων  
5 ὀδύνη. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σὲ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀλγεῖν καὶ ταρασσεσθαι | τὴν ψυχὴν, συμπαθῆ καὶ φιλάδελφον ὄντα, καὶ ὀδύνην (160) ὑφίστασθαι μὴ βουλομένην ἀκούειν τῶν παρακλήσεων. Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ τοιοῦτον τὸ σὸν πρᾶγμα καὶ οὕτω σφοδρὸν τὸ ἄλγημα, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμηθέντες, ὅτι οὐ μόνον λίαν τοὺς συγγενεῖς φιλεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶ  
10 πλέον τυγχάνεις θεοφιλῆς, πρὸς ταύτην διενεόηθημεν ἐλθεῖν τὴν παράκλησιν καὶ σὺν θεῷ πειραθῆναι τοῦ βαθυτάτου νέφους τῆς ἀθυμίας τὸ ποθεινότερον ἐμοὶ τέκνον ἐξενεργεῖν.

Ἀφῆκεν ἡμᾶς ἡ ἀδελφή· ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον τοῦτο διενθυμώμεθα, ὡς ἀφῆκεν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ κάκεινο προσεπιλογιζώμεθα, ποῦ ἀπῆρεν καὶ πρὸς  
15 τίνας ἐχώρησεν. Ἀπεστερήθημεν ὁμιλίας καὶ θέας τὸ ἡδὺ χαριζομένης ἡμῖν· ἀλλ' ἐνοῶμεν πρὸς τίνων ὁμιλίαν ἐκείνη, πρὸς τίνων μετέστη θεωρίαν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν. Κατέλιπεν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ κατέλαβε πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον συγγενῆ χορόν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν γένεσιν λαβόντες, καὶ μικρὰ τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ προσπαίξαντες, πάλιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφιζόμεθα. Ἐστερήθη  
20 θημεν ἧς ἀπελαύομεν ἡδονῆς ἐν τῷ συνεῖναι τὴν ἀδελφὴν μεθ' ἡμῶν· ἀλλ' ἀπολαύει νῦν ἐκείνη καθαρᾶς ὄντως ἀγαλλιάσεως δι' ὧν ὁμιλεῖ συνδιαιωμένη τοῖς τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης ζωῆς ἡξιωμένοις. Μὴ τοῖνον δ

48 ἀνακουφιζέτω Wk: -έσθω P || 49 ἡμᾶς] ὑμᾶς Jk || 50 ἦν] ἡμᾶς Jk || 51 στήσωμεν ... παύσωμεν Vat.: στήσωμεν ... παύσωμεν P || 52 post διατί signum '· adser. P, subsequente ultima parte rec. II (60 καιρὸν - 84 μακαρίζεσθαι)

II: V 84r-87v; (60 καιρὸν - 84) P 170v-171r

have hope that, through the Divine Mercy, she who has left us and departed out of this vain life will attain to that place where is all joy, and all cheerfulness, and all sweetness, and release from suffering, and rest unbroken.

May these considerations console you also (my Son) who are by God's grace prudent and wise; and comfort and relieve you in this painful separation. We could not bear the separation without grief and lamentation and laceration of heart: this was impossible. We have grieved, lamented, been lacerated. But now, let us stay our grief, and cease from our laceration. And why? ...

## II

I know (my Son) that the natural stings of fellow-feeling cause us great pain when our relatives suffer, and especially so when we have a heart whose affection is wholly sincere and natural; and that the pains of these stings tend to overcome any words of consolation. For this reason it is natural that you yourself should, at the death of your sister, be grieved and troubled in spirit (for you are tender-hearted and loved her), and should suffer a pain that will not listen to consolations. But, even if this be your state, and however sharp your anguish, yet I, remembering that while you love your family you are even more devoted to God, have decided to venture on this consolation, and to endeavor, with God's aid, to raise my most tenderly loved Son from the very thick cloud of his despondency.

Our sister has left us. But let us not consider simply that she has left us: let us also reflect upon where she has gone and to whom she has departed. We are deprived of her converse and sight, which were pleasant to us; but let us call to mind those to whose converse, to whose beholding and felicity she herself has migrated. She has deserted us, but she has found her father and a host of other relatives, from whom we ourselves draw our origin, and to whom, when we have acted out this little comedy of life, we shall ourselves return. We are deprived of the pleasure we enjoyed in having our sister with us; but she now enjoys that truly pure delight arising from her dwelling and converse with those who have been found worthy of that

μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐδόξαμεν ἀπεστερηθῆσθαι καθορώμεν, ἀ δὲ καὶ γέγονε τῇ μεταστάσει πρὸς τοσαύτην μακαριότητα εἰς παρόρασιν διδῶμεν, μηδὲ τὴν 25 ἡμετέραν ἀποδουρώμεθα ζημίαν, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνης κέρδη παρὰ φαῦλον ποιώμεθα.

Καίτοι τί τοσοῦτον ἡμεῖς ἐζημιώθημεν ὅσον αὐτῇ προσγέγονε κερδῆσαι; Πάντως δέ, εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐσμὲν φιλάδελφοι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν, εἴ τινα καὶ ζημίαν ὑπέστημεν ἡμεῖς, χάριν τοῦ μεγέθους ὧν 30 ἐκέρδανεν ἡ ἀδελφή, οὐδαμῶς ἔχειν λόγον ὀφείλομεν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὁ βίος ἢ ὁδός ἐστι καὶ πάντας ἀναμένει τὰ ἐκεῖθεν σκηνώματα, τί δυσφοροῦμεν ὅτι προλαβοῦσα ἐκείνη διήνυσεν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν κατασκήνωσιν ἔφθασεν; Ἡ καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχε κοινὴν ὁδὸν ἀπιέναι, δυσφορεῖν ἐμέλλομεν εἰ προλαβοῦσα ἐκείνη κατήντησε 35 πρὸς τὸν τόπον οὗ τὴν πορείαν ἐπεποιήμεθα; Ἄλλ' οὐ νομίζω τοῦτο παθεῖν ἡμᾶς, μᾶλλον δὲ χαίρειν καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστεῖν ὅτι πρὸ ἡμῶν τὸν πόνον τῆς ὁδοιπορίας καταπαύσασα εἰς ἐκείνην κατέστη τὴν διαίταν· ἢ οὐχὶ πόνος ὅλος ἡμῶν ὁ βίος καὶ ταλαιπωρία, ὧν εὐροῦσα καὶ τὴν κατάπαυσιν εἰς τὴν μακαρίαν κατέστη ἀνάπαυσιν; Μὴ οὖν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, 40 ὥσπερ φθονῶμεν αὐτῇ τῆς ἀναπαύσεως καὶ τῆς ἀλύπτου διαγωγῆς καὶ ἀπόνου, ἧς ἐκείνη τυχοῦσα οὐμενοῦν οὐκ ἀποδέχεται ὡς φιλοῦντας ἐὰν ὀρθῶς λυπομένους καὶ θρηνοῦντας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ ἀποστρέφεται ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ὧν αὐτῇ προσεγένετο ἀπολαβεῖν βασκαίνοντας. (161)

Καὶ ἄλλως δέ, εἰ μὲν τι ξένον ὑπέστη καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἀλλότριον 45 καὶ ὃ μὴ πάντως ἤδειμεν αὐτὴν ὑποστήσεσθαι, εἰκότως ἀλγοῦμεν ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι καὶ κοπτόμεθα· εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἴδιον τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ζωῇ, τί ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ δυσχεραίνομεν πράγματι; Τί ὥσπερ καταγογγύζομεν τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ δεδομένης ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν τάξεως, καὶ δέον εὐχαριστεῖν ὡς φρονίμους, ὡς συνετούς, ὡς πολλῶν χαρίτων παρὰ 50 θεοῦ ἡξιομένους, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὥσπερ καινοτομίαν ἀπαρამύθητον ὑποστάντες διὰ τοῦ βοᾶν καὶ σκυθρωπάζειν καὶ πενθεῖν τούτου καταβοήσεις ποιούμεθα; Οὐχ ὀρώμεν τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον, ὡς καλός, ὡς μέγας, ὡς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῷ φωτὶ περιλάμπων; Ἀλλὰ δουλεύει καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ δεδομένῃ τάξει αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπομένει ἔκλειψιν τοῦ φωτός, οὕτω τοῦ θεοῦ 55 προστάξαντος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. Οὐχ ὀρώμεν τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον διοικούμενον τοῖς τεθεῖσι νόμοις, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀνθοῦσαν τὴν γῆν, νῦν δὲ τὰ ἄνθη ἀποβάλλουσαν; Καὶ φυτὰ πάντα ἄρτι μὲν κομῶντα τοῖς φύλλοις καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς, ἄρτι δὲ γυμνὰ τούτων καθορώμενα; Ναὶ δὴ καὶ ζῶα πάντα, ὅσα χερσαῖα, ὅσα ἐνυδρα, ὅσα διανήχεται τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ ταῦτα τὸν δεδομένον

blessed existence. Let us not therefore, in our regard for what we consider our deprivation lose sight of what she who migrated to so great a bliss has won; nor, in bewailing our own loss, ignore her gain.

And what, after all, is this grievous loss of ours in respect of the gain that has accrued to her? I am sure that, if we really loved our sister — as we did, — then we ought to pay no regard at all to any loss sustained by us, in comparison with the magnitude of those blessings our sister has won. And if our life be nothing but a journey, and if the mansion beyond it waits for all men, why should we repine if she has finished her journey before us, and has sooner reached our common abode? Suppose that in this present life we were going off on a journey together: should we repine if she got to the place whither we were going before we did? I think not: rather should we be glad and give thanks to God that she had ceased from the toil of traveling before us and had reached that abode. For is not all our life toil and misery, from which she has found release and attained to her blessed repose? And so (my Son) let us not seem to envy her the repose and the griefless, painless existence which she enjoys: she certainly does not think we love her if she sees us grief-stricken and mourning; she is offended rather, and turns away from those who look askance at those blessings it is her lot to enjoy.

Besides, if she has suffered something strange and alien from our nature, something we were not perfectly well aware she would have to suffer, then our grief and lamentation over it are reasonable; but if it be nothing save what is proper to human life, why complain of an event thus proper? Why do we seem to murmur at the state of things ordained for us by God from the beginning, and, while we ought, as intelligent and sensible men, to be thanking God for the many mercies which He has bestowed on us, why do we, like men who have suffered some inconsolable injury, voice our protest in this crying out and dejection and mourning? Do we not see this sun, how fair and great he is, and how he illumines all the earth with his rays? And yet he too is subject to the order that is given him, and submits to eclipse of his light, for so has God ordained it from the beginning. Do we not see all the world governed by laws laid down, and the earth now flowering and now casting down its flowers? and all plants, now shady with leaves and fruits, now stripped of them? Yes, and all animals, on land and in water and sailing in the air, how to them too the allotted span of life is

60 καιρὸν διαμετροῦντα τῆς ζωῆς, ἔπειτα τὸν | καιρὸν λύοντα; Τί οὖν 237D  
ἐπὶ τούτων πάντων σφριζομένην ὀρῶντες τὴν τάξιν τῆς φύσεως οὐδέν τι  
πάσχομεν οὐδὲ καινοτομίαν τινὰ ἡγουόμεθα τὸ γινόμενον, εἰς ἡμᾶς δὲ  
μόνους ὀρῶντες ὡς καινοτομούμενοι πενθοῦμεν ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς κοινούς  
νόμους οἰκονομούμεθα; Καὶ πῶς ἄξιον τοῦτο τῆς σῆς καὶ παιδεύσεως  
65 καὶ συνέσεως καὶ τῶν θείων ἐλπίδων αἷς ἑαυτὸν ἐξανήρτησας;

Ἄλλ' ἐάσωμεν τὸ πένθος, τὰ δάκρυα, τὴν κατῆφειαν. Γενώμεθα 240  
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ παραχωρήσωμεν τοῖς κρίμασι τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς παρέσχε καὶ  
τὴν γένεσιν καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐδοκίμασεν καὶ συμβιοτεῦσαι ἡμῖν τὴν γλυκυ-  
τάτην ἀδελφὴν ὅσον ἔκρινε συμφέρειν, καὶ προσελάβετο ταύτην κατὰ τὴν  
70 αὐτοῦ ἀπόρρητον βουλήν καὶ κρίσιν. Πλεῖον ἐκεῖνος ἢ ὅσον ἡμεῖς βου-  
λόμεθα καὶ εὐχόμεθα, ὁ φιλόψυχος ὄντως πατὴρ τὰ ἡμέτερα διευθετεῖ  
καὶ | διεξάγει πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. Ἡμεῖς μόνῃ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐλκόμεθα καὶ (162)  
πρὸς ταύτην νομίζομεν καὶ τὸ ὠφέλιμον συμβιβάζειν· καὶ μὲν συντρέχει  
τὰ πράγματα τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, καλῶς ἡμῖν φέρεσθαι τὸν βίον ὑπολαμβάνο-  
75 μεν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσυφόρῳ τῆς ζωῆς στενοχωρούμεθα. Ἐκεῖνος  
δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν λυπεῖν καὶ στύφειν δοκούντων πλέον τὸ  
ὄφελος δίδωσιν ἢ ὅσον | ἂν τις ἡγήσαιοτο διὰ τῶν ἠδυνόντων ὠφελεῖσθαι. B  
Ὡστε μεταβάλλωμεν εἰς εὐχαριστίαν, εἰς αἶνον, εἰς δοξολογίαν, χάριν  
μὲν εἰδότες ἐφ' ὅσον καιρὸν ἀπελαύσαμεν τῆς συμβιώσεως, χάριν δὲ νῦν  
80 ὁμολογοῦντες ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ματαιότητος ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἐπαδύνου καὶ  
ὄντως πολυπενθοῦς ζωῆς ἀπάρασα ἢ ἀδελφὴ πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν κατήν-  
τησε καὶ ζωὴν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ πάσης λύπης ἐλευθέραν καὶ κατηφείας·  
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀξίας οὔσης οὐχὶ πενθεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ ζηλοῦσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ  
μακαρίζεσθαι.

#### 48. Γρηγορίῳ μητροπολίτῃ Ἐφέσου

Ἐπὶ τοῖς προκατειργασμένοις τὴν πολυώδυνον ἡμῶν ψυχὴν,  
τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερώτατον, ἀλγήμασιν, οὕτω διέδηκε τὰ νῦν καταλαβόντα  
διὰ τῆς τῶν σῶν | γραμμάτων ἀπαγγελίας ἀλγεινά, ὡς μικροῦ πρὸς C  
5 ἕκστασιν ἑαυτῶν καταστῆναι καὶ τῇ πολλῇ ἀμηχανίᾳ ὅμοιον τι παθεῖν

60 καιρὸν] hinc P || λύοντα P: καταλύοντα V || 61 πάντων P: om. V || ὀρῶντες τὴν  
τάξιν P: τὴν τάξιν ὀρῶντες V || 63 ὀρῶντες V: -ας P || 66 ἐάσωμεν V: -ομεν P || 67-68 παρέ-  
σχε καὶ τὴν γένεσιν P: καὶ τὴν γένεσιν παρέσχε V || 69 συμφέρειν P: -ον V || 70 καὶ κρίσιν  
P: om. V || πλεῖον P: πλέον V || 72 διεξάγει P: ἐξάγει V || 73 πρὸς P: κατὰ V || 75 εἰ P: ἂν  
(sic) V || 76 διὰ τῶν (P<sup>2</sup>: τὸ P<sup>1</sup>) λυπεῖν V: τῶν διαλυπεῖν V || 78 μεταβάλλωμεν P: -λλ-  
V || 82 καὶ<sup>1</sup> P: om. V || ἐλευθέραν P: -α V

measured out, and then how time puts an end to them? Why then is it that,  
when we see the natural order preserved in each of these cases, we suffer nothing  
and regard it as no injury, yet, when we look only to ourselves, we mourn and  
feel hardly used because we are treated according to the common laws?  
How is this worthy of your education and wisdom, or of the Divine hopes  
upon which you have fixed your heart?

Let us leave our grief, our tears, our sadness. Let us return to ourselves,  
and resign ourselves to the Judgments of God, Who, at His good pleasure,  
granted to our most sweet sister her birth and her sojourn among us for as  
long as He deemed it good for her, and then took her to Himself, according  
to His ineffable counsel and decree. More than we can wish or pray for, doth  
that Father, the true Lover of our souls, order and conduct our affairs for  
the best. We are dragged about by mere desire, and think that what is good  
for us is identical with this; and if our affairs run in accordance with our  
desire, we imagine that life goes well for us, and if not, that our life is thwarted  
by disaster. But He reasons not so: and through those things which seem to  
pain and thwart us He gives us greater benefit than that which might seem  
to come through joy. Let us then turn to gratitude and praise and glorifi-  
cation, giving thanks for the time she dwelt among us, and now, again,  
thanks that our sister has departed out of this vanity and this painful and  
most truly wretched life, and has gone to the life of blessedness and joy, that  
is free of all grief and sadness, and thus deserves, not to be bewailed, but  
rather to be envied and called blessed.

#### 48. To Gregory, Metropolitan of Ephesus

In addition to the griefs already afflicting my very wretched heart,  
(most holy Son), the grievous intelligence which has reached me in the  
recital of your letter has so disposed me that I am nearly out of my mind,  
and in my utter helplessness am like those who are tossed on a fathomless

τοῖς ἐν χειμῶνι σφοδρότατῳ ἀχανεῖ ἐναπειλημμένοις πελάγει καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο ῥίπτουσι πάσας τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας· πλὴν ὅτι παρέσχεν ὁ  
 πάντοτε παριστάμενος βοηθὸς καὶ ἀνενεγκεῖν ἔδωκεν ἐπιλογίσασθαι οἷς  
 μέχρι καὶ νῦν οὐ διέλιπε τὴν μεγάλην ἐπορέγων χεῖρα καὶ ῥυόμενος δι'  
 10 ἄφατον ἀγαθότητα τῶν πολυτρόπων καὶ πολυμηχάνων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν  
 αὐτοῦ περιστάσεων. Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνενεγκοῦσιν ἡμῖν τὰς χρηστοτέρας  
 ὑπῆρξε διασφῆζειν ἐλπίδας· καὶ εἶψαν διασφῆζόμεναι, Χριστέ μου καὶ  
 σῶτερ, καὶ μὴ τῷ ἀπείρῳ τῶν ἐμῶν ἁμαρτιῶν πλήθει ἡμῖν τε καὶ τῇ σῇ  
 ἀγίᾳ διαπίπτουσαι ἐκκλησίᾳ.

15 Ταῦτά σοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἔγω γράφειν. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης, ὅσα γε D  
 τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, βοηθείας ἴσθι ἐν ἐσχάτῃ ὄντας ἀπορίᾳ καὶ οὔτε τοῖς αὐτόθι  
 ἐπαμῦναί τι οὔτε τοῖς ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἰσχύς. Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ σὲ τὰ  
 πράγματα ἐπιζητεῖ διὰ τάχους καταλαβεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοῦτο δίχα  
 πάσης ἀναβολῆς δεῖ γενέσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ εἶπερ τι ἄλλο τοῖς πράγμασιν  
 20 ὠφελιμώτατον, ἠνωμένους εἶναι, ὡς περ τῷ πνεύματι, οὕτω καὶ σώματι.  
 Καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς ὡς ἂν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν μεγάλη καὶ ἀνεξ-  
 ιχνίαστος διοικήσῃ βούληται σύνεσις. Ἐρρωσώ μοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερώτα-  
 τον, ταῖς θείαις πτέρυξιν πάσης ἐπηρείας ὀρωμένης τε καὶ ἀοράτου  
 φυλαττόμενος.

#### 49. Πρὸς τοὺς μητροπολίτας ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὄντας

«Ἀνθρώπους πείθομεν,» φησὶν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, | «θεῶ δὲ 241  
 πεφανερῶμεθα» καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως ἢ κατὰ τὴν μακαρίαν ἐκείνην  
 γλῶσσαν τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ λαλοῦσαν καὶ οὐχὶ λογισμῶν θνητῶν καὶ ἀνθρω-  
 5 πίνων. Ὅρα δὴ οὖν καὶ σύ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁρᾶτε, οὐς (οὐκ οἶδα πῶς συμπα-  
 θέστερον εἶπω) δυστυχῶς ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἀπεγέ-  
 νησα ἐκκλησίᾳ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ δυστυχῶς; οἱ ἐγεννήθητέ μοι, οὐχ ἵνα  
 κατὰ τὸν πρόποντα τέκνοις πρὸς γονέα νόμον προασπίσητε, ὑπερμαχή-  
 σησθε, καὶ τυχὸν ἐν κινδύνοις ἡμῶν ὄντων συναντιλάβησθε καὶ τοῦ  
 10 κινδύνου ῥύσησθε τὸν πατέρα, κἂν ἴσως παρὰ δίκην, ἐπεὶ περ ἔστι παρὰ  
 θεῶ καὶ τοιαύτης συμπαθείας ἀντίδοσις τῷ τάξαντι τιμῆς ὄρους πατράσι  
 καὶ τέκνοις. Ἄλλ' οὐχὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον τοιοῦτον· τοῦ γὰρ Χριστοῦ καὶ

49: 2-3: 2 Cor. 5.11.

8 aliquid turbatum; fort. καὶ post ἀνενεγκεῖν reponendum  
 49: P 171v-172r || 12 ὑμέτερον] ἡμέτερον Vat.

deep in the fiercest of storms, so that they abandon all hope of survival;  
 were it not that He That is ever at hand to aid has granted me to bear up,  
 and given me to reflect that He has never yet failed to stretch forth His  
 mighty arm, and in His ineffable goodness to deliver His Church from crises of  
 every sort and variety. Borne up by this reflection, I am able to preserve  
 better hopes. And may they indeed be preserved, My Christ and Saviour,  
 and not be lost to me and Thy holy Church through the infinite number of  
 my sins!

So much (my Son) I have to write. But as regards other, I mean,  
 human, aid, know that I am in the extreme of helplessness, and it is not in  
 my power to give any help to those with you or those here. Indeed, circum-  
 stances demand that you should come here yourself at once, and this you  
 should do without any delay. If there is any one thing that can help matters  
 more than another it is that we should be united, not only in spirit but also  
 in person; and for the rest, it shall be as the mighty and inscrutable Wisdom  
 of Christ our God may wish to dispose. Fare well (most holy Son), protected  
 by the divine wings from all malice seen or unseen.

#### 49. To the Metropolitans outside the Church

“We persuade men,” saith the divine Apostle, “but we are made mani-  
 fest unto God”: and it is not otherwise than according to that blessed tongue  
 which speaketh out of Heaven and not out of the thoughts of mortal men.  
 Look thou then to it—or rather look ye, whom (I do not know how to put it  
 more kindly) I begat to be a curse both to myself and to the Church of  
 Christ our God. For a curse you have certainly been: were you not born my  
 sons so that, in accordance with the law which rules the proper conduct  
 of children to their parent, you might protect me, fight for me, and take my  
 part if I was in danger, and deliver your father out of danger—even, perhaps,  
 if I had been in the wrong? for affection, even when shown in such circum-  
 stances as these has its reward from God, Who has ordained the terms of  
 honor between fathers and sons. But this was not your case: since my Christ and

θεοῦ μου, οὐχ ὅτι πρὸς θεραπείαν αὐτοῦ ἐξείργασται τί ποτε παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀφατον ἀγαθότητα τέως εὐμενοῦς ἡμῖν τυγχάνοντος καὶ  
15 οὐδὲν παρακεχωρηκός τοιοῦτόν τι πεπραγμένον ἡμῖν ὀφθῆναι, . . .

## 50. Ἰγνατίῳ μητροπολίτῃ Κυζίκου

B

Εὐφράνθημεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τελείαν εὐφροσύνην, τὸ σὸν γράμμα, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερὸν, δεξάμενοι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, τὸ διὰ τοσούτου χρόνου ἐξ οὗ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διέστημεν σαφῆ τινα λόγον μὴ μαθεῖν περὶ  
5 τῆς ὑμετέρας ζωῆς, νῦν διὰ τοῦ σου γράμματος ὁ ἐποθοῦμεν μεμαθηκόσιν ὑπόθεσις γέγονεν εὐφροσύνης. Δεόμεθα δὲ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τελεώτερον ἐπὶ σοὶ εὐφρανθῆναι διὰ τῆς τελείας ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ κοινῶς ἡμᾶς λελυπηκός καὶ σφόδρα λυποῦντος πάθους. Καὶ γένοιτο πληρωτῆς ὁ ἀγαθὸς τῆς αἰτήσεως, διδοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλοις ὀφθῆναι  
10 καὶ δοξάσαι οἷς ἀπελεύσαμεν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητα.

## 51. Τῷ περιδόξῳ ἐξουσιαστῇ Ἀβασγίας

Τὸ φιλόθεόν σου καὶ τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ τρόπου ἐκίνησεν ἡμᾶς πρὸς C τὴν σὴν ἀγάπην, ὃ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε· καὶ ἰδοὺ πρῶτοι διὰ τοῦ γράμματος προσαγορευόμεν σε καὶ ὡς τέκνον ἡμῶν οἷα παρόντες ἐναγκαλι-  
5 ζόμεθα καὶ πατρικοῖς φιλήμασι περιπτυσσόμεθα. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦ μὲν φιλοθέου ἀπόδειξις ἢ ἐνθεός σου σπουδή, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐπιγνώσει τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἐπεδείξω καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσαι· ἀνεμάθομεν γὰρ ἐκ διαφόρων τῶν ἐπισταμένων τὰ σὰ κατορθώματα ὡς μετὰ γε θεὸν πολλὴν τὴν πρόνοιαν κατεβάλου εἷς τε τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ  
10 τῆς Ἀλανίας ἄρχοντος καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὅσοι σὺν αὐτῷ κατηξιώθησαν τοῦ ἀγίου βαπτίσματος. Τῆς δὲ χρηστότητος τῶν τρόπων καὶ τῆς εὐποιίας τίς ἄλλη περιφανέστερα | ἔσται ἀπόδειξις ἢ τίς ἂν ἄλλο ἐπιζητήσῃ D μαρτύριον, ἀρκούσης τῆς ξενοδοχίας, τῆς θεραπείας, τῆς ἄλλης ἐν πᾶσι παραμυθίας ὅση δυνατὴ χορηγεῖσθαι, ἣν εἰς τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἀρχιεπί-

51: 7: cf. 1 Tim. 2.4; 2 Tim. 2.25; 3.7; Tit. 1.1; Hebr. 10.26.

13 ἐξείργασται P<sup>x</sup>: ἐξειργάσθαι P<sup>1</sup>

50: P 172r

51: P 172r-v Q 192r-v || 1 tit. P: om. Q || 5 πατρικοῖς P: πρακτικοῖς Q || 6 τῇ<sup>1</sup> P: om. Q || 9 κατεβάλου P: -λλ- Q || 10 σὺν P: om. Q

God, not for any service ever done Him by me but out of His own ineffable goodness, has always shown me His favor and has never permitted that any such *wrong* should be seen to have been done by me, . . .

## 50. To Ignatius, Metropolitan of Cyzicus

On receipt of your letter (my holy Son) I rejoiced, even though not with a perfect joy. The fact that during the long time of our separation I had no certain news that you were alive, and have now, by your letter, learned what I wished to hear, is matter for rejoicing. But I pray of our merciful God that I may rejoice over you yet more perfectly, through the absolute removal of that suffering which has afflicted, and still violently afflicts, us both. And may He, in His Goodness, fulfill that request, granting that we may see one another, and may glorify His Goodness for Its blessing to us!

## 51. To the renowned Prince of Abasgia

The piety and worth of your nature have moved me to love you (O man of God), and herewith I open correspondence with you in this letter, and, as though I were present, fold my Son in my arms and embrace him with a paternal kiss. A proof of your piety is the godly zeal which you have displayed, and still display, for the salvation of, and for the adoption of truth by, the nation of the Alans. For I learn from various persons who know your achievements that you have, under God, devoted much care to the enlightenment of the prince of Alania and of all those who with him have been found worthy of holy Baptism. And of the worth of your character, and of your well-doing, what more striking proof can there be, or who will require further witness of them, when it suffices to consider the hospitality, the attention, and the general comfort, as much as could be provided, which



15 σκοπον, τὸ τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὅλη προαιρέσει καὶ ὅλη ψυχῇ ὠφθης ἐπιδειξά-  
μενος; Διὰ τοῦτο δεόμεθα τοῦ ἱκανοῦ πολλαπλασίους ἀντιδοῦναι τὰς  
ἀμοιβὰς ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι βίῳ καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι, αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον  
τοῦ ἐλέους αὐτοῦ ἀνταναπληρῶσαι τὰς χάριτας, νῦν μὲν ἐκ πάσης διατη-  
ροῦντά σε σκυθρωπότητος καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἐναν-  
20 τιοτήτος, ἐν δὲ τῇ μελλούσῃ ζωῇ συναριθμοῦντά σε τοῖς ἡγαπημένοις  
αὐτῷ καὶ οὓς ἡ τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοῦ ἔχει συναρίθμησις. Εἴ τινας δ' ἂν  
καὶ ἔτι δυνατοῦ σου ὄντος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐπιτεύξῃται  
παραμυθίας τῆς σῆς, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἀρετῆς, πάντως καὶ | τοῦτο ἔξεις 244  
τοῖς προλαβοῦσι σου καλοῖς συναριθμούμενον καὶ τὴν ἀντίδοσιν παρὰ τοῦ  
25 μεγαλοδώρου θεοῦ ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ πολυπλάσιον ἀπεκδεχόμενος.

## 52. Πέτρῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἀλανίας

Ἐδεξάμεθά σου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἠδύνουσαν ἡμᾶς ὅτι  
σὴ ἐπιστολή, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ λίαν ὀδυνῶσαν δι' ὧν ἐπιλήσιμονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς  
τέκνα στοργὴν ἀπορρίψαντας ἔλεγε, καὶ, τὸ βαρύτερον, τέκνου πρὸς  
5 διακονίαν (ἡ), εἰ καὶ πολλὴν ἐπαγγέλλεται τὴν θείαν ἀνάπαυσιν, ἀλλ'  
ἐν γὰρ τῇ παρουσίᾳ ζωῆς ἀγῶνας καὶ πόνους οὐ βραδίους ἐνεγκεῖν, πλὴν ὅσον  
ἐπὶ τῇ θείᾳ δυνάμει τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν ἀποσαλευούσης. Εἰ οὖν περὶ τέκνα  
τοιοῦτοι, τίνες ἂν εἴημεν πρὸς ἑτέρους καὶ οὓς ἡ τῶν τέκνων οὐκ οἶδε τά-  
ξις; Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἡ σὴ μνήμη, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ διὰ  
10 παντός, οἶδεν ὁ πλάσας αὐτήν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων συμβάλλεις  
τὴν ἡμετέραν | στοργὴν, ἴσθι μὴδὲ τοῦτου ἡμᾶς διημεληκότας. Ἐγράψα- B  
μεν γὰρ οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δις καὶ τρίς, εἰ καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν μέχρι σοῦ τὰ  
γραφέντα οὐ δίκητο, ὥστε μήτε τὴν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῆ ἀποδημίαν μήτε ἄλλο  
τι πρὸς αἰτίαν λήθης ἡμῖν ἀναφέρης. Καίτοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτο  
15 ἦν, ἔδει σε ἀναλογιζόμενον τὴν φλόγα τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ  
συνέχοντα διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν, εἰς συγγνώμην δοῦναι τὸ μὴ δέξασθαι  
γράμμα, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐγκλησιν τοῦτο ποιῆσθαι. Οἶδαμεν οὖν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς  
τὴν τῶν περιστάσεων ἐλαύνεις πορείαν καὶ τῆς καμίνου τῶν θλίψεων  
πεῖραν λαμβάνεις· ἀλλὰ τό γε ἡμέτερον οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἂν ἀντίποις ὡς οὐχί  
20 τῶν σὲ περιστοιχιζόντων ἐπωδυνώτερον.

21 εἴ P: εἰς Q || 22 ἐπιτεύξῃται P: -εται Q

52: P 172v-174v Q 192v-195r || 1 tit. P: om. Q || 4 πρὸς P: πρὸς τὰ Q || 5 ἡ  
Wk: om. P Q || 6 βραδίους Jk: -ως P Q || 7-8 τέκνα τοιοῦτοι P: ἑκατὸν  
οὔτοι Q || 13 οὐ Q: om. P || δίκητο Q: δίκητο P || 14 ἀναφέρης Jk: -εις P, compend.  
Q || 17 οὖν P: γὰρ Q || 18 ἐλαύνεις P: -η Q

you have manifestly bestowed, with all good will and heart, on my Son, the  
Archbishop, most beloved by God? Therefore I pray to Him Who is able to  
return you a manifold reward both in this life and in the life to come, that  
He will, according to the riches of His mercy, recompense you with His  
favours, preserving you now from all sorrow and adversity in human affairs,  
and, in the life to come, numbering you among those who are beloved of Him,  
and who are included in the roll of His servants. And if in the future the  
Archbishop, most beloved of God, shall obtain any further comfort which  
your Virtue (my Son) is in a position to provide, be assured that this too  
shall be numbered along with your previous kindnesses, and that you shall  
receive the reward many times over from our abundantly giving God.

## 52. To Peter, Archbishop of Alania

I have received your letter, which gave me satisfaction in that yours  
it was, but, for the rest, has deeply pained me because it called me forgetful  
and said I had put off my affection toward my sons; and, what was heaviest,  
toward a son's ministry, which, though it promises much tranquillity in God,  
yet in this life brings also toils and pains not easy to bear, unless our hope is  
anchored to the Divine Power. If I am such toward my sons, what must I be  
toward others who are not bound to me in the order of sonship? But that  
your remembrance (my holy Son) is always in my heart, is known to Him  
Who created it: and since you measure my affection by my letters, you  
must know that I have not been negligent here either. I have written, not  
once, but two and three times, although, it appears, my letters have not  
reached you: so do not make your absence abroad, or anything else, into a  
cause of my "forgetting" you. And yet (my Son), even if this were so, you  
ought to have considered the flame that consumes my humble soul and those  
things that, for my sins, afflict it, and to pardon rather than accuse me for  
your not having received a letter from me. I am aware that you too are  
pursuing the path of dangers, and are acquainted with the furnace of griefs;  
yet even you will not deny that my own suffering is more painful than those  
which encompass you.

Ἄλλὰ περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ τε καὶ σὺ λευπήμεθα μὴ | πλέον εἰρήσθω. C  
 Ἐκεῖνα δὲ σοι λοιπὸν γράφω ἃ καὶ παρὼν ἤκουσας καὶ ἀπὼν ἀκούεις τοῦ  
 παναγίου σοι πνεύματος ἐνηχοῦντος, ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν  
 καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσάν σοι δόξαν ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι· καὶ τοσοῦτον  
 25 ἀπέχω τοῦ ἀλγεῖν ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις θλιβεροῖς τῆς χώρας, ὥστε καὶ εὐχο-  
 μαι — καὶ εἴη γε τὸ θεῖον οὐδ' εἴ ποτε τῇ ἐμῇ τεταπεινωμένῃ εὐχῇ νῦν  
 προσέχον, καὶ εὐροιμι τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν σῶν θλίψεων. Τί γὰρ τῶν ἐν βίῳ  
 εὐφραϊνόντων ἀντιτιμᾶσθαι ταῖς τοιαύταις θλίψεσιν εὐρεθεῖς; Ποία τῶν  
 νομιζόντων εὐδαιμόνων ἀντάξιός ἡδονὴ γένοιτο τοῖς σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν,  
 30 ἀλγύνειν δοκοῦσιν; Μεγάλῃς ἐλάχομεν παρὰ τοῦ πεφιληκότος ἡμᾶς  
 φιλανθρώπου Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν χάριτος· τὸ μεγαλεῖον αὐτῆς ἐν-  
 νοῶμεν καὶ τῷ εὐεργέτῃ κατὰ | δύναμιν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν D  
 ὀφειλομένην, ἀποδιδόντες μὴ λήγωμεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡσπερ καταγογγύζοντες  
 ὤμεν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς χάριτος παρὰ φαῦλον ποιῶμεθα. Εἰπέ, τέκνον  
 35 ἐμόν, εἴ τίς σε τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς μέγα δυναμένων εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατέστησε  
 τάξιν, τίς ἂν ἐγένου καὶ ποίαν ἂν διάθεσιν ἀνελάβου; Εἶτα οὐκ ἐννοεῖς  
 ὡς ὁ φιλόανθρωπος ἡμῶν σωτήρ, ὁ κενώσας ἑαυτὸν ἐξ ὕψους τῆς δόξης  
 αὐτοῦ ἵνα τὸ ἀπολωλὸς σώσῃ, ἵνα τοὺς ἐν σκότει πλανωμένους τῆς  
 ἀσεβείας πρὸς τὸ φῶς ὁδηγήσῃ τῆς εὐσεβείας, εἰς ἣν αὐτὸς εἴλετο διακο-  
 40 νίαν, εἰς ταύτην σε προὔβάλετο, καὶ πᾶσαν χαρὰν, πᾶσαν | ἡδονὴν ὅση πετε- 245  
 ραῖ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ἀναλαμβάνεις καὶ πάντων σεαυτὸν ἡγή τῶν ἐν  
 βίῳ μακαριώτατον, ἀλλ' ὀδύρη καὶ θρηνηεῖς <ὡς> ἐσχάτη περιπεσῶν  
 συμφορᾶ; Καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τῶν ὡς σὺ χάριτι θεοῦ ἐκ παιδὸς ἀνηγγέμενων καὶ  
 ἀρετῆν μεμελετηκότων καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τοῦ μακαριζέσθαι ἄξιον  
 45 λογισαμένων προσήκοντα; Ἐγὼ τοσοῦτον ἀπέχω τοῦ ἀθυμεῖν ἐφ' οἷς  
 ἀθυμεῖς, ὥστε ὅταν τὰ σὰ πράγματα εἰς νοῦν ἀναλήψωμαι, διὰ τοῦ  
 χαίρειν ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἐπιλανθάνομαι τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν. Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ  
 εἰ καὶ συνεχόμεθα τοῖς ἐνταῦθα λυπηροῖς, ἀλλὰ (φεῦ τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν)  
 πάντων ὡς ἐπίστασαι ἱκανοὺς ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένων εἰδέναι τὴν σωτηρίαν,  
 50 μικροῦ δέω εἰπεῖν ἀκερδῆ φέρομεν τὴν ὑπομονήν. Σοὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει,  
 ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς ἀνωθεν δυνάμεως, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντων, ἀλλ' ὅσων δὴ ποτε B  
 προσεχόντων τῷ λόγῳ τῆς σῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀθείας τὴν  
 θεῖκην ἐπίγνωσιν ἀλλασσομένων ἀσύγκριτον τῆς ὑπομονῆς τὸ κέρδος.

23-24: Rom. 8.18. || 38: Luc. 19.10.

21 εἰρήσθω P: ἐρρώσθω Q || 23 πνεύματος P: π(α)τ(ρ)ός Q || 26 εἴη P: εἴ Q || εἴ ποτε P:  
 εἶτε Q || 28 εὐφραϊνόντων P: εὐφρονοῦντων Q || 33 ἀλλὰ μὴ P: ἀλλ' αὐτῇ Q || 41 σεαυτὸν  
 P: om. Q || 42 ὡς Jk: om. PQ || περιπεσῶν Q: περιπεσόντων P || 43 ἀνηγγέμενων Q:  
 -ον P || 44 μεμελετηκότων Q: -τα P || τῶν Q: om. P || 49 ἐπίστασαι P: -μαι Q ||  
 50 δέω P: δὲ Q || 51 ὅσων P: -ον Q

Yet, of what you and I have suffered we will say no more. Now I write  
 what you heard when you were here, and what, in your absence, you hear by  
 admonition of the Holy Spirit, namely, that the sufferings of the present  
 are not worthy to be revealed by comparison with the glory that awaits you;  
 and I am so far from being pained at the hardships of which you speak in  
 that country, that I even pray—and may the Divine Ear be now, if  
 ever, attentive to my humble prayer—that I might find a share in your hard-  
 ships! For what among the enjoyable things of life is to be compared in honor  
 with such hardships? What pleasure of those who pass for happy is equal  
 in worth to what seems pain to you (my Son)? We have received much  
 Grace from Him Who hath loved us, the merciful Christ our God; let us  
 realize Its majesty, and cease not to render thanks unto our Benefactor  
 according to our power, if not according to His deserts! Let us not appear as  
 grumblers, who misprise the extent of His Grace! Tell me (my Son): if one  
 of the great ones upon Earth were to place you in his own rank, what would  
 you feel? of what disposition would you be toward him? Well, then: do you  
 not perceive that our merciful Saviour, who emptied Himself out from the  
 height of His glory to save the lost and to guide unto the light of piety those  
 who wandered in the impious darkness, has appointed you to that ministry  
 which He chose for Himself? And do you not *therefore* feel that you receive  
 all joy, all pleasure that can elevate the human heart, and realize yourself  
 to be more blessed than all men living, and yet do you wail and lament *as*  
 one who is fallen into deepest calamity? How does this become those who,  
 like you, have been brought up by God's Grace from a little child, and in the  
 study of virtue, and who regard nothing on earth as worthy of felicitation?  
 I for my part am so far from sorrow at what you sorrow over, that, when I  
 consider your case, I forget my own evils in rejoicing over yours! For though  
 I am afflicted by grievous happenings here, yet (alas for my sufferings!),  
 where everybody, as you know, thinks himself capable of knowing salvation,  
 my patience is, I might almost say, profitless. But it is not so with you:  
 where, under the Power on high, if not all, yet as many as may be, are atten-  
 tive to the word of your teaching, and accept the Divine Knowledge in ex-  
 change for godlessness, the reward of your patience is incomparable. Do not

Μὴ οὖν δυσφóρει, μηδὲ ἀνιῶ, μηδὲ τὸ πτερόν τῆς διανοίας διὰ τὰ προσπί-  
 55 πτοντα ὑποχαλάσης δυσχερῆ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐλπίδος ἢ μὴ δια-  
 φεύδεται τοὺς θεράποντας τοῦ θεοῦ μετεωριζόμενος ὑπεράνω μοι γίνου  
 τῶν ὀδυρῶν καὶ τῶν θρήνων, νικώσης τῆς αἰωνίου γλυκύτητος πάντα τὰ  
 ἐφ' ἡμέρα (τί γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἴπερ χίλια ἔτη ὡς ἡμέρα λογίζεται;)   
 πικραίνειν δοκοῦντα τὴν αἴσθησιν.

60 Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἀναλογίζου μοι τὰ τῶν μακαρίων ἀποστόλων  
 πάθη—ἐὼ γὰρ τὰ τοῦ δεσπότου· καίτοι ποίαν πικρότητα παθῶν οὐ δια-  
 λύει τῶν δεσποτικῶν παθημάτων ἢ ἀνάμνησις; ἀλλ', εἰ βούλει, ἐῷμεν C  
 ταῦτα, διότι κύριος ὢν τοῦ μὴ πάσχειν ἐκὼν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοῦτο παρείχεν—  
 πλὴν σκοπῶμεν τοὺς μετ' ἐκεῖνον τὰ τούτου πάθη ἀναδεξαμένους καὶ  
 65 τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον εἰς τὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου παραγγελιαντας  
 δρόμον· καὶ τοῖς ὁμοταγέσι τὰ οἰκεῖα συγκρίνοντες μὴ διότι φέρομεν ἀ  
 κάκεινους ὑπῆρξε δυσφορῶμεν, ἀλλ' εἴ τι ἐνδεῶς τὰ ἡμέτερα πάθη τῶν  
 μακαρίων πατέρων ἡμῶν ἔχει, ἐν τούτοις πρὸς τὸ ἀγωνιᾶν καθιστώμεθα  
 διὰ τὴν ἔλλειψιν τῆς ἐκείνων χαρᾶς, τῆς λαμπρότητος καὶ τῆς δόξης,  
 70 ὅταν εἰς ἀμοιβὴν τῶν πόνων καὶ τὴν ἀνακλήρῳξιν τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ὁ  
 δεσπότης προκαθήσῃ. Ἄρκει ταῦτα εἰς παραμύθιον τῶν θλίψεων ἡμῶν  
 καὶ συνετῶ σοι | ὄντι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ κινδύνους ἡγαπητότι· D  
 πάντως δὲ οὐδεὶς με πείσει λόγος ὅτι καὶ μὴ διὰ τέλους ὁ αὐτὸς εἰ φιλῶν  
 ἄπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς προετίμησας.

75 Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἔγραψας τῶν τε κατὰ γάμον ἐναντιουμένων πραγμά-  
 των τῇ καταστάσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα πρὸς τὸν ἐθνικώτε-  
 ρον τρόπον ὑπάγει τοὺς χρωμένους, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ σου ἡ σύνεσις ὅτι οὕτως  
 ἀθρόον ἢ μετὰστασις τῆς ἐθνικῆς ζωῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀκριβείαν τοῦ εὐαγγε-  
 λίου τὸ βῆμα οὐ καταδέχεται. Διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ τὴν μὲν διδασκαλίαν καὶ  
 80 τὴν πρὸς τὰ καλὰ ὀδηγοῦσαν παραίνεσιν ἀδιαλείπτως πατρικῶς καὶ μετ'  
 ἐπεικειας προσάγειν· καὶ οἷς μὲν πειθαμένους ἔχεις, εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ  
 διδόντι χάριν τῇ σῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, οἷς δὲ δυσχεραίνοντας ὄρας, ἀνέ|χυσθαι 248  
 μακροθύμως, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀπειθούντων τῆς ὑψηλοτέρας τάξεως τοῦ  
 ἔθνους ὑπαρχόντων καὶ οὐ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄρχειν λαχόντων.  
 85 Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ὑποχειρίους τυχόν καὶ ἀσθηρότερον καὶ ἐξουσιαστι-  
 κώτερον δυνατὸν σοι προσενεχθῆναι καὶ τὸ ἀτόπημα μηδαμῶς καταδέ-

58: 2 Petr. 3.8; cf. Ps. 89.4. || 81–82: cf. Gen. 39.21; Act. 7.10.

55 ἢ Q: ἢ P || 56 μετεωριζόμενος P: -ομένου Q || 57 αἰωνίου P: -ας Q || 58 ἐφ' ἡμέρα  
 Wk (ad dativ. cf. 109.24): ἐφήμερα P Q || 66 μὴ διότι Q: μηδ' ὅτι P || φέρομεν Q<sup>c</sup>: -ομεν  
 P Q<sup>i</sup> || 67 ὑπῆρξε P: ὑπῆρξεν ἐνεργεῖν Q || 68 καθιστώμεθα Wk: -άμεθα P Q || 74 ἐξ P:  
 τὸ ἐξ Q || 75 γάμον P: -ων Q || 79 τὸ P: om. Q || 80 παραίνεσιν P: προαίρεσιν Q ||  
 84 καὶ — λαχόντων P: om. Q || ἄρχην (sic) P

then be impatient, or grieve, or droop the wing of your spirit for the difficulties  
 you encounter, but, soaring aloft on that true hope which does not deceive  
 the servants of God, rise above—I beg you—these wailings and lamentations,  
 for the sweetness of eternity surpasses all that seems to embitter the sense  
 for no more than a day (what is human life, if a thousand years are counted  
 but as a single day?).

Apart from this, consider the sufferings of the blessed Apostles (I do  
 not speak of those of Our Lord—and yet what bitterness or suffering is not  
 dispelled by remembrance of Our Lord's Passion?—but we will, if you please,  
 not speak of them, since, though it was in His power not to suffer, He vol-  
 untarily offered Himself unto suffering); but let us look at those who, after  
 Him, took on themselves His suffering, and those after them even until  
 today who have enlisted for the way of the Gospel; and, comparing our own  
 lot with our fellow workers, let us not be impatient because we bear what  
 was borne by them; but only if our sufferings fall any way short of those of  
 our blessed Fathers, let us regret it, because *thus* we shall fall short of their  
 joy, and brightness, and glory, when our Lord shall preside over the reward  
 of toils and the proclamation of the competitors. This is sufficient to console  
 our griefs, for you are wise and have embraced dangers on behalf of Christ:  
 and surely no argument will persuade me that what you chose in the begin-  
 ning, you will not remain content with until the end.

As for what you write of matters respecting marriage which are opposed  
 to the Church order, and of other habits which conduce to the more pagan  
 character of those who indulge in them, your Wisdom is aware that so sudden  
 a conversion of pagan life into the strictness of the Gospel is not easily  
 achieved. You should therefore continually apply your doctrine and salutary  
 exhortation in a paternal and generous spirit; and where you find them obe-  
 dient, give thanks unto Him Who giveth grace by your teaching; but where  
 you find them recalcitrant, bear it with long-suffering, especially if the  
 disobedient belong to the upper class of the nation, and are not governed  
 but governors. Toward their subjects you may perhaps be able to carry  
 yourself rather more austere and despotically, and refuse on any account

ξασθαι· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς μέγα δυναμένους εἰς ἐναντίωσιν τῆς τοῦ παντὸς  
 ἔθνους σωτηρίας ἀνάγκη λογιζέσθαι μὴ πως τραχύτερον ἡμῶν πρὸς  
 αὐτοὺς διατιθεμένων λήσωμεν αὐτοὺς τέλειον ἐξαργυρώσαντες καὶ ἄνω  
 90 καὶ κάτω τὸ πᾶν καταστήσαντες. Ἐχεις πολλὰ παραδείγματα τῶν  
 ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων. Οὕτω καὶ ἰατρὸς ὑπενδίδωσι πρὸς χαλεπότητα  
 πολλάκις τοῦ νοσήματος, καὶ κυβερνήτης οὐ βιάζεται πλέον ἢ δυνατόν  
 ῥοῦν ἐναντιούμενον τῇ πορείᾳ τοῦ σκάφους, καὶ στρατηγίαν <ἐπιτρα-  
 πεις> κἄν μὴ βούληται πολλάκις εἶκει τοῦ λαοῦ τῇ ὁρμῇ· καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον  
 95 δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς, ὡς καὶ διδάσκαλος ἀπειθείαν τῶν διδασκομένων μετα-  
 βάλλειν ἐκνικώμενος, εἴ γε μὴ μέλλοι ἀσύνετόν τι καὶ ἄσοφον πάσχειν,  
 φείσεται τῆς ἀναιδείας τῶν μὴ πειθομένων μαθητῶν καὶ ὑπενδώσει  
 τοῦτοις εἰς καιρόν, ἵνα πάλιν ἔχη τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀκρωμένους. Ἐρρωσο.

53. Ἰωάννη τῷ ἁγιοτάτῳ πάπᾳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης

Ἔσα ἡμῖν ἀπήντησε, μακαριώτατε ἡμῶν ἀδελφέ, διὰ τὰς ἁμαρ-  
 τίας ἡμῶν (οὕτω γὰρ ἐμεῖ λέγειν, | καὶ ὑποχωρεῖτω ἡ τῶν ἄλλων B  
 αἰτία τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπηρείας) τὴν σὴν ἁγιοσύνην ὑπολαμβάνω μὴ  
 5 ἀγνοεῖν, οὐδὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίᾳ συμβεβηκότα νεώτερα μὲν  
 σκάνδαλα, μικροῦ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἀποδέω τῶν παλαιῶν βιαιότερα καὶ οὐκ ἂν  
 ποτε λύσεως ἐλπίδα παρέχοντα, ὅσα γε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. Ὡς οὖν πρὸς  
 εἰδότα παραλιπεῖν καλὸν ἠγησάμην τὸ γράφειν ἃ καὶ τοῦ γράμματος  
 χωρὶς οὐ λέληθεν ὑμᾶς. Περιττόν γάρ, ἵνα μὴ λέγω μάταιον, διδάσκειν  
 10 τὸν ὃς οὐ δεῖται μανθάνειν τὸ δίδαγμα. Γράφομεν δὲ τοῦτο μόνον, ὡς  
 τὸν τάραχον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας ἰδοῦ πεντεκαίδεκατον ἔτος ἢ  
 ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν εἰρήνη, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ θεός,  
 εἰς τὸ ἀτάραχον διελύσατο, καὶ τὴν δεινὴν καταιγίδα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνέλ-| C  
 πιστον τὴν καταστροφήν κεκτημένην (τίς ἂν ἐξερευνήσαι θεοῦ κρίματα;)   
 15 πρὸς βαθεῖαν γαλήνην ἀθρόον μετήνεγκεν μηδενὸς παρακολουθήσαντος  
 δυσχεροῦς, οἷα πολλάκις τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐκβιάζεται παρὰ γνώμην συνέρ-  
 χεσθαι τῷ γινομένῳ, οὐδέ τινος καταστάντος εἰς πεῖραν θλίψεως ἢ  
 στενοχωρίας, ὑπερορίας φημί, τῶν οἰκείων ἀποστερήσεως, ταλαιπωρίας

53: 11-12: Phil. 4.7. || 14: Rom. 11.33.

89 λήσωμεν P: πλήσωμεν Q || τέλειον P: πλέον Q || ἄνω P: ἄνω ἢ Q || 90 ἔχεις — 98  
 ἔρρωσο Q: spat. vac. 5½ lin. P || 93-94 ἐπιτραπεις ex. gr. suppl. Wk; στρατηγός corr. Da  
 53: P 174v-176v

to put up with the irregularity; but toward the powerful ones, who have  
 great power to counteract the salvation of the whole nation, you must  
 reflect whether, if we behave too harshly to them, we may not unawares  
 exasperate them the more, and thus turn everything upside down. You have  
 many examples in human affairs: thus, a doctor often gives rein to the severity  
 of a disease, and a pilot does not press more than is feasible against a current  
 that runs counter to the course of his ship, and a general often yields perforce  
 to the onset of the army. You are aware of our own position also, how a  
 teacher who is hindered in reforming the disobedience of his pupils will, if he  
 is not to be the victim of his own stupidity and foolhardiness, spare the in-  
 solence of his disobedient scholars and give rein to them for the time, in  
 order to get them once more to listen to his teaching. Farewell.

53. To John, the Most Holy Pope of the Elder Rome

Of what happened to me (most blessed Brother) for my sins—for so I  
 must put it, waiving the guilt of others for their malice against me—I believe  
 your Holiness to be aware; and also of the more recent scandals in our Church  
 which were, I might almost say, more violent than the former, and such as  
 to allow, humanly speaking, of no hope of an eventual settlement. And since  
 you knew of them, I thought it best to abstain from writing what even  
 without my letter had not escaped your attention: for it is superfluous, not  
 to say useless, to teach one who has no need to learn the lesson. This only I  
 write, that the disturbance in our Church, already in its fifteenth year, has  
 been resolved into quietness by the Peace that passeth all understanding,  
 Our Lord and God Jesus Christ; and that fearful tempest, the stilling of  
 which seemed hopeless, has (who shall search out the Judgments of God?)  
 been on a sudden transmuted to profound calm; and this without any  
 attendant unpleasantness, such as often forces man to submit against his  
 will to what is done: nobody is under the compulsion of hardship or con-  
 finement—I mean, of exile, or deprivation of his goods, or of any other

ἄλλης ὕση τυραννεῖν ἐξεπίσταται τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ παρὰ συνείδησιν  
 20 ἀναγκάζει τῷ δοκοῦντι τῇ ἀνάγκῃ συνέρχεσθαι. Ἄλλα γὰρ χάριτι θεοῦ  
 ὡσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς συνθήματος—τί λέγω ἀνθρωπίνου συνθήματος; ἀλλὰ τῷ  
 ὄντι θείου νεύματος—εἰς ἓν φρόνημα πάντες συνῆλθον, καὶ ἔχει ἀπαντας  
 ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀγία ἐκκλησία ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς αὐτῆς συνηγμένους  
 κόλποις.

25 Ἄλλα τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα τοιαῦτα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ | τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδελ- D  
 φικὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔνωσιν ἐπιζητοῦμεν καὶ τὴν ἐκάστοτε ὅπερ ἔθος συνομι-  
 λίαν διὰ τῶν ὑμῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς παραγινο-  
 μένων, ἣν τέως τὰ συμπεσόντα σκάνδαλα τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίᾳ διέ-  
 κοψεν, τούτου δὴ χάριν γνωρίζομέν σοι, μακαριώτατε ἡμῶν ἀδελφέ, ἵνα  
 30 καὶ ὑμεῖς τῇ ἡμῶν εἰρήνῃ συνευφραϊνόμενοι, πρῶτον μὲν, ὃ καὶ χωρὶς  
 τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων ἀκόλουθόν ἐστιν, δοξάσητε τὸν καταλιπόντα τὸν  
 τῆς εἰρήνης κληρὸν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦτον ὅσαι ἡμέραι, εἰ καὶ συλᾶν ὁ πονηρὸς  
 ἀγωνίζεται, ὅμως ἐπανασφίοντα τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν· ἔπειτα δὲ ἵνα καὶ  
 τῆς τῶν σκανδάλων λελυμένης αἰτίας ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀποστολῆ καὶ συν-  
 35 ομιλία τὴν ἀνακαινίσιν δέξηται· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ | τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὑμῶν ὄνο- 249  
 ματος ἢ ἀνάρρησις μετὰ τῆς ἡμῶν τεταπεινωμένης κλήσεως ἐν τοῖς  
 ἱεροῖς συνάπτηται διπτύχοις. Τοῦτο δὲ πάντως γενήσεται τῶν ἕνεκα τοῦ  
 τετάρτου γάμου προαχθέντων εἰς ὁμολογίαν καθισταμένων ὡς ἐπράχθη  
 παρὰ τὸ δέον, εἰ καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἕνεκε συμπαθείας τὸ γεγονός εἴλαβε  
 40 τὴν κατάνευσιν. Οἶδεν γὰρ ἡ σὴ τελειότης ὅτιπερ, οἷα πολλὰ τὰ ἀνθρώ-  
 πινα, καινοτομίας τινὸς γινομένης καὶ μὴ τὴν ὀφειλομένην λαμβανούσης  
 θεραπείαν ἀφορμὴ τις καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα γίνεται τοῖς βουλομένοις τοῦ  
 δέοντος παρατρέπεσθαι, φέρειν τὴν ὀρμὴν ἀνεπίσχετον, προτρεπομένης  
 αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῆς προλαβούσης καταφρονήσεως. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν  
 45 δεῖ τὸ αἴτιον γεγονός τῶν σκανδάλων εἰς ὁμολογίαν προελθεῖν, ὅτι παρὰ  
 τὸ δέον ἐπράχθη· | ὥστε μηκέτι καθάπερ εἰς τι ἀρχέτυπον ὄρωντας τοὺς B  
 ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ὀρμημένους (οὐ παύσεται δὲ πάντως τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τῆς  
 τοιαύτης ὀρμῆς, ἕως ἂν τὸ γένος λαμβάνει τὴν πρόοδον) ἐπαλείφεσθαι πρὸς  
 τὴν μίμησιν.

50 Τοῦτο μὲν οἶδα, ὡς καὶ μὴ γραφόντων ἡμῶν ἡ σὴ ἀμώμητος καὶ  
 ἐμφρονεστάτη ψυχῇ καὶ ἐπίσταται καὶ τῆς εἰρημένης προνοήσεται ἀσφα-  
 λείας, ὅμως δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς καὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ τούτων ὑπόμνησιν φέρειν.  
 Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ φιλόχριστος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς Βασίλειον τὸν εὐκλεέστατον  
 πρωτοσπαθᾶριον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου ἐξαπέστει-

affliction which can exercise tyranny over the mind and force conformity on  
 one who believes himself constrained against his conscience. No: by God's  
 Grace, as it were at a single signal—let us not say, a human signal, but at a  
 truly Divine behest—all have united in one mind, and all are brought to-  
 gether by our holy Church of God in her sacred bosom.

So much for our affairs. But since we have from the first desired  
 fraternal union with you also, and the customary frequent converse with you  
 through your emissaries and those who go from us to you, which hitherto  
 the scandals intervening in our Church have interrupted, for this reason I  
 now send you our news (most blessed Brother), in order that, sharing our  
 rejoicing over our peace, you may first do that which you would naturally  
 do without my mentioning it—glorify Him Who hath bequeathed unto us  
 peace for our lot, and preserves it day by day unto them that love Him, even  
 though the evil one strives to steal it away; and next that, now the cause of  
 scandals is resolved, our missions and converse between one another may be  
 renewed; and, moreover, that the proclamation of your holy name may be  
 joined with the mention of my Humility in the holy diptychs. This will  
 surely be done, if only confession be made that action on behalf of the fourth  
 marriage was improper, even though it was consented to out of regard for  
 the Emperor. For your Perfection is aware that when, as frequently happens  
 in human affairs, a wrong is done and does not receive its remedy, then it  
 becomes in future an occasion for those who incline to deviate into impro-  
 priety to indulge their desire without restraint, supported by the precedent  
 which has gone uncorrected. And so, here too, the cause of scandal must  
 previously be confessed to have been an impropriety, so that those who are  
 inclined to worse courses may no longer look to it as an exemplar. Mankind  
 will assuredly never abandon this course, so long as the race receives this  
 precedent as an incitement to imitate it.

I know that your spotless and most prudent soul is aware of this even  
 without my writing, and that you will provide the said security; yet it is not  
 out of place for me to remind you. Therefore our Christ-loving Emperor is  
 dispatching Basil, the most renowned protospatharius and steward of the  
 Chrysotriclinus, with a letter from himself, and I am sending, at the same

55 λεν γράμματος, καὶ ἡμεῖς Εὐλόγιον τὸν εὐλαβέστατον πρεσβύτερον καὶ  
 κουβουκλείσιον καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἡμῶν μετὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γράμματος  
 συνεξαπεστείλαμεν, ἐκεῖνα καὶ σὺν τοῖς γράμμασι καὶ πρὸ τῶν | γραμ- C  
 μάτων οἰκεία γλῶσση ἐπιτρέψαντες προσειπεῖν, ὥστε τὰ κατατυπωθέντα  
 ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ εἰρηνικῆν λαβόντα κατάστασιν, οὕτω καὶ  
 60 τὰ ἐν ὑμῖν τυπωθῆναι καὶ εἰς τὴν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔνωσιν διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου  
 καταστῆναι τύπου. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶν οὐμενοῦν οὐδεμία τῶν πεπραχότων  
 κατάκρισις οὐδ' ἀπόρριψις δυσφήμου λόγου κατ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῦ  
 τὰ γεγενημένα ἐπὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ γάμῳ διομολογηθῆναι πρὸς τὸ συμπα-  
 φθὲς ὄρωντα τῆς βασιλικῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἀξιώσεως γεγενῆσθαι,  
 65 ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον οὐδὲ κατὰ θεσμούς τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὁ καὶ χωρὶς  
 τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων οἱ τότε τῷ βίῳ παρόντες, φημί δὴ Σέργιος (ὃν ἐν  
 τοῖς μακαρίοις εὐχομαι συντετάχθαι ἀρχιερεῦσιν) καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ, ἐν  
 τοῖς οἰκείοις διωμολόγησαν γράμμασιν. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ δόξωμεν τὰ μὴ ὄντα  
 λέγειν, αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνά σοι τὰ διαπεμφθέντα παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξαπεστείλαμεν  
 70 γράμματα.

Ἀξίως οὖν καὶ τῆς σῆς πράττων ἀρχιερατικῆς σεμνότητος καὶ D  
 τῆς τελειοτάτης φρονήσεως, οὕτω βουλήθητι διαθέσθαι τὰ πράγματα,  
 ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἀθάνατον καὶ πρῶτον ἀρχιερέα ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλέον εὐφρανθῆ-  
 ναι ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας καταστάσει (εὐφρανθήσεται δὲ  
 75 μηδεμιᾶς ὑπολειπομένης ἀφορμῆς τοῖς ἀφορμῆν οἶα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ζη-  
 τοῦσιν εἰς τὸ τὴν γαλήνην ἐκταράττειν τῆς ἐκκλησίας) καὶ τὴν ὑμέτεραν  
 ἐν κυρίῳ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔνωσιν καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὑμῶν ὀνόματος τὴν ἐν τοῖς  
 διπτύχοις ἀνακλήρυξιν ὁμαλῶς καὶ ἀφιλονείκως γενέσθαι. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ 252  
 ἔτι δυνήσεται, ὥσπερ ἔφημεν τῆς ὑμῶν ἀγιότητος πραττούσης, τῶν  
 80 ἐνταῦθα ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἱερέων προφάσεως λαβέσθαι τοῦ ζάλην ἀνακι-  
 νεῖν μετὰ ταῦτα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἕνεκεν τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνώσεως. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ αἰ-  
 τινὰς ἢ τῶν χειρόνων φύσις ἔλκει πρὸς ἑαυτήν (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο προσ-  
 θεῖναι τῷ γράμματι) καὶ εἰσὶν τινες οἱ προτιμῶντες τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ  
 τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ γαλήνῃ δυσχεραίνοντες ἀπέρρηξαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐξ ἡμῶν,  
 85 ἐντείλασθαι ἀξιοῦμεν τοῖς ὑμῶν ἀποστόλοις ὡς τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ ἐκ-  
 κλησίᾳ σκεψάμενοι, ἐκεῖνο καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας  
 διαπράξωνται ὁ πράττειν εἰκὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερατικῆς καταστάσεως  
 καὶ εὐχὴν ποιουμένους καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν σὺν τῇ ἄνωθεν εὐμενείᾳ λαβεῖν πέρας B  
 λυσιτελεῖς διεσπουδακότας. Ἀπόστολοι δὲ ἄξιοι τῆς ὑμῶν ἀγιότητος ἀπο-  
 90 σταλείτωσαν δι' ὧν μέλλει σὺν θεῷ καλῶς καὶ πρεπόντως τὰ τῶν ἐκκλη-  
 σιῶν διευθετηθῆναι· λέγωμεν δὴ, εἰ δυνατὸν, Ἰάκωβος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος

time, with my own letter, my servant Eulogius, the most pious presbyter and  
 kouboukleisios, with orders to state orally, when or even before they deliver  
 the letters, that, as matters have been ruled in our Church and thereby  
 brought it to a state of peace, so should they be ruled in yours also, and  
 through this ruling it should be brought into union with us. This is by no  
 means a condemnation of those who took that action, nor the casting of any  
 aspersion upon them; it is merely a confession that what was done in the  
 matter of the fourth marriage was done at that time out of regard to the  
 imperial status, but was improper and not in accordance with the ordinances  
 of the Church; and this, without words of mine, was admitted in their letters  
 by those then living, I mean, by Sergius (who is, I pray, now enrolled among  
 the blessed Archpriests) and by his followers. And that I may not seem to go  
 beyond the truth, I am sending you those very letters which were dispatched  
 by them.

Acting therefore in a manner worthy of your Archpriestly Dignity and  
 of your Wisdom, do you be willing so to dispose matters that our immortal  
 and first Archpriest may be yet more rejoiced at the state of our Church.  
 And He will be rejoiced when no further occasion is left for those who (such  
 are human affairs!) seek for an occasion to disturb the Church's calm and  
 your union in the Lord with us, and the normal and undisputed commemo-  
 ration of your holy name in the diptychs. For, if your Holiness acts as I  
 say, none of the archpriests or priests here will be able hereafter to lay hold  
 on an excuse to stir up trouble for the Church, because of your union. And  
 since there are always some whom the nature of evil draws to itself (I must  
 add this in my letter), and who prefer strife and are grieved that the Church  
 should be calm, and have withdrawn themselves from us, I ask you to in-  
 struct your envoys to keep in mind the Church's interest, and, regarding  
 these persons, to act with us and the Church as men should who pray for the  
 state of our priesthood and who earnestly labor, with the Divine Favor, to  
 bring their prayer to a profitable issue. Let envoys be sent who are worthy  
 of your Holiness, through whom, under God, the affairs of His Church may  
 fairly and fittingly be settled: let us say—if possible—Jacob, the Bishop

ἐπίσκοπος (καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνελθὼν κατὰ πάντα ἔδοξεν ἡμῶν ἄξιος τῆς ἀγίας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἀπόστολος) καὶ ἕτερός τις ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν παραπλήσιος.

## 54

Εἰ καὶ πλήρης ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος τῶν λυπούντων ἐστίν, ὅμως ἔχει παραμυθίαν τινὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φιλοῦντων πολλακίς μνήμην. Ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο μὴ παρῆ, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ δικαίου τῆς συγγενείας ἀπαιτοῦντος, πλέον αὔξεται τοῖς λυπουμένοις τὰ λυπηρά. Τοιοῦτον τι καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπῆ- C  
5 τησεν. Πολλοῖς γὰρ καθ' ἑκάστην περιστοιχιζόμενοι τοῖς ἀγλύνουσι <τὴν> ψυχὴν, ὅσα γε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν ὠφθη φέρων παραψυχῆν. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐῷ, τὸ δὲ καὶ συγγενεῖς τὴν ὁμοίαν φέρειν διάθεσιν, πῶς ἂν τις παρίδοι μὴ λίαν ὦν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἀνεπαίσθη-  
10 τος; Γράφω ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξονειδίζων, ἀλλ' ἀνακαινίζων εἰ βούλει τὸ συγ- γενικὸν φίλτρον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σχέσιν τῆς φιλίας, ἣν οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ὅσον ἡμῖν κατανοεῖν ὁ παρῶν ἐκάλυψε χρόνος. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερα οἷαις ἀνάγκαις συνεχιζόμεθα οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω σε καὶ μὴ γραφόντων ἡμῶν ἀγνοεῖν. Σὲ δὲ πάντως ἔπρεπεν ἐν τοῖς αὐτόθι παρόντα, κὰν ἡμεῖς ἐκαλυ-  
15 πάπαν καὶ | ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν ἀναδιδάξαι τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς συμβεβηκότα (οὐ γὰρ ἐλάνθανέν σέ τι τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπηρείας) καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν ταραχὴν ὅση τις ἦν γνωρίσαι αὐτῷ, καὶ πείσαι ἀποκρι- σιαρίους στεῖλαι πρὸς ἀδελφὸν ἠδικημένον καὶ συναγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τε τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡμῶν ἀποκαταστῆναι ἀξίως τῆς ἱερᾶς καταστάσεως  
20 καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ τετάρτου γάμου ἀναφυέντα σκάνδαλα διορθώσασθαι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης διορθώσεως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡμῶν διπτύχοις ἐγγραφῆναι καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀνακηρύττεσθαι κλήσεως.

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ταῦτα παρῆλθεν ἤδη, καὶ Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ  
25 πρῶτος καὶ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς τῇ ἀνεξερυνήτῳ αὐτοῦ σοφίᾳ τὴν πολλὴν ἐκείνην τα|ραχὴν καὶ ζάλην ἰδοὺ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος κατέπαυσεν, καὶ 253 πρὸς ἐν ἣ ἐκκλησία συνῆλθε φρόνημα·—συνῆλθε γὰρ τῶν ὑπουργησάν- των μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ γάμῳ τὸ οἰκεῖον πταῖσμα ἐξομολογησαμένων, ἡμῶν δὲ σὺν τῇ θείᾳ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὴν συγχώρησιν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντων,  
30 καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ καὶ μιᾷ γλώσσῃ ἐκείνων τε καὶ ἡμῶν τὸν τέταρτον ἀποκη-

93 ἄξιος Jk: ἄξιος P || ἀπόστολος Jk: ἀποστολ (= -λῆς?) P  
54: P 177r-178r || 6 τὴν P\*: om. P<sup>1</sup>

well beloved of God, who has visited us before and seemed to us in every way a worthy envoy of the Roman Church; and one other, of virtue like to his.

## 54

Though human life is full of grievances, yet it derives some consolation from frequent remembrance by friends; but when this remembrance is lacking, especially where the rights of relationship demand it, then the griefs of those who are aggrieved are greater than ever. Something of this sort has happened to me. When I was daily encompassed by many vexations of spirit, there was, humanly speaking, nobody to give me any comfort. I do not speak of the others; but that one's own relatives should be of this disposition—how could anyone in the smallest degree sensitive to human affairs pass this over? I do not write this to reproach you, but rather, if you will, to renew the affection of our kinship, and the general regard of friendship, which (I know not how) the present time has, so far as I can see, obscured. As for my case, I imagine that without my writing you were aware of the many constraints wherewith I was afflicted. As you were over there it was surely your duty, even though I was prevented from writing to you, to go to Rome, and explain to my Brother, the most holy Pope, what had happened to me (for your knew all about the plots and malice against me), and to inform him of the extent of confusion in the Church, and to persuade him to send envoys to his wronged Brother, and to lend his support in restoring our Church to a condition worthy of the holy order, and in correcting the offenses which had arisen out of the fourth marriage; and, moreover, through such correction, to have his name inscribed in our holy diptychs, and to be proclaimed together with mention of myself.

Well; all this is past history now. Christ our God, the first and mighty Archpriest, in His inscrutable Wisdom, has put an end to that great disturbance and commotion, already in its fifteenth year, and the Church has come together with a single mind. This has come about through those who supported the fourth marriage having confessed their own fault, and through my having given absolution to them, with the aid of the Divine Mercy; and with one heart and one tongue they and we have denounced the fourth



ρυζάντων γάμον και εἰς ἐνότητα καταστάντων μιᾶς ἐκκλησίας, και μιᾶς  
 ποιμνης πάντων γενομένων και ὑφ' ἐνὶ ποιμένι τῇ ἐμῇ ταπεινότητι ποι-  
 μαινομένων. Ταῦτα μὲν θεοῦ χάριτι οὕτως ἐνταῦθα ἐπράχθη. Ἐπιζητοῦ-  
 35 μεν δὲ καθὼς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς και τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πάπα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν ἐν  
 νῦν οὐκ ἐκηρύσσετο διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ τετάρτου B  
 γάμου γενέσθαι τὴν ὑπόστασιν. Νῦν οὖν ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ προλαβόντα  
 οἰκτιρμοῖς και φιλανθρωπία τοῦ θεοῦ παρεχωρήσαμεν, τοῦτο μόνον  
 δέον ἐστὶ γενέσθαι τὸ και τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καθὼς ἡ ἐνταῦθα,  
 40 ὁμολογήσαι ὡς ὁ τέταρτος γάμος, εἰ και διὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀνάγκην  
 συγκεχώρηται, ἀλλ' ἔξω τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ νόμου συγκεχώρηται και  
 τῆς προεπούσης γαμικῆς καταστάσεως, ὡς ἂν διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὁμολογίας  
 ἀπὸ γε τοῦ παρόντος ὁ τοιοῦτος γάμος και τοῦ Χριστιανῶν γένους  
 45 τοῦ θεοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ Χριστιανικοῦ γένους, πολιτευέσθαι. Ἐπίστασαι  
 γάρ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὅτι ὅταν πρᾶγμα δέξεται ἀρχὴν ἐξ ἐνδόξου προσώ-  
 που και περιφανοῦς, εἰ μὴ παντὶ τρόπῳ κωλυθῆ, πρὸς τὴν μίμησιν τού-  
 του εὐκόλως οἱ ταπεινότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάγονται.

Διὰ ταῦτα και Ἄδεαδάτω τῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ κληρικῷ αὐτόθεν C  
 50 ἀναδραμόντι πάντως θεοῦ βουληθέντος ἐνετύχομεν, και μαθόντες παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀναδρομῆς, και ὡς πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν πορείαν  
 ποιεῖται, τῆς πορείας ἐπέσχομεν αὐτόν, μάλιστα περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρε-  
 τῆς ἀπαγγείλαντος ἡμῖν ὅσα ἀπήγγειλεν, και προετρεψάμεθα αὐτόν ὑπο-  
 στρέψαι και διακονῆσαι ταύτῃ ἡμῶν τῇ χρείᾳ· ὃν και διὰ τοῦ γράμματος  
 55 και ἔτι συνιστῶμέν σοι και προτρεπόμεθα μὴ ὀκνησαι πρὸς τὴν Ῥώ-  
 μην διαβῆναι, και σπουδάσαι τέλος λαβεῖν ἀ τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ πάπα και  
 ἀδελφῷ ἡμῶν ὃ τε φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν και υἱὸς και ἡ ἡμετέρα  
 ἔγραψε μετριότης.

“Α γράφομεν τῇ τιμιότητί σου οἶδαμεν ὅτι συνέσει κοσμοῦμενος  
 ἐν σεαυτῷ περιστρέφεις. Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω συνέσεως γνώρισμα ὡς τὸ ἀεὶ  
 μελετᾶν ὅσα ἐκάστοτε και καθ' ὅλην ἡμῶν <τὴν ζωὴν> διαπράττομεν.

31-32: Ioann. 10.16.

49 ἀδεαδάτω] sic hic et infra 77.6 P || 54 διακονῆσαι Mai: διακομῆσαι P  
 55: P 178r-179r || 1 τῷ Πάπα Ἰωσὺς mg. m. rec. P || 3 τὴν ζωὴν Jk: om. P

marriage, and all are in the unity of one Church, and all have become one  
 flock, shepherded by a single shepherd, my own Humility. This is what has  
 thus been done here, by God's Grace. But we further desire, as formerly, the  
 mention of the name of my Brother, the most holy Pope, in our sacred  
 diptychs, where it has up till now not been proclaimed because of the  
 support given to the fourth marriage by the Church of Rome. So, now that  
 we have committed all the past to the pity and mercy of God, the only thing  
 needful is that the Church of Rome, like our Church here, should confess  
 that the fourth marriage, though sanctioned to meet the need of the Emperor,  
 was sanctioned contrary to ecclesiastical law and to the proper estate of  
 marriage: so that by such confession this marriage shall, from now on, be  
 confirmed as alien to the Christian race, and not give occasion to be used as  
 a disgrace to the Churches of God, or indeed to the Christian race. For you  
 know (my Son) that when something takes its origin from a noble and  
 splendid personage, the humble creatures are easily led to imitate it, unless  
 it be by all means forbidden.

Therefore (doubtless by Heaven's will) I have encountered the most  
 pious cleric Adeodatus who has come here from *Italy*; and, learning from  
 him the cause of his coming, and that he was on his way to Jerusalem, I  
 have stopped him from his journey, especially when he told me what he  
 had to tell of your Virtue, and have urged him to go back and minister to  
 this need of ours; whom by this letter I further commend to you, and urge  
 you to lose no time in going to Rome and trying to secure the fulfillment of  
 what has been written to the most blessed Pope, my Brother, both by our  
 Christ-loving Emperor and Son and by my Mediocrity.

What I write to your Honor you will, I am sure, in your wisdom, be  
 considering of yourself: since there is no truer mark of wisdom than con-  
 tinual reflection upon how we act on each occasion through all our life. Such

Ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη μελέτη ἀσφαλεστέρους ἡμᾶς παρασκευάζει, καὶ ὧν μὲν  
 5 εἴ τι παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπράχθη, ἐπαναχθῆ πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, εἴ τι δὲ  
 χρηστόν, σπουδαιότερους πρὸς τὴν τούτου ἐργασίαν ποιοῖτο. Οἶδας ὁ  
 λέγω, τέκνον ἐμόν, πλὴν καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος ἀναπτύξει αὐτό. Ἐγένετο  
 τις ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι καιροῖς ἐπήρεια καθ' ἡμῶν· αἰτιᾶσθαι μὲν οὐ  
 βούλομαι τινάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραιτοῦμαι τὸν δίκαιον κριτὴν μηδ' αὐτὸν  
 10 ἀπαιτῆσαι τὰς εὐθύναις | τῶν ἐπηρεασάντων· πλὴν ἐγένετο, τὸ μὲν τι ἐν- 256  
 τεῦθεν λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀφορμὴν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἀπηλάθηνμεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν, οὐδὲν οὔτε τῇ Ῥω-  
 μαίων πταίσαντες ἐκκλησία οὔτε τοῖς ἐνταῦθα, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν  
 διηνεκῶς ἀμαρτάνομεν. Καὶ συνέβη σκάνδαλα ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης,  
 15 ὅσον εἰς ἀνθρώπων ὑπῆρχεν ἐλπίδας πᾶσαν νικῶντα θεραπείαν. Ἄλλ'  
 ὁ παράδοξα ποιῶν θεός, ἐκεῖνος καὶ νῦν ἀθρόον καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν τις ἤλπι-  
 σεν ἐπήνεγκεν τῶν σκανδάλων τὴν λύσιν καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν μετήνεγκεν εἰς  
 γαλήνην, ἰδοὺ πεντεκαίδεκατον ἔτος χαλεπῶς ἡμᾶς ἐκταράξασαν.

Καὶ χάριν μὲν ἀναφέρομεν τῷ εὐεργέτῃ καὶ τὴν ὀφειλομένην δόξαν  
 20 ἐπὶ τῇ καταστάσει τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας, | ἐπιποθοῦμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν B  
 μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀρχαίαν ἔνωσιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γράφομεν ὑμῖν ἅμα μὲν περὶ  
 τῆς ἡμῶν καταστάσεως εὐαγγέλια, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἔλκοντες πρὸς τὴν  
 ἀδελφικὴν ἀγάπην τε καὶ συνάφειαν. Τοῦτο δὲ γενήσεται βραδίως βου-  
 λομένων ὑμῶν. Ἐξείπειν γὰρ δεῖ μόνον ὡς τὰ γεγενημένα ἡμῖν περὶ  
 25 τοῦ τετάρτου γάμου ἔνεκεν τῆς βασιλικῆς συμπαθείας ἐπράχθη καὶ οὐ  
 κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῇ σεμνότητι τῆς Χριστιανικῆς  
 πολιτείας. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄξιον τοῦτο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας, χάραν ὑπαν-  
 οίγειν τῷ τετάρτῳ γάμῳ καὶ παρέχειν ἐπιτροπὴν τοῖς βουλομένοις  
 πολυγαμίᾳ πρὸς τὸν κτηνώδη βίον ὑπάγεσθαι. Ὡς οὖν εἴρηται, διὰ ταύ-  
 30 τὴν τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ μὲν τέταρτος ἀποκηρυχθήτω | γάμος, τὸ δὲ πραχθὲν πρὸς C  
 τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀναφερέσθω συμπάθειαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν θεοῦ χάριτι συν-  
 απτώμεθα καθὼς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καὶ οὐκέτι ἔξει χάραν ἢ ἐξ ἀλλήλων διάστα-  
 σις. Ἄλλὰ καὶ ἀποκρισιάριοι κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος αὐτόθεν τε πρὸς  
 ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα συνεχῶς διαβαίνοντες ἔσονται, καὶ  
 35 τῆς ὀφειλομένης ἀγάπης καὶ ὁμιλίας ἐσόμεθα ἀπολαύοντες. Καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις πᾶσι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὀνόματος ἢ ἀνακήρυξις τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πάπα μετὰ  
 τῆς ἡμῶν τεταπεινωμένης κλήσεως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς διπτύχοις ἐκτελεσθή-  
 σεται· καὶ ἀπλῶς ἐνὶ φρονήματι καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ καὶ ἐνὶ πνεύματι, ὅπερ  
 ἔστιν θεῷ εὐάρεστον, διαβιώσωμεν.

9: 2 Tim. 4.8. || 29: Basil., Ep. 217, can. 80, PG 32,805A15.

4-5 καὶ ὧν μὲν εἴ τι] expectes ὡς εἴ τι μὲν || 5 ἐπαναχθῆ Mai: ἐπαναχθη P || 6 ποιοῖτο  
 Mai: ποιεῖτο P || 31-32 συναπτώμεθα Mai: -όμεθα P

reflection makes us safer. Has an impropriety been committed? Then let it be corrected. Is a course judicious? Let reflection make us the more ready to put it into operation. You know what I mean (my Son); but my letter shall unfold it. There was in the past a malicious plot against me (I do not wish to accuse anyone, and indeed I implore the just Judge not to bring home to them the guilt of their malice; but such was the case) which arose partly here and partly out of the holy Church of Rome, and I was expelled from my Church, though I was guilty of no fault against the Church of Rome or against those here (continually as I sin against God). Out of this cause arose offenses which, in human expectation, were beyond all repair. But that God Who worketh marvels has now, suddenly and beyond all hope, brought the offenses to an end, and changed into calm the disturbance which was already in the fifteenth year of its cruel vexation.

And we offer up thanks and due glory to our Benefactor upon the settlement of our Church. But, more than this, I desire the ancient union with you: and that is why I write to you both the good tidings of our settlement, and at the same time to draw you into the fraternal love and contact. If you agree, it can easily be done. All that is needed is a statement that "what we did in the matter of the fourth marriage was done out of regard for the Emperor, and not in accordance with propriety either for the Church or for the dignity of Christian life." For it is not becoming to the Church of Rome to give admittance to the fourth marriage, or to provide an incentive to those who are inclined through polygamy to be seduced into the life of a brute. And so, as I say, for this reason, let the fourth marriage be denounced, and the action be referred to regard for the Emperor, and let us from now on be joined together by God's grace, as we once were, and the division between us shall be annulled. Moreover, envoys shall, as was the ancient custom, pass continually from you to us and from us to you, and we shall enjoy the fitting love and converse. And, in addition to all this, the proclamation of the sacred name of the most holy Pope shall be made in the sacred diptychs along with mention of my Humility: and, in short, we shall pass our lives, as is pleasing to God, in one purpose and one mind and one spirit.

40 Ἡμεῖς μὲν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ταῦτα γράφομεν τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ ὑμῶν  
ἐπιζητοῦντες ἀγάπην, μηδέ τι ὧν ἐλυπήθημεν παρὰ τῆς | ἀγίας τῶν D  
Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας. . . .

56. Τῷ πάπᾳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης

Πολλάκις, εἰ καὶ μὴ διὰ γραμμάτων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέ-  
ρας Ῥώμης ἐνταῦθα καταλαβόντων ἀνδρῶν, τοῦτο μὲν καὶ μοναζόντων,  
τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἱερατικῶν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς λαϊκῆς τυγχανόντων τάξεως, ἐδη-  
5 λώσαμεν, ἀδελφεῖ ἡμῶν ἱερώτατε, ὥστε ἀποστόλους ὑμῶν ἐνταῦθα  
παραγενέσθαι καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίας τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ  
(οὐκ οἶδα πῶς εἶπω, καλὸν γὰρ σιωπῇ δοῦναι τὰ λυπηρά) συμβεβηκότα  
σκάνδαλα, μέρος μὲν τι ἀφορμὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐσχηκότα, μέρος δὲ τι καὶ  
ἐκ τῶν προηγησαμένων τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας προέδρων, μετὰ τῆς  
10 ἄνωθεν συναντιλήψεως ἐκποδῶν ποιῆσαι, καὶ τὴν | ὀφειλομένην εὐστά- 257  
θειαν καὶ ἀταραξίαν αὐτῇ προμηθεύσασθαι. Ἄλλ' ἐδηλώθη μὲν ταῦτα  
πολλάκις. Ἰδοὺ χρόνος ἕνατος ἐξ οὗ κρίμασιν οἷς οἶδεν θεὸς εἰς τὴν ἐκ-  
κλησίαν ἐπανήλθομεν, ἐξ ἧς οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ ἀπηλάθθημεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλων  
ἡμῖν περὶ ταύτης ἐδηλώθη τῆς ὑποθέσεως.

15 Πλὴν ἐῶμεν πάντα· τοῦτο δὲ τῇ σῆ μακαριότητι γνωρίζομεν, ὅτι  
ἐβράβευσεν ὁ πρῶτος ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸς εἰρήνην τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς  
ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῶν πάλαι σφαλέντων τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐξομολογησαμένων ἀμάρ-  
τημα καὶ τυχόντων συγγνώμης καὶ ὡς μελῶν ἡμῖν συναφθέντων, πλὴν  
ὀλίγων τινῶν, οἱ τῆς εἰρήνης τὸ στασιάζειν προτιμῶντες ἔτι φιλονεικοῦσι  
20 τῷ ἰδίῳ χωρισμῷ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ καταστάσει τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας συντα-  
ράττειν γαλήνην. Διὰ τοῦτο γράφομεν ἀποσταλῆναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῆς ὑμῶν  
μακαριότητος ἀποστόλους, οἱ καὶ ἔτι τὸ τῆς τετραγαμίας μύσος σὺν B  
ἡμῖν παντελῶς ἀποκηρύξουσι καὶ τῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστει κοινῷ  
δόγματι τὸ ἀσφαλὲς περιποιήσονται, ὥστε μηδαμῶς ἔτι τοιοῦτον βδε-  
25 λυρώτατον γάμον ἐν Χριστιανοῖς πολιτεύεσθαι· καὶ εἴ τι μεταξὺ ταύτης  
τε τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς ἀγίας τῶν Ῥωμαίων χάριν τοῦ τοιούτου γάμου  
ἐναντίον συμβέβηκε, καὶ τοῦτο διαλυθῆναι, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φρόνημα  
καὶ τὴν μίαν σύμπνοιαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν ἐγγεγονέναι.

56: 16: cf. Coloss. 3.15.

42 spat. vat. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  lin. P

56: P 179r-v || 15 πάντα] fort. ταῦτα || 18 μελῶν Jk: μέλλων P || 21 γαλήνην Mai: -η P

I (my Son) write this out of a desire for your love in the Lord, and not  
to reproach you with any of my afflictions at the hands of the holy Church of  
Rome. . . .

56. To the Pope of the Elder Rome

On many occasions, if not by letters, yet by the agency of men coming  
hither from your Rome, monks, or priests, or even laymen, I have stated  
(most holy Brother) that you should send envoys here and join with me and  
our whole Church in putting an end, with the Divine Aid, to the (I hardly  
know how to say it; better to be silent on what is painful) offenses which  
have arisen within her, originating partly here and partly from past presi-  
dents of the Church of Rome; and in providing her with due stability and  
quiet. I have repeatedly stated this. It is now the ninth year since, by the  
inscrutable Judgment of God, I came back to the Church from which I had  
been unjustly expelled; yet I have received absolutely no statement on this  
matter.

But never mind all *this*; I inform your Beatitude that our first Arch-  
priest and God has awarded peace to our Church, now that the former  
sinners have acknowledged their own sin, and met with pardon, and have been  
joined together with us as members, all but a few who prefer strife to peace  
and are still striving, by their own separation, to disturb the calm that is  
upon the order of the holy Church. And so I write that envoys of your  
Beatitude should be sent to us, who shall with us once more wholly denounce  
the pollution of fourth marriage, and shall contrive by a common dogma the  
security of the Christian faith, so that no longer shall this most obscene  
marriage be in use at all among Christian folk; and if any dispute has arisen  
between this Church and the holy Church of Rome out of such marriage,  
this shall be annulled, and we shall be restored to our original spirit and to  
our undivided alliance and concord.

## 57. Τῷ Συνάδων

Καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς γράμμασι τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος ἐγένετο ἡμῖν εἰς παραμύθιον τῶν λυπούντων, καὶ ἡδονῆς ἔσχομεν πνευματικῆς ἀπόλαυσιν· καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου υἱοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀπαγγελία 5 περὶ τοῦ χάριτι Θεοῦ ἐν ὑγείᾳ διατελεῖν | ὑμᾶς εἰς πλείονα κατέστησεν C εὐφροσύνην. Ἀνεπέμψαμεν οὖν τὴν συνήθη τῷ Θεῷ εὐχαριστίαν, καὶ εὐχόμεθα, εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, ἀνώτερόν σε εἶναι πάσης πείρας ὅση καὶ σὲ λυπεῖ καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντας τῆς φήμης διαβαινούσης εἰς λύπην καθίστησιν.

10 "Α δὲ περὶ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἔγραψας διοικηθῆναι, ταῦτα καὶ ἡμῖν ἔδοξεν καλῶς ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ τινες ἄλλοι ἀνακύψουσιν λόγοι πρὸς τὰς ὑμετέρας ἀκοὰς οὐπω ἐλθόντες, καὶ ἴσως τοὺς φιλονεικούντας ἔτι διεγείρουσι πρὸς τὸ φιλονεικόν.

Ἐγράψαμεν δὲ καὶ πρότερον, γράφομεν δὲ καὶ νῦν· ἦκε πρὸς 15 ἡμᾶς, οὐς μετ' ὀλίγον ἴσως καὶ βουλόμενος ἰδεῖν οὐκ ὄψει, τοῦ πέρατος τῆς ζωῆς ὅσον κατ' ἐμὴν αἰσθησιν κατὰ πόδας παρόντος.

## 58. Τῷ Ἰκονίου

D

Ἡ συνεισφορά, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, ἡ ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ γινομένη, ἀλγεῖν σε παρασκευάζει, καὶ καλῶς ἀλγεῖς· ἴσθι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἄλγος ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ 5 πολὺ πικρότερον καὶ ἀνιαρότερον. Ἀλλὰ τί ποιήσωμεν, τοιαύτης ἀνάγκης διὰ τὰς ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας καταλαβούσης; Ὡστε κὰν μὴ θέλωμεν τὴν ὀδύνην ταύτην ὑποἰσωμεν. Ἄ δὲ ὁ Καταφλώρων εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν ὁσιότητα ἐνεδείξατο, ταῦτα εἰ καὶ λυπηρά, σὲ μὲν ὠφελήσει πράως καὶ μακροθύμως τὴν ἐπήρειαν φέροντα, ἐκεῖνον δὲ πάντως τὸ Θεῖον καὶ ἀπροσω- 10 πόληπτον ὄμμα, εἰ καὶ μὴ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε βλοσυρῶς ὑποβλέψεται. Ὁ μὴ γενέσθαι ὡς ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὡς μεμαθη|κῶς τοὺς διώκοντας 260 εὐλογεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑπερέχεσθαι, ἄξια τῆς οἰκειᾶς ποιῶν ἀρετῆς ὑπερέχου καὶ παραιτοῦ τὸν ζυγοῖς ἀντιμετροῦντα ἴσοις τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα. Ἐρρωσο.

## 57. To the Metropolitan of Synada

The very reading of your Holiness' letter has been a solace for my griefs, and I experienced the enjoyment of spiritual pleasure; and your message by the most pious John, my Son, that you are, by God's grace, in health, made me more cheerful still. I therefore sent up my usual thanksgiving to God, and pray (though a sinner) that you may rise above every vexation that grieves you, and brings your friends to grief when the news reaches them.

What you say about the administration of the monastery seems to be right to me too, unless other reasons crop up which you have not yet heard of, and which may perhaps excite the contentious to further contention.

I have written this before, and write it again: come to me, whom perhaps in a little while you may wish to see and not be able: for the end of my life, I feel, is near.

## 58. To the Metropolitan of Iconium

The contribution levied on the Churches of God (my holy Son) causes you grief, as well it may. But know that my own grief at this captivity of the Churches of God is far more bitter and painful. But what can we do, when such a need has come upon us? So let us suffer this pain whether we like it or no. As to the information laid against your Holiness by Cataphloron, however grievous it may be, it will be to your advantage to bear his malice with gentleness and long-suffering, and the Divine and impartial Eye will one day, if not now, look grimly upon him. That this may not be so you, as an Archpriest of God, who has learned to bless them that persecute you and to pray for those who use you despitefully, will, in a manner worthy of your own Virtue, pray and implore of Him Who weigheth up human affairs in an even scale. Farewell.

Τὸ ἐν παῖσι σπουδαῖον τῆς ὑμῶν συνέσεως εἰδότε μοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, θαυμάζειν ἐπῆλθε πῶς ἐπὶ τῆς παρουσίας ὑποθέσεως, περὶ ἧς προαγόμεθα γράφειν, τὴν οἰκείαν οὐκ ἐφύλαξε τάξιν. Ἄλλ' οὐκ οἶδα λήθης, οὐκ οἶδα ἄλλης τινὸς αἰτίας κωλυούσης μέχρι καὶ τοῦ παρόντος, ὅσα γε 5 ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο διαπραχθῆναι ὁ ἀναγκαιοτάτην ἐπιζητεῖ τὴν τελείωσιν. Βασιλικῆς γὰρ δεδομένης σοι προστάξεως, ὡς γέ φασιν οἱ τοῦτο εἰδότες, ἐπισκέψασθαι τὸ χωρίον ἐξ οὗ ὁ περιώνυμος τοῦ θεοῦ B ναὸς σῆτον μέλλει πορίζεσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν εἰς χορηγίαν τοῦ ἁγιαζομένου τῷ θεῷ πνεύματι καὶ τοὺς μεταλαμβάνοντας ἁγιάζοντος ἄρτου, τοῦτο δὲ 10 καὶ εἰς διατροφήν τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινότητος καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους οἱ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐξυπηρετοῦνται τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα πῶς εἶπω, οὐκ ἔσχες ἐν σπουδῇ τοῦ προστάγματος τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν. Ἄλλὰ τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν αὐτὸς ἂν εἰδείης· ἡμεῖς δὲ γράφομέν σοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὥστε τάχιον τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀνενεγκεῖν περὶ τούτου τοῖς δεδωκόσι τὸ πρόσταγμα. 15 Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅσα γε τὰ εἰς χρείαν τῶν αὐτῶν, οὐ μικρῶς κινδυνεύομεν. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐρρωμένους εἴης ὑπεράνω τηρούμενος πάσης κακότητος. C

#### 60. Τῷ οἰκονόμῳ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας

Ἐλπίδες εἶχον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου θείᾳ ἐορτῇ τὴν σὴν ὀσιότητα συνέσεσθαι ἡμῖν, καὶ ὡς γε εἰκὸς ἐπὶ φίλων ἐνώσει γλυκυτέρας τινὸς διαθέσεως ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ μάλιστα τοσοῦτων ὄντων ἀνιαρῶν τῶν ἐπικειμένων ἡμῖν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα τὸ ἀστάθμητον ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἀόριστον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐψεύσατο ἡμᾶς ἡ ἐλπίς καὶ κώλυμα παρέστη ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων (λέγομεν δὲ τῆς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀφίξεως) τῷ νῦν τὴν ὑμῶν ὀσιότητα παραγενέσθαι, κατὰ τὴν ὑμῶν ἐξαίτησιν ἀναγκαίαν οὖσαν, εἰ καὶ λυπούμενοι, ὅμως παραχωροῦμεν τὴν 10 τοῦ καιροῦ προθεσμίαν ἣν ἐξαίτησαι διέγνωσ. Μόνον θεοῦ ὑπερέχοντος ἐρρωμένους διατέλει, καὶ ὅτε σοι φίλον καὶ θεὸς ἐπινεύσοι στεῖλασθαι D τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πορείαν, τότε ἡ πορεία γινέσθω. Τῷ δὲ λογοθέτῃ τῶν ἀγγελῶν ἀπεστάλῃ γράμμα· τί δὲ πέπρακται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, οὐπω καὶ σήμερον ἔγνωμεν. Ἐρρωμένους ἡμῖν εἴης καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀσιαῖς εὐχαῖς μὴ λή- 15 θην ἔχων τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος.

59: P 180r-v || 3-4 οὐκ οἶδα] cf. ad 3.23 || 12 ἔσχες Mai: ἔσχεν P

60: P 180v-181r || 4 fort. ἀπολαύσειν

Since I know (my Son) the zeal of your Wisdom in all things, I have been surprised that, in the present affair about which I am impelled to write to you, it has not maintained its proper standard. Whether through neglect or some other obstruction, something which demands most immediate action has not, so far as I know, been hitherto performed. An imperial injunction was issued to you, as those who are aware of it tell me, that you were to visit the village from which the Renowned Church of God is to get its supply of corn, partly for the making of that Bread which is sanctified by the Holy Spirit and sanctifies its receivers, and partly for the nourishment of my Humility and the rest of the number who minister night and day in the Temple of God; and yet—I know not how to explain it—you have not shown zeal in carrying out this injunction, for a reason best known to yourself. I write to instruct you (my Son) to report on this matter more promptly in future to those who issued the injunction. Both the Church of God and we ourselves are in no little danger as regards our need for these supplies. For the rest, fare you well, and be preserved above the reach of all harm.

#### 60. To the Oeconomus of the Great Church

I looked forward to your Holiness' being with me on the Divine Festival of the holy Prophet, and, as would be natural at the union of friends, to enjoying a rather more agreeable sensation, especially when so much that is painful lies upon me. But since human affairs are unsteady and unpredictable, and my hope has therefore been disappointed, and circumstances have presented an obstacle—I mean, the arrival of the Saracens—to your Holiness' coming here now, I shall, in accordance with the urgency of your request, reluctantly concede the extension of time which you see fit to demand. Only continue in health, under God's Favor, and when you decide and God grants that you may journey to me, then let that journey be made. A letter has been sent to the minister of livestock, but what the man has done about it, I do not know even today. Fare you well, not forgetting my Mediocrity in your holy prayers.

Ἀκηκόαμεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, λυπεῖσθαι σε ὡς τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινό-  
 τητος ἀγανάκτησιν τινα κατὰ σοῦ φερούσης· καὶ τοῦτο, τέκνον ἡμῶν,  
 εἴτε τις πρὸς τὰς σὰς ἀπεκόμισεν ἀκοάς, ψεύστης ἐστὶ καὶ μὴ τιμῶν τὴν  
 ἀλήθειαν· εἴτε αὐτὸς οἶα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οἴκοθεν τοῦτο ὑπέλαβες, μηκέτι  
 5 τοῦτο ἐν τῇ σῇ περιφέρῃ καρδίᾳ. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπίσταται ὁ θεὸς ὁ τὰς  
 καρδίας | ἐρευνῶν, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἑαυτοῖς συγγινώσκομεν. Ἐπιστάμεθα 261  
 γὰρ χάριτι θεοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς φρονήσεως ὑμῶν τέλειον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 ἀνυπόκριτον ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας εὐλάβειαν  
 ἣν ἔχεις, ὡς ἄνθρωπος θεὸν καὶ εἰδὼς καὶ τιμῶν καὶ γινώσκων ὅτι καὶ  
 10 τὸ τιμᾶν τὸν θεὸν ἔχει φρικτὴν τινά (οὐ γὰρ οἶδαμεν εἰ ἀξίως τιμῶμεν),  
 τὸ δὲ προσκρούειν πόσῳ μᾶλλον φοβερώτερόν ἐστιν καὶ φρικωδέστερον.  
 Ἐρωμένον σε διαφυλάξει ὁ κύριος, πάσης κακώσεως καὶ ὀρωμένης καὶ  
 ἀοράτου ἀνώτερον.

## 62. Πέτρῳ μονάζοντι

Ἐσπούδασε μὲν ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καταστάσεως τῆς  
 ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς πολέμιος τὰ συνήθη ἑαυτῷ πονηρεῦσασθαι καὶ διατα-  
 ράξαι τὴν | ὑμῶν ἱερὰν τοίμνην· καὶ ἴσως οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ὄντα τοιαῦ- B  
 5 τας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον, τὸν Ἰλαρίωνα φημι, ταῖς οἰκείαις μεθοδείαις  
 ἐκίνησε σκάνδαλον ὑμῖν γενέσθαι. Ὅμως δὲ ὁ τὴν εἰρήνην κληρὸν κατα-  
 λιπὼν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν, εἴτε ἀνθρωπίνης κουφότητος εἴτε δαιμο-  
 νικῆς ἐπηρείας τὸ γεγονός ἐπῆρξεν, ἐκεῖνα διέλυσεν, ὑμῖν δὲ παρέσχε τὸ  
 εἰρηνεύειν. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν χάριν ὁμολογοῦμεν τῷ ἁγίῳ θεῷ· ὑμῖν δὲ  
 10 καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων εἰδόσιν, οἶα δὴ πνεύματι θεοῦ κυβερνω-  
 μένοις, ὡς ἔστιν δέον προσφέρεσθαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, γράφομεν ἃ γινώσκο-  
 μεν καὶ τῇ σῇ ὁσιότητι πρέποντα κἀκείνῳ σωτήρια ὄντα καὶ συμφέροντα,  
 τοῦ μὴ ὡσπερ ἀπεξενωμένον αὐτόν ἔχειν μηδὲ τῆς σῆς ἀλλότριον | πνευ- C  
 15 ματικῆς σχέσεως, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ συνεχώρησεν αὐτόν ἢ τοῦ τρόπου ἀνω-

61: 5-6: Rom. 8.27. || 7-8: cf. Rom. 12.9; 2 Cor. 6.6.

62: 5: cf. Ephes. 6.11. || 6-7: Ioann. 14.27.

61: P 181r || 12 διαφυλ(άξει) P

62: P 181r-v || 9 τούτῳ Jk: τοῦτο P

I have heard (my Son) that you are grieved because my Humility  
 bears a grudge against you. If someone has brought this to your ears (my  
 Son), he is a liar and no respecter of truth; or if, as a man may, you have  
 conceived this of yourself, pray retain it no longer in your heart. God Himself,  
 the Searcher of hearts, knows that I am conscious of no such feeling. I know,  
 by God's Grace, your perfect wisdom, and your undissembling love toward  
 me, and the piety toward the Churches of God which you maintain as a  
 man who knows and honors God, and is aware that even in honoring God  
 there is a certain dread (since we cannot know if we are honoring Him worthily),  
 while to offend Him is incomparably more fearful and dreadful. The  
 Lord keep you well, and above all malice seen and invisible!

## 62. To Peter the Monk

He who from the beginning has been an enemy of the peaceful settle-  
 ment of human life has been busy with his usual wickedness, and with  
 disturbing your holy flock: and by his tricks has persuaded that man—  
 Hilarion, I mean—to cause you offense which may perhaps be unintentional.  
 However, whether it arose from human folly or diabolical malice, He Who  
 has bequeathed peace unto those that love Him has removed it and granted  
 you to be at peace. On this account I offer thanks to the Holy God; and to  
 you, although, guided as you are by the Spirit of God, you will know without  
 words of mine how to conduct yourself toward the man, I yet write what I  
 believe to be fitting for your Holiness and salutary and profitable for him:  
 namely, that you should not treat him as estranged or outcast from your  
 spiritual regard. If the roughness of his temper, as is often the case in human  
 affairs, has not as yet allowed him to be with and consort with you in person,

ὑμῶν, τέως τῆς πνευματικῆς ἐνότητος μὴ εἶναι κεχωρισμένον αὐτόν· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν ᾗ, τὴν σὴν πατρικὴν πρὸς αὐτόν διαβαίνειν κηδεμονίαν, καὶ τῶν σῶν προσευχῶν καὶ παραινέσεων, δι' ὧν πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν ἄγουσαν ὁδὸν κατευθύνεται, μὴ ἀμοιρεῖν αὐτόν μηδὲ ἀπο-  
20 κήρυκτον τοῦ μεγάλου τούτου κλήρου καθίστασθαι. Ἐρρωμένος ἡμῶν διαφυλαχθεῖς, μεμνημένος ἐν ταῖς ὁσίαις εὐχαῖς σου τῆς ἡμῶν ταπει-  
νότητος.

### 63. Ἐπιφανίῳ μονάζοντι

Ἐχει τι πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἡ σωματικὴ τῶν φίλων συνομιλία τῇ σωματικῇ συναφείᾳ δοκοῦσα τοὺς | συναπτομένους ἡδύνει· ἀλλ' ἡ γε D πνευματικὴ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, κἂν ᾗ τῶν σωμάτων ἀπόστασις, πλέον οἶδε  
5 τὸ ἡδὺ πηγάζειν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν συναπτομένων. Ἐχο-  
μεν οὖν ἀνελλιπῆ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, ἐπεὶ χάριτι θεοῦ καὶ πνεύματι ἔσμεν ἡνωμένοι, μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς σωματικῆς διαστάσεως ζημιούμενοι. Τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος σχέσις, καὶ οὕτως οἶδεν τῇ κατὰ τὸν νοῦν συναφείᾳ τοῖς καθαρῶς ἡνωμένοις χαρίζεσθαι, ὥστε εἰ καὶ πολέμιος ὁ καιρὸς τῇ  
10 σωματικῇ ἀπήντησεν ὁμιλία, οὐδὲν ζημιῶσαι δεδύνηται· πάντως δὲ θεοῦ βουλομένου συνεσόμεθα καὶ σωματικῶς ἀλλήλοις, ὅποτε τούτου τῆς θείας βουλῆς ἔσται κρίσις.

Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἡμῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐδήλου τὸ γράμμα, ὁ δὲ χαρτοφύλαξ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν ἀπεσταλμένου γράμματος λαβὼν ἀνήγγειλεν, ἡ δοκοῦσα 264  
15 πρέπειν ἐξηγέσθαι διάστασις· καὶ λοιπὸν οὕτω γενήσεται καθὼς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐγράφη τοῖς κατὰ χώραν ἱκανοῖς οὖσιν διοικεῖν τὰ γραφόμενα. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἔρρωσὸ μοι τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινότητος ἐν ταῖς ὁσίαις σου εὐχαῖς μεμνημένος.

### 64. Τρύφωνι μοναχῷ

Χαίρομεν ἐφ' οἷς ἡ ὁσιότης ὑμῶν οὕτω διὰ φροντίδος ἔχει πολλῆς τὰ ἡμέτερα· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο μέγα παραμύθιον τοῖς θλιβομένοις, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον σφοδρῶς ἀνιᾶ τοὺς εἰς παράκλησιν τοιαύτης ἀποροῦν-

21 διαφυλαχθεῖς) P  
63: P 181v-182r  
64: P 182r-v

let him not be severed from spiritual union; but, however he may behave, let your fatherly care be extended to him, and let him not be deprived of your prayers and exhortations through which he is guided in the blessed path that leads unto life, and let him not be cut off from that great Inheritance. I pray you be preserved in health, remembering my Humility in your holy prayers.

### 63. To Epiphanius the Monk

Personal conversation of friends has its charm, and seems to give pleasure by the personal contact of those so joined. But (my Son) spiritual converse, even though we are sundered in body, may cause yet greater pleasure to flow in the hearts of those joined according to it. We, then, have continual satisfaction in that by God's Grace we are united in spirit, and none the worse for our bodily separation. For such is spiritual regard, and of such inherent grace to those who are sincerely one in the bond of the heart, that though time prove unpropitious to personal converse, yet it can do no injury. And, certainly, if God wills, we shall be together in person also whenever the Divine Will so decides.

But as to what your letter did not tell me, but what the chartophylax reports from the letter sent to and received by him, the separation which seemed advisable has been carried out: and so it shall now be as I wrote to those on the spot who are capable of administering what was written to them. For the rest, fare you well, and remember my Humility in your holy prayers.

### 64. To Tryphon the Monk

I am glad your Holiness is so much interested in my affairs. This is a great solace to the afflicted, just as the reverse deeply grieves those who are



5 τας προαιρέσεως· περι οὐ καὶ τὸ λόγιόν φησιν· «Καὶ ὑπέμεινα συλλυ-  
 πούμενον καὶ οὐχ ὑπῆρξεν, καὶ παρακαλοῦντας, καὶ οὐχ εὖρον.» Ἐν  
 παντὶ γὰρ κοινωνία κουφότερον ποιεῖ τὸ βάρος τῶν ἀνάγκη ἐχόντων  
 φέρειν αὐτό. Ὡς οὖν ἔφην, χαρᾶς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει | ἀπολαύομεν, καὶ B  
 εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ ἁγίῳ θεῷ τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὑμᾶς συγκινοῦντι. Πλὴν ὁ  
 10 χειμῶν ὁ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν ἐπιτεθειμένος οὐδὲν ἔλατ-  
 τον καὶ ἔτι χειμάζει, πάντως τοῦ νέφους τῶν ἡμετέρων σφαλμάτων  
 πολλὴν τὴν πύκνωσιν κεκτημένου, καὶ οὐπω ὑπὸ τῆς θεϊκῆς εὐμενείας  
 λαβεῖν τὴν λύσιν ἐθέλοντος· ἦν ταῖς σαῖς ὁσίαις ἐξιλέου εὐχαῖς. Ἴσως  
 ὁψέ ποτε δώσει αἰθρίαν ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόανθρωπος καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι παράσχοι  
 15 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς συνεχούσης αὐτὴν χαλεπότητος.

## 65. Ἰωάννη ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀμισοῦ

Τὸ γράμμα τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος διπλῆν ἡμῖν ἐνεποίησε τὴν διάθε-  
 σιν ἐξ ἐναντίων προερχομένην τῶν ἀφορμῶν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ παρεσκίαζε  
 χαίρειν, | τῆς ὑμετέρας ζωῆς τὴν γνῶσιν ἡμῖν ἐμφανίζουσα· ἡ δὲ τὸ C  
 5 λυπεῖσθαι προεξέει δι' ὧν ἐμανθάνομεν ὡς παρὰ τῶν βιαίων καὶ πρὸς  
 μόνην τὴν πλεονεξίαν ὀρώντων τὸ ἔλαττον αὐτὸς ἀπηνέγκω, κακὴν  
 ὄντως καὶ ὀλέθριον νίκην ἐκείνων νενικηκότων. Πλὴν ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμη-  
 θέντες, ὅτι χάριτι θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἐζημιῶται ἡ σὴ ἀρετὴ (τῆς σῆς γὰρ ἀγαθῆς  
 προαιρέσεως καὶ σπουδῆς, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ πόνου καὶ τῶν καμάτων οὐς  
 10 διὰ τῆς χαλεπῆς ὑπέστης ὀδοπορίας, οὐκ ἀπεστέρησαν τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ  
 μισθαποδοσίας οἱ δόξαντες ἀποφύεσθαι τὴν νίκην), παραμύθιον οὐ  
 μικρὸν εὖρομεν τοῦ μὴ λυπεῖσθαι· ὕπερ καὶ τῇ σῇ ἀρετῇ γενέσθαι χάριτι  
 θεοῦ πάσης ὕλης ἐλευθέρῃ τυγχανούσῃ καὶ πρὸς μόνα τὰ ἀποκείμενα  
 αἰωνίως | κέρδη ἀτειζούσῃ. Τοὺς δὲ ὑβριστὰς καὶ εἰρωνας, οἵτινες D  
 15 ποτέ εἰσιν, μετὰ τῆς αὐτῶν δυσφημίας καὶ εἰρωνείας εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἀπορ-  
 ρίψωμεν, μηδεμίαν φροντίδα ποιούμενοι, εἴτε πλύνουσιν ὕβρεσιν εἴτε τι  
 ἕτερον εἰς ἐπίνοιαν φέρουσι τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα  
 ἐρῶσθαι σε ἡμῖν παράσχοι ὁ ἅγιος θεός, μεμνημένον τῆς ἡμῶν μετριό-  
 τητος.

5-6: Ps. 68.21.

13 ἦν Vat.: ἦν P || scr. ἐξίλεοῦ? || 15 αὐτὴν Jk: -οῦ P  
65: P 182v || 15 αὐτῶν Wk: -ῆς P

in want of such a disposition for their comfort: see what says the Scripture, "And I looked for some to take pity, but there was none; and for comforters, but I found none." In everything, participation lightens the load of those compelled to bear it. So, as I say, I got joy in this respect, and I thank the Holy God Who has moved you to this *sympathy*. However, the storm which (for my sins) has blown upon me shows no abatement: indeed, the cloud of my errors thickens apace, and is not yet dispersed by the Divine Favor. This *Favor* do you implore in your holy prayers! It may be that, at long last, the Merciful will grant a clear sky, and will allow His Church a breathing space from the cruelty that afflicts *it*.

## 65. To John, Bishop of Amisos

Your Holiness' letter had me in two minds, arising from opposite impulses. I was glad to get news that you were alive; but I was sorry to learn you had been worsted by those violent, selfish, and greedy men, who have surely won an evil and ruinous victory over you. However, when I reflected that, by God's grace, your Virtue is not damaged (since those who seem to triumph over you have not deprived you of God's reward for your intent and zeal, or, for that matter, for the labor and toils you underwent in that difficult journey), I found great solace for my grief; and may your Virtue derive the same, by God's Grace, since you are free of all material consideration and look only to rewards that are laid up for you in eternity. As for those who insult and scoff at us, whoever they are, let us consign them to oblivion with their own slanders and scoffs, and take no thought of them, whether they drench us with insults or hit on any other device to show *their rancor* against us. For the rest, I pray the Holy God to keep you in good health, and in remembrance of my Mediocrity.

Τέκνον μου ἡγαπημένον, πρᾶγμα ἐγένετο ὡς λέγουσί τινες μήτε τῇ δόξῃ πρέπον τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ἐν ἣ πᾶσα τάξις Χριστιανικῆ καὶ πᾶσα εὐσέβεια πολιτεύεται καὶ πᾶσα σοφίας ἀκρότης καὶ ἱερᾶς καταστάσεως ἀκρίβεια, μήτε τὸ ἄλυπον καὶ ἄμεμπτον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχόμενον.

5 Λέγουσι γὰρ | τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι οἷα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς "Ἑλλησι 265 πολιτεύεται. Αἱ γὰρ διὰ πυρκαϊᾶς καὶ διὰ σφαγῆς τῶν ζώων γενόμεναι συνθῆκαι οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἰσὶν ἢ θυσία ἐθνικῆ τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῆ. Μὴ γὰρ μόνον πρὸς τὴν σφαγὴν ἀπλῶς οὕτω καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀποβλέψης, ἀλλὰ κατανόει ὅτι μυστικώτερους τινὰς ἔχουσι λόγους κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων

10 ἀθεότητα. Ἐπεὶ διὰ τί μὴ ἀπλῶς τὰ τυχόντα ζῶα σφάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκλέγονται βοῦς καὶ κύνες καὶ πρόβατα; "Ὡσπερ οὖν ἡ φρικτὴ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θυσία ἐκλέγεται ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ταῦτα προσφέρει μυστικῶς ἀγιάζουσα τοὺς τελοῦντας, οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ζῶα κατὰ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ἐκλέγεται εἰς θυσίαν οἰκειοποιοῦντα τοὺς τελοῦντας

15 τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λατρευομένοις δαίμοσιν. Μὴ γὰρ ἀπατάτω ἡμᾶς τοῦτο | τὸ παρ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς «Οὕτως χεθεῖν τὸ αἷμά <μου>», ὅτι ψιλοὶ B εἰσι λόγοι, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γινώσκειν ὀφείλομεν, ὅτι πρὸς μυστικὴν τινα κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ γινόμενα αἰτίαν ἔχουσι τὴν ἀναφοράν. Ἐπεὶ τί ἐκώλυεν ἀπλῶς σχίσαι ξύλον καὶ εἰπεῖν «Οὕτως διατηρηθεῖν»; Τί ἐκώλυεν στρουθίον

20 θῦσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν «Οὕτως τὸ αἷμά μου χεθεῖν», ἀλλὰ πυρκαϊᾶς ἄπτουσιν καὶ ἐκλογὴν ἰδίως ποιοῦνται κυνῶν καὶ βοῶν καὶ προβάτων;

Οὐκ ἔδει οὖν τοῦτο γενέσθαι· ἀπηγορευμένον γὰρ ἔστιν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς κανόνσιν καὶ τῇ Χριστιανῶν καταστάσει. Ὡς οὖν εἶπον, οὐκ ἔδει γενέσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο, δευτέρον ἔστιν ἀκολουθῆσαι τὴν θεραπείαν

25 καὶ ὑποβληθῆναι ἐπιτιμίοις τοὺς εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο παρατυχόντας, ἵνα μήτε σκάνδαλον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσγένηται καὶ ταραχὴ καὶ ζάλη ἐπὶ πλεόν | αὐτὴν καταλάβῃ, μήτε μέμψις καὶ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ γενεᾶ καὶ ἐν τῇ μετὰ C ταῦτα ἡμῖν τε τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς καὶ τῇ σῇ ἀρετῇ, τέκνον μου ἡγαπημένον, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἄρχουσι τῆς πολιτείας προστριβῇ. Ὁ γὰρ φιλόχριστος

30 ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς διὰ τὸ ἀτελὲς τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ παρὰ θεῶ καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἄμεμπτον ἔξει· ἡμεῖς δέ, γίνωσκε (ἔταν δὲ λέγω ἡμεῖς, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λέγω καὶ σὲ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῆς πολιτείας ἄρχοντας) καὶ παρὰ θεῶ καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐν μέμψει καὶ φαυλισμῶ γενησόμεθα. Σπουδάσον οὖν, τέκνον μου, τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ σοι δεδομένη φρονήσει οὕτω

35 διευθετησῆαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἵνα μὴ λάβωσιν ἀφορμὴν οἱ φιλόσοφοι καὶ δια-

My beloved Son: Something has taken place, as people tell me, which is unbecoming the glory of this City, in which all Christian order and all piety are pursued, and every sublimity of wisdom and strictness of holy orthodoxy: something which afflicts the Church and damages her reputation. For they tell me that things were done such as are practiced among gentiles and pagans: since a treaty ratified with fire and the slaughter of beasts is nothing but a gentile and pagan sacrifice. You are not merely to regard the simple slaughter, in and for itself, but to consider also that, according to their godless belief, it has a more mystical significance. Why do they not simply slaughter any chance animals, but make choice of oxen and dogs and sheep? Because, just as the Awful Sacrifice of the Christians makes choice of Bread and Wine, and offers these mystically, in sanctification of those who perform the Rite, so these animals, according to this peculiar impiety, are chosen for a sacrifice which attaches its performers to the devils whom they worship. Do not let us be deceived into thinking that their oath "So be my blood spilt!" is a mere phrase; we must realize that what they do has in their eyes a mystical cause behind it: otherwise, why not simply cut a log and say, "So may I be cloven!", or sacrifice a sparrow and say, "So be my blood shed!"? No: they light fires, and make special choice of dogs and oxen and sheep.

It should not have been done. It is forbidden by the holy canons and the Christian order. I repeat, it should not have been done: but since it has been done, we must next apply the remedy, and penalize those who participated in this ceremony, lest offense be caused to the Church, and yet further confusion and disturbance overtake her, and blame attach, both in this generation and hereafter, to us who are sinners, and to your Virtue (my Son), and to the other lords of the state. Our Christ-loving Emperor, owing to his tender years, will stand blameless before God and man. But be assured that we—and when I say "we," I mean the Church, and you and the other lords of the state—will be blamed and vilified in the sight of both God and men. So take urgent measures (my Son), with that wisdom given you by God, so to dispose matters that no handle be given to the censorious and

σύρειν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχοντες οὐ μόνον τὰ ἔχοντα μέμψεως ἀφορμήν, ἀλλὰ  
 πολὺλάκις καὶ τὰ καλὰ πράγματα εἰς τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ D  
 ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῇ περιδόξῳ πολιτείᾳ, καὶ νῦν καὶ μετέπειτα, ἀλλὰ γινῶσιν  
 ὅτι τὸ μὲν γεγονός δι' ἀνάγκην ἐγένετο, ἧς αἴτιοι οἱ τοὺς πολέμους ἀγα-  
 40 πῶντες καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, λέγω δὴ οἱ θεομίσητοι Βούλ-  
 γαροὶ, ἡ δὲ θεραπεία ἐπηκολούθησεν ἐκ τῆς ὑμῶν εὐσεβοῦς καὶ εὐδιακρι-  
 του φρονήσεως. Τὰ γὰρ κατ' ἀνάγκην γινόμενα συγγνώμης ἀξιούται καὶ  
 παρὰ θεῶ καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς εἰδόσι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα. Καὶ  
 γὰρ πολλάκις διὰ λιμοῦ ἀνάγκην ἀπεγεύσατό τις τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων,  
 45 εἴτα μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὀφείλουσαν θεραπείαν δεχόμενος οὐδεμίαν ἔχει  
 μέμψιν ὅτι δι' ἀνάγκην ἀκαθάρτου τινὸς ἀπεγεύσατο. Οὕτως οὖν καὶ  
 τοῦτο ἐὰν δέξηται θεραπείαν, | ἀδιάβλητον διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἀκατά- 268  
 κριτον. Ἐὰν δὲ μείνη ἀθεράπευτον, οὔτε ἡ παρούσα γενεὰ οὔτε ἡ μετὰ  
 ταῦτα ἐσομένη ἀδιαβλήτους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀκατακρίτους ἐάσουσιν.

Τέκνον μου ἡγαπημένον, ἀντὶ τῆς εὐπειθείας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἣν πρὸς  
 τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἔχεις, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἔνδοξοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ  
 παλατίου ἄρχοντες, εὐχόμεθα εἰ καὶ ἀμαρτωλοὶ δοθῆναι ὑμῖν τὴν αἰώ-  
 νιον δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τιμὴν, καὶ εἶναι τὸν φιλόανθρωπον δεσπότην Χριστὸν  
 5 ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς αἰτήσεσιν ὑμῶν εὐπειθῆ καὶ ἐκπληρωτὴν  
 τῶν σωτηρίων ὑμῶν αἰτημάτων· καὶ πιστεύω τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς αὐτοῦ ὅτι  
 οὕτως γενήσεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν διετέθητε. Ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν «Ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων τούτων  
 10 εἰποίησατε, ἐμοὶ ἐποίησατε» πῶς οὐχὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν τιμὴν | ὑμῶν καὶ ὑποταγὴν ἀμείψεται πολλαπλασίως; B  
 Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς θεοφιλοῦς ὑμῶν προαιρέσεως· μητροπο-  
 λίτας δὲ ἀποστελοῦμεν τρεῖς, ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀρχόντων  
 ἀνελεῖν οὐκ ἐγγωρεῖ, ἵνα ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παλατίῳ κατενώπιόν σου,  
 τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν περιβλέπτων ἀρχόντων, ὅσοι ἂν εὐρεθῶσι,  
 15 τὸ ὀρισθὲν ἐπιτίμιον γνωρίσωσιν ὑμῖν. Τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται καὶ ὑμᾶς μὴ  
 λυποῦν μηδὲ καταβαρῦνον καὶ τοῖς πολλάκις κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ  
 θεοῦ ἐφεδρεύουσιν καὶ κινουμένοις ἀποκλεῖον τὴν κίνησιν. Καὶ πάλιν  
 δέ φημι· εἴη ὁ θεὸς ὁ διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων σταυ-

67: 8-9: Matth. 25.40.

67: P 184r || 16 καταβαρῦνον P\*: βαρῦνον P<sup>1</sup>

those eager to distort, not only what is reprehensible, but often good things  
 too, into a reproach to the Church of God and this renowned State, both now  
 and hereafter; let them know that what was done was by necessity, for which  
 those who love war and the slaughter of men are responsible—I mean, the  
 God-detested Bulgarians: and that the remedy has followed, out of the piety  
 and discretion of your Wisdom. For what is done by necessity is pardonable  
 both by God and by men familiar with human affairs. For often through the  
 force of hunger a man has tasted forbidden foods, and then, after receiving  
 the appropriate remedy, is freed of blame, because he was forced to taste  
 something impure. So this, too, if it is remedied, will on account of its neces-  
 sity be free of slander and condemnation. But if it remain without remedy,  
 neither the present generation nor that which is to come, will allow us to  
 pass unslandered and uncondemned.

My beloved Son: For your obedience and for the honor in which you  
 hold the Church of God, both you and the other noble lords of the Sacred  
 Palace, I pray (though a sinner) that He may grant you His eternal glory  
 and honor, and that the merciful Lord Our Christ and God may be attentive  
 to all your requests and fulfill those that be for your salvation; and I believe  
 in His mercy that He will be even so disposed toward you as you have been  
 toward His holy Church. For He that hath said, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto  
 one of these least, ye did it unto Me," how shall He not reward you many  
 times over for your honor and obedience to His Holy Church?

So much for your godly purpose. I shall send three metropolitans,  
 since there is not room for the crowd of lords to come to me, so that they  
 may, in the Sacred Palace and before you (my Son) and the other renowned  
 lords, as many as be there, acquaint you with the penance ordained. This  
 will not be grievous to you, nor vexatious, and will check the assault of  
 those who are often lying in wait and preparing to assault the Church. I  
 repeat: may God, Who for the salvation of the human race endured to be

ρωθῆναι καταδεξάμενος ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς σωτηρίου  
20 ταύτης ὑποκατακλίσεως ἀνυψῶν καὶ κατευοδῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα ὑμῶν  
καὶ τὰ βουλευματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα.

Τὰ γράμματά σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἀναγινώσκοντες, πρῶτον μὲν  
ἐπὶ ταῖς καταλαβούσαις ὑμᾶς χαλεπότησιν ὠδυνήθημεν σφοδρῶς τὴν καρ-  
δίαν. Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐμέλλομεν σφοδρὰν δέχεσθαι τὴν ὀδύνην τοιοῦτοις  
5 ματος ἔσχατα ἔδωκεν ἀναπνεῦσαι ἡμῖν διδάσκοντα θεοῦ χάριτι τοῦς  
χαλεποὺς ἐκείνους διαλελύσθαι κινδύνους καὶ τὴν ὑμῶν μετὰ σωτηρίας  
κατάληψιν ἐν τῇ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πόλει· καὶ εἶη ὁ ὑπεράγαθος θεός, ἐπεὶ  
οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὀμάλων οὐδὲ χωρὶς περιστάσεως, οὕτως τὴν σὴν  
διεξάγων ζωὴν ὡσπερ τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ γράμματος ἡμᾶς ἀνεδίδαξεν.

10 Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Χερσῶνος μέμνηταί σου ἡ ἀγαθὴ  
σύνεσις ὅτι | καὶ στόματι οἰκείῳ προσωμιλήσαμεν καὶ νῦν δηλοῦμεν διὰ Δ  
τοῦ γράμματος, ὅτι τῶν ἀπὸ Χαζαρίας πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα καταλαβόντων  
ἐπίσκοπον ἐξαίτησάμενων ὥστε χειροτονίας ἐκεῖσε πρεσβυτέρων ἐπιτε-  
λέσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς καθαρᾶς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως ἀναδέξασθαι  
15 τὴν διακονίαν, τὸν ἐν τῇ Χερσῶνι προβληθέντα ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἀπεστεί-  
λαμεν ὥστε θεοῦ συνεπιλαμβανομένου ἀπελθεῖν μὲν πρὸς τὴν Χαζα-  
ρίαν καὶ ὅσα ἐκεῖ δεήσει ἐξυπηρετήσασθαι, εἶτα πρὸς τὸν προεβλήθη θρό-  
νον ἐπανελθεῖν, τουτέστι πρὸς τὸν τῆς Χερσῶνος. Καὶ πάντως ὡς τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας οὐδὲν οὕτω προθυμήθητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς τὴν Χαζαρίαν ἔργῳ συν- 269  
20 ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ τῇ καταστάσει καὶ ἐνιδρύσει τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου πρὸς  
τὸν οἰκεῖον θρόνον, ἐπειδὴν τὰ εἰς τὴν Χαζαρίαν θεοῦ συνεργούντος  
ἐκτελέσῃ. Εἶη δὲ Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτόθι εὐδόκιμόν σε δεικνὺς  
καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα χαριζόμενός σοι μετὰ σωτηρίας ἀνακομιδῆν.

### 69. Δαυὶδ Καμουλιανῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ

Ἄ ἔγραψας, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἡγαπημένον, περὶ τῶν (οὐκ οἶδα πῶς  
εἶπω) μανίᾳ ἢ μισανθρώπῳ δαίμονι πρὸς τὴν ἀπάνθρωπον πράξιν συνε-  
λαθέντων, εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἀνηρέχθη κράτους· πλὴν καὶ

68: P 184r-185r || 15-16 ἀπεστείλαμεν Mai: ἀπέστειλεν P

69: P 185r

crucified, in reward for your reasonableness and this your salutary submission,  
raise you up and prosper you in your thoughts, your counsels, and your acts.

As I read your letter (my Son) my heart was at first deeply grieved at  
the cruel experiences you had met with: for it was inevitable that I should  
be deeply grieved at learning of the sufferings which you (my Son) had  
encountered. But the end of your letter relieved me, with the news that by  
God's grace those cruel dangers had vanished, and that you have arrived  
safe and sound in the city of Cherson. And may the most excellent God  
(since nothing in human affairs is smooth or without its dangers) continue  
to conduct your life in the manner revealed to me in the end of your letter.

As regards the Bishop of Cherson: your good Wisdom will recall that  
I told you in conversation, what I now state in writing, that since those who  
had come here from Chazaria had asked for a bishop to ordain presbyters  
among them and to undertake the ministry concerning the pure faith of the  
Christians, I had dispatched the Archbishop appointed to Cherson, so that  
with God's aid he should go to Chazaria and there perform all necessary  
services, and thereafter should return to the throne to which he was appointed,  
I mean, that of Cherson. You, as a son of the Church, will I am sure be eager  
to assist both in the work respecting Chazaria, and in the settling and  
establishment of the Archbishop in his proper throne when, with God's help,  
he has concluded his duties in Chazaria. And may Christ our God show you  
approved over there, and grant you a safe return hither.

### 69. To David Camulianus, Protospatharius

What you wrote (my beloved Son) about those who were jointly impelled  
by—how shall I say?—insanity or the man-hating fiend to commit their  
inhuman crime, has been brought to the attention of the imperial govern-

5 πρὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπομνήσεως δι' ἀναφορᾶς ὑμῶν ἢ τῶν πραχθέντων οὐ διελάνθανεν τούτους γνῶσις. Παρεκελεύσαντο οὖν τῇ ἐντρεχεστάτῃ συνέσει σου, ὡς γε ὑπολαμβάνω σὺν τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ | τῆς Ἐφέσου B ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ, ποιήσασθαι τὴν τούτων ἐπίσκεψιν.

Ἄλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὕτως. Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ πρόωγν ἰδόντες τὴν  
10 σὴν τελειοτάτην φρόνησιν καὶ νῦν ἀξάνουσαν ἔχοντες διὰ τῶν πράξεων ὑμῶν τὴν περὶ σοῦ γνῶσιν, εὐχόμεθα εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ διὰ παντός σε τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁδηγεῖσθαι δεξιᾷ ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς πορεύῃ, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνωθεν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπιπονοίας κινούμενον ἐκεῖνα καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ πράττειν ὅσα καὶ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ ζωῆ παντός μώμου ἀνώτερον καθίστησιν καὶ  
15 ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ τὴν αἰώνιαν σοι εὐκλειαν χαριεῖται.

#### 70. Δαυὶδ Καμουλιανῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ

Ἄ μὲν ἔδει πρὸς θεὸν ἀνευγεκεῖν, ὅτι τέκνου ἡγαπημένου γράμμασιν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἡμῶν ἐπεβάλλομεν καὶ τῇ ἐπιβολῇ ταύτῃ ὡσπερ C ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχειν τὸ τέκνον ἐνομίζομεν, ἀνηνέχθη. Ἄ δὲ τὸ γράμμα περὶ  
5 τῶν τὴν γλῶσσαν εὐκόλων εἰς μνήμην ἤγεν, τί δεῖ, τέκνον μου, συνετὸν ὄντα σε θεοῦ χάριτι πειρᾶσθαι διὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων τοῦ τοιοῦτου τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάθους ἄγειν εἰς κατανόησιν; Οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν οὕτως ἡδύ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἷον τὸ διασύρειν τὰ τῶν πλησίον πράγματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὅποιά ποτε ἂν ὦσιν. Καὶ τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν συμβαίνει  
10 ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἀνθρωπίνου πάθους κακολογεῖσθαι; Ὡστε τοὺς κακολογούντας ἕα χαίρειν, τέκνον ἐμόν, σὺ δὲ τῆς σῆς ἀγαθῆς ἔχου συνειδήσεως, ἣν θεῷ σπουδάξεις παραστῆσαι τῷ ἀπροσωπολήπτῳ κριτῇ ἀδιάβλητον· ἐπεὶ τὰ γε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους οὐδεὶς οὕτω κατωχυραμένος ἐστὶν ἐξ ὀρθῆς | συνειδήσεως, ᾧ μὴ πάντως ὁ μῶμος τὸν πικρὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπι- D  
15 βάλλει. Οἶδαμεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὅτι πρότερον πόνους ὑπέστης καὶ νῦν ὑπομένεις οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων προξενήσαντας ὄφελος, καὶ (θεὸς αὐτὸς μάρτυς ὁ τὰς καρδίας ἐποπτεύων) ἀλγυνόμεθα τὴν ψυχὴν. Ἄλλὰ τί ἂν τις εἴποι περὶ τῶν πεφυρμένων τοῦ βίου πραγμάτων; Πλὴν εἴ τι δεῖ πρὸς κρείττονας ὄραν ἐλπίδας, ἐκεῖνο ἐλπίζομεν ὅτι καὶ ἡ σὴ ἀρετὴ τῆς ὀφειλομένης  
20 αὐτῇ μεθέξει τιμῆς.

12: cf. Iosue 1.9.

70: 12: cf. 1 Petr. 1.17. || 17: cf. Rom. 8.27.

8 ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Vat.: -οπῆς P || 9 ἰδόντες Vat.: εἰδόντες P

70: P 185r-v || 7 οἶδας Jk: οἶδεν P (οἶδα Mai) || 14 ᾧ Mai: ὁ P || 17 ἐποπτεύων Jk: ὑποπτεύων P

ment; but even before I drew their attention by means of your report, they had received information of the facts. They have therefore instructed your most skillful Wisdom—I presume, in collaboration with the Archbishop of Ephesus, most beloved of God—to make an enquiry into them.

So much for this. For my part, having long ago known your most perfect wisdom, and having now acquired a better knowledge of you through your acts, I pray (though a sinner) that you be guided continually in all your ways by the right hand of God; and that, being moved by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit above, you may think and do those things which in this life place you above all censure, and in the life to come shall reward you with eternal glory.

#### 70. To David Camulianus, Protospatharius

The thanks due to God, inasmuch as I have set eyes on a letter of my beloved Son and have thereby seemed, as it were, to see that Son before me, have been rendered. But as for the reminder which your letter gives me about loose-tongued people, what need is there (my Son) to try in words of mine to explain to you, wise as you are by God's grace, this human infirmity? You know that men like nothing better than disparaging their neighbors' actions and words, whatever these may be. Why wonder, then, if we ourselves should be slandered by this human infirmity? And so (my Son) ignore the slanderers, and hold fast to your good conscience, which you strive to present guiltless before God, the impartial Judge; for, in regard to men, there is none so strongly fortified by his good conscience on whom censure never casts its jealous eye. I know that you have in the past undertaken labors, and still endure them, which have brought you no profit from men: and (God Himself is Witness, Who searcheth hearts) I am sorry for it. But what can one say of the confused state of life? However, if we must live in better hopes, I hope that your Virtue also will gain its share of the honor due to it.

Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων. Ἄ δὲ ἀπέστειλας ἡμῖν περὶ τῶν εἰς  
 ἐξέτασιν ὑποβληθέντων ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' οἷς κακῶς διεπράξαντο, ταῦτα  
 πρὸς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐπίσκεψιν προσῆλθεν, καὶ καθὼς ἐπεσκέψαντο τῇ  
 σῆ τιμότητι παρακάλειυσιν ἐποίησαντο, ὅπως δεήσει καὶ ἔτι τὰ περὶ  
 25 τῶν ἀφρόνων ἐκείνων μετιέναι | ἀνθρώπων. Λοιπὸν ἔστιν ἀκόλουθον τῆς 272  
 σῆς τελειοτάτης συνέσεως τὸ λεῖπον ἔτι τῆς δικαίας ἀνταποδόσεως ἐπε-  
 νεγκεῖν τέλος τοῖς δι' ἔρημίαν φρενῶν, ἵνα μὴ λέγω μανίαν, ὑποδίκους  
 ἑαυτοὺς τῆς τοιαύτης πεποιηκόσιν κολάσεως· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐρωμένον σε  
 διαφυλάξει ὁ κύριος καὶ ἀνώτερον [ἐκ] πάσης ὀρωμένης καὶ ἀοράτου  
 30 ἐπηρείας καὶ κακότητος.

## 71. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Νικαίας

Περιττὸν ἡγούμενοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τοῦ διὰ γραμμάτων ἡμετέρων  
 διδάσκειν ἃ τοῦ Ἰακώβου παρόντος παρ' αὐτοῦ μάθοις, παρείδομεν διεξ-  
 5 ἵεναι τὴν τῶν παρὰ σοῦ γραφέντων διόλου διοίκησιν. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ γνωρί-  
 ζομεν, ὡς ὁ Πετρωνᾶς, εἰ μὴ πάλιν προτιμήσῃ τὸ ψεῦδος τῆς ἀληθείας,  
 τὸ ζητούμενον τρίτον πρόσωπον ὁμολόγησεν παρασχεῖν. Καὶ εἰ μὲν  
 τιμήσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁμολογίαν, μηδὲν πλέον ἐπ' | αὐτῷ πράξεις· εἰ δὲ πρὸς Β  
 ἀθέτησιν ταύτης ἴδοι, ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπελύνεσθαι, καὶ πάντως  
 ἀπελαθήσεται.  
 10 Ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβος εἰσήχθη κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλεύοντος, καὶ  
 ὡς ἐξηγήσατο ἡμῖν, πᾶσαν εἶδεν τὴν ἐκείνου ῥοπήν μετὰ τῶν ἀντιδίκων.  
 Τί οὖν δεῖ πράττειν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἢ  
 φιλοσόφως διαγενέσθαι καὶ τῷ καιρῷ παρασχεῖν ὅσον μὴ παντελῶς δεί-  
 κνυσι προδότας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ; Πλὴν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ὅσα ὁ  
 15 Ἰάκωβος ἀπαγγελεῖ καὶ ταύτην προσθήσει τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν. Ἐρωμένον  
 ἡμῖν εἴης καὶ μεμνημένος ἐν ταῖς ὁσίαις εὐχαῖς τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινότητος.

72

Τέκνον μου ἡγαπημένον, μετὰ πάντων σου τῶν | καλῶν δεῖξον C  
 καὶ τὴν ἀγαθὴν σου προαίρεσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς παραμυθίας τοῦ κλήρου τῆς  
 ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ, τῶν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν δοξολογίαν τοῦ

29 διαφυλ(άζει) P || ἐκ del. Jk

71: P 185v-186r || 5 πετρω(νάς) P, suppl. Jk

72: P 186r-v || 2-3 τοῦ κλήρου τῆς ἐκκλησίας Jk: τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ κλήρου P

So much for that. The evidence you sent from the examination of those  
 men for their crimes has been submitted to the imperial scrutiny, and after  
 scrutiny they have advised your Honor how it will be necessary to prosecute  
 the affair of these madmen still further. It therefore rests with your most  
 perfect Wisdom to execute what still remains of just retribution on those  
 who, through want of wits, not to say madness, have rendered themselves  
 liable to this punishment. For the rest the Lord keep you well, and above  
 all malice and injury, whether seen or unseen.

## 71. To Alexander of Nicaea

I believe it to be unnecessary (my Son) to tell you in my letter what,  
 when Jacob arrives, you will learn from him, so I abstain from going into  
 the whole administration of the affairs you wrote about. But this I may  
 inform you: Petronas, if he is not once again preferring falsehood to truth,  
 has undertaken to provide the necessary third party. If he honors this  
 undertaking, you will do nothing further about him. But if he tries to set it  
 aside, then he must be expelled thence; and expelled he shall certainly be.

Jacob has had audience of the Emperor, and, as he told me, found all  
 the Emperor's inclination on the side of our adversaries. What (my Son)  
 can one do in these circumstances, other than compose ourselves philosophi-  
 cally and yield to circumstances, so far as we can without actually turning  
 traitors to the Churches of God? But Jacob will tell you about this along  
 with the rest of his news. Farewell, and remember my Humility in your holy  
 prayers.

72

My beloved Son: Together with all your other virtues, show also your  
 good intent in behalf of the comfort of the clergy of the Church of God, who  
 labor day and night unto glorifying God, and who pray for the life and

θεοῦ κοπιώντων καὶ προσευχομένων ὑπὲρ ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας τοῦ βασι-  
 5 λέως καὶ τῆς σῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπηκόων, μὴ τὴν βῶγα ἦν ἀφ' οὗ  
 συνέστη ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐλάμβανον, ἀποστερηθῆ ἔν ταῖς  
 ἡμέραις τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου, μηδὲ καταλείπτῃ τῷ  
 χρόνῳ ἱστορίαν τοιαύτην. Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ ἀπέκοψαν αὐτὴν οἱ μὴ καλῶς  
 πρὸ σοῦ διοικήσαντες τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα, σὺ διόρθωσαι τὸ ἐκείνων  
 10 σφάλμα εἰς δόξαν μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰς μνημόσυνον δὲ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ ὀνό-  
 ματός σου, ὅτι διὰ τῆς σῆς θεοσεβείας οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν | <ῆ> ἐκκλησία D  
 τὴν τοσαύτην ζημίαν οὐδὲ ὁ παραλογισμὸς ἐβεβαιώθη ὃν παρελογίσαντο  
 αὐτὴν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις σου τετίμηται  
 ἡ ἐκκλησία. Ἐνεκεν μ' λιτρῶν, τέκνον μου, οὔτε ἐὰν μὴ δοθῶσι τὸ  
 15 ταμεῖον τοῦ βασιλέως αὐξηθήσεται οὔτε ἐὰν δοθῶσι καινοτομία τις  
 αὐτῷ προσγενήσεται. Τὸν δὲ μισθὸν σκόπει πόσος ἐστίν, ὡσαύτως καὶ  
 τὸ κατὰκριμα. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐνός ἐλεουμένου μισθὸς ἀπόκειται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ  
 ἢ πάλιν ἐνός ἀδικουμένου κόλασις μένει καὶ τιμωρία, πόσω μᾶλλον το-  
 σούτου λαοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν ἀθλίων πτωχῶν ἠπορημένων ἢ ἐλεημοσύνη  
 20 προξενήσῃ σοι ἄπειρον παρὰ θεοῦ τὴν μισθαποδοσίαν; Ναι, τέκνον  
 ἠγαπημένον, τίμησον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἵνα καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῆς ἐπιγείου τιμῆς  
 καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου, ἦν πάντως οἶδα ὅτι ἐπιθυμεῖς, | ἀπολαύσης. Παράσχοι 273  
 δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὅσα εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῦ, ὅσα εἰς τὴν σὴν τιμὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν,  
 ταῦτα καὶ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πράττειν, ῥυόμενός σε ἀπὸ πάσης κακῶν περι-  
 25 στάσεως καὶ ὀρωμένης καὶ ἀοράτου.

## 73

Γένους ὑπάρχων ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ δικαίου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οἰκοθεν  
 ἔχεις τὸ ἀγαθὸν καρποφορεῖν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ  
 μόνην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν γράφομεν. Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἡ παραίνεσις χώραν ἔχει, οὗ  
 ἔστιν ὑπόνοια μὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ κατηρτισμένον εἶναι τὸν παραινούμενον.  
 5 Ἡμεῖς δὲ πῶρρω ταύτης τῆς ὑπονοίας ἐσμέν περὶ σοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο μόνον  
 τὸ πρᾶγμα παριστῶμεν.

Τὸ βαρὺ τοῦτο | καὶ χαλεπὸν φορτίον, ὁ λεγόμενος κόκκος, ὡς B  
 φησιν ὁ τὸ γράμμα κομίζων, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι καὶ σήμερον οὐκ ἐπεφορτί-  
 σθη τῷ τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου κτήματι, νῦν δὲ ὅπως οὐκ οἶδα κινδυνεύει

17-18: cf. Matth. 25.40,45.

9 διόρθωσαι Vat.: διώρθωσε P || 11 ἡ Wk: om. P || 17 mg. ὡρ(αῖον) P || 22 ἀπολαύσης  
 Vat.: -σεις P

73: 186v-187r

salvation of the Emperor, of you, and of all subjects. Let them not be robbed  
 of the stipend which they have received ever since the Church was founded  
 until now, in these days of the Emperor Lord Constantine; do not leave this  
 story to posterity. Even if those who, before you, maladministered the state  
 did cut it off, you should repair their error, to the glory of the Emperor and  
 for the fair memory of your own name, in that through your piety the Church  
 did not continue to suffer such loss, nor was that neglect shown toward her  
 by those men confirmed, but that in your days she was once more honored.  
 As for forty pounds of gold (my Son), even if they are withheld, the imperial  
 treasury will not be increased, and if they are granted, no damage will  
 accrue to it. Consider the greatness of the reward, and of the condemnation.  
 If for pity shown to one there is a reward laid up by God, and again, for wrong  
 done to one, chastisement and retribution await the doer, how much the  
 more infinite recompense from God shall be won by your pity of so great a  
 folk, of so many women wretched, poor, and destitute? Yes (beloved Son),  
 show honor to the Church, so that together with your earthly honor you  
 may win that which is everlasting, as I am very sure you wish to do. And  
 may the Holy God grant you to plan and perform those things which are of  
 His glory and your own honor and salvation, delivering you from all peril of  
 evils, both seen and unseen.

## 73

Since you come of a noble and righteous stock (my Son) you may of  
 yourself bring forth the fruits of nobility and righteousness. Therefore, I  
 confine myself to the business in hand; because exhortation is suitable only  
 in cases where it is suspected that the person so exhorted is in himself defi-  
 cient: and I am far from suspecting this of you. Therefore I confine myself to  
 the matter.

This heavy and cruel impost, the so-called "grain"—as the bearer of  
 this letter specifies—has never before been charged on the farm of the Holy  
 Apostle; but now, for whatever reason, it seems likely to be encumbered with



10 τῷ ἄχθει τούτῳ καταβαρεῖσθαι. Σὸν οὖν ἐστίν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ τῆς  
 σῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ συνιδεῖν τὸ βάρος καὶ τῷ μοναστηρίῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ  
 μεγάλῳ μαθητῇ τοῦ κυρίου, μὴ συγχωρῆσαι ἢν οὐκ ἔγνωκεν μέχρι σοῦ  
 βαρύτερα νυνὶ γνωρίσαι. Εἴης ἡμῖν ἐρωωμένος ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ πάσης  
 ὀρωμένης τε καὶ ἀοράτου κακώσεως ὑπερκείμενος.

Καὶ οἰκεία γλώσση ἐνετειλάμεθα τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ σου τοὺς χορηγοῦν-  
 τας τὸ ἐτήσιον τοῦ κηροῦ τέλος μὴ | πλεον τῆς δυνάμεως μηδὲ πρὸς C  
 ἀδικίαν τῆς ῥοπῆς κλινούσης ἀπαιτεῖσθαι τὸ τέλοςμα, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἢ σὴ  
 ὄρα σῦνεσις μήτε ἐκείνους τῆς ὀφειλομένης τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ζημιοῦν χορη-  
 5 γίας μήτε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀδίκως τι παρ' ἐκείνων κερδαίνειν. Ἐξ Ἰσου  
 γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνους τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποστερεῖν τῆς δικαίας χορηγίας  
 καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνους πλεονεκτεῖσθαι ἀποβεβλημένον  
 ἡμῖν. Ὡστε ὡς ἄνθρωπος φρόνιμος καὶ συνετός τὸ ἄλυπον ἐκατέρῳ  
 μέρει περιποιῆσαι.

10 Τὸν δὲ ἐπίσκοπον ὃς ἀτάκτως καὶ παρὰ κανόνα εἰς πράγματα ἑαυ-  
 τὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν καὶ ἄλλους [τὰ πράγματα] ἀκείνον ὑπόδικον ποιοῦντα,  
 εἰ μὲν πλησίον ἐστίν, οἰκείοις λόγοις ἀδελφικῶς παρακάλεσον τὸ πρέπον  
 συνιδεῖν καὶ ἐπισχεῖν ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἀτάκτου προαιρέσεως. Εἰ δὲ μὴ πλησιάζει,  
 15 ποίησον· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀκούσει, θεῷ χάρις, καὶ τὰ πράγματα τὴν οἰκείαν  
 ἔξει κατάστασιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀκούσει, αὐτὸς εὐρήσει τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀνηγοίας  
 συναντήσοντα καὶ σὺ ἕξεις τὸν ἐκ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἔπαινον.

Καιροῦ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀνεμπόδιστον ποιοῦντος, τὸν ἀτάκτως τὴν τοῦ  
 Χαλδίας μητροπολίτου ἐπισκοπὴν μεταποιήσαντα πρὸς ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν  
 20 πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα πάντως ἐξαπόστειλον, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου γλώσ-  
 σης μαθόντες τὰ παρακολουθήσαντα τὸ πρέπον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διορισώμεθα.

Τέκνον μου ἡγαπημένον, ὃ γράφομεν, ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς τιμῆς καὶ  
 σωτηρίας καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι γράφομεν, οὐχ ἵνα |  
 ἡμεῖς τι τῶν τοῦ βίου κερδήσωμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη πρὸς τάφον ὀρωῶμεν καὶ 276

74: P 187r-v || 11 τὰ πράγματα del. Wk  
 75: P 187v-189r

this burden. It is for you (my Son) and for your Virtue to understand the  
 weight of this tax, and not to allow the monastery, or rather, the mighty  
 Disciple of our Lord, to feel now a burden which until your time it has never  
 yet felt. Fare you well in the Lord, rising above all injury, seen or unseen.

I gave your Reverence oral instructions that those who pay the annual  
 contribution of wax should not be taxed beyond their means or on a scale  
 amounting to extortion; but that, so far as your Wisdom can see to it, neither  
 should they default on the payment due to the Church, nor should the Church  
 make any unjust profit out of them. For I regard it as equally objectionable  
 that they should deprive the Church of her lawful supply and that they should  
 suffer from her extortion. You will, in your prudence and wisdom, settle the  
 matter without injury to either party.

As for the bishop who is irregularly and uncanonically meddling with  
 commerce, which commerce renders him and others besides himself liable to  
 punishment, if he is at hand, admonish him fraternally in your own words to  
 consider his duty and abstain from this irregular practice. If he is not at  
 hand, write in a letter to him the admonition you would have given him  
 orally. If he obeys, thanks be to God, and the matter will settle itself. If he  
 does not, he must take the consequences of his disobedience, and you will  
 have the credit for having admonished him.

When the season permits of the journey, you are by all means to send  
 here him who has irregularly converted the bishopric under the metropolitan  
 of Chaldia into an archbishopric, so that I can myself learn of these proceedings  
 from his own mouth, and take the decision requisite for the Church.

My beloved Son: I am writing this on behalf of your honor and salvation  
 both in this world and in the world to come, and not in order to gain any  
 temporal advantage for myself; for I am already looking to my grave and my

τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τούτου ἀναχώρησιν. Ὅσοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων δυναστείαν  
 5 ἐπὶ γῆς παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνουσιν, τοῦτο πρῶτον ἔχουσιν ἔργον, ὅταν  
 εὐχάριστοι διαμένωσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ εὐεργεσίαις, τοῦ σπουδάζειν  
 δοξάζεσθαι τὸν θεόν. Δοξάζεται δὲ ὁ θεὸς διὰ πολιτείας ἐναρέτου αὐτῶν  
 τε καὶ τῶν ὑποχειρίων· ἐν οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὕτω θεὸς τῶν ἐπιγείων πραγμά-  
 10 των οὔτε δοξάζεται οὔτε τιμάται, ἢ ἐπὶ ναῶν οἰκοδομῆ, ἢ ἐπὶ προσενέξει  
 τινῶν ἀναθημάτων, ὡς ἐπὶ πράξει ἀγαθῆ καὶ βίου καθαρότητι. Καὶ σὺ  
 οὖν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, παρὰ θεοῦ λαβὼν τὸ δύνασθαι, καὶ ἄνθρωπος φρόνι-  
 μος ὢν καὶ εὐχαριστεῖν εἰδὼς τῷ εὐεργετήσαντί σε, ὀφείλεις ἐκεῖνα  
 φρονεῖν καὶ σπουδάζειν δι' ὧν οἱ ἄνθρωποι | μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι βίου B  
 τιμιωτέρου καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρας ζωῆς, καὶ μήτε θεὸν λυπούσης μήτε τὸ  
 15 ἀνθρώπινον ὑβρίζουσας.

Διὰ τί γράφω ταῦτα; Ἐπειδὴ χθὲς εἶπες πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅτι λέγουσιν  
 οἱ ἀνθιστάμενοι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς «Διὰ τοῦτο παραιτούμεθα τὸ ἀσφαλές  
 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ποιῆσαι διὰ τῆς ἐγγράφου ἀπαιτήσεως, ὅτι φοβούμεθα μή-  
 ποτε πάλιν βασιλικὴ τις ἐξουσία ἢ τοιαῦτα ἢ καὶ χεῖρονα ποιήσῃ, καὶ  
 20 πάλιν ὑπαχθῶμεν τοῖς αὐτοῖς.» Καὶ αὐτόθεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἔστιν ἡ ἀπο-  
 λογία αὐτῶν φανεράν τὴν κατάκρισιν ἔχουσα· ἐν τίνι γὰρ ὀφείλουσιν οἱ  
 ἱερεῖς διαφέρειν τοῦ λαοῦ, ἐὰν μὴ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀντέχωνται νόμων; Εἶτα,  
 τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐν παρατάξει πολεμικῆ, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἀνετράφης καὶ ἐπαιδευθῆς  
 ἀπὸ μικρᾶς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἕως τῆς μεγίστης, οὐχὶ πολλοὶ καταλιμπάνουσι  
 25 τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν ὑπὸ δειλίας καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς πα|ρατάξεως; Μὴ C  
 οὖν ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο καθ' ἑκάστην συμβαίνει τοὺς κειμένους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς  
 νόμους καὶ ἀσφαλιζομένους παραιτήσασθαι ἔχεις, ἐὰν βουλευθῆς τοὺς  
 λιποτάκτας ἐκείνους καὶ φυγόντας τὴν παράταξιν πάλιν εἰς τὴν στρατιω-  
 τικὴν δέξασθαι τάξιν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πρῶτον σωφρονήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀσφα-  
 30 λισάμενος εἰς τὸ μηκέτι τοιοῦτον τολμῆσαι, μηδὲ ἀποφυγεῖν τῆς οἰκείας  
 τάξεως, οὕτως αὐτοὺς παραδέξῃ; Εἶτα ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης στρατείας  
 οὕτως ἐπιζητήσεις ἀσφάλειαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πνευματικῆς καὶ ἀγίας τοῦτο  
 παραβλέψεις; Ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ, καὶ ἄρχειν ὑπὸ θεοῦ  
 καταπεπιστευμένος, τὸ ἀρέσκον θεῷ καὶ εἰς σωτηρίαν τῶν ὑποχειρίων  
 35 ὑπάρχον ὀφείλει καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν· οἱ δὲ ὑπο|χείριοι, ἐὰν μὲν φυλά- D  
 ξωσιν, εὐρίσκουσι τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ φυλάξωσιν, αὐτοὶ μὲν  
 κατακεκριμένοι, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων ἀκατάκριτος, διότι ὕπερ ὀφείλεν ἐκεῖνος  
 προενοήσατο. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ νομοθέται τίμιοι καὶ μακάριοι, ὅτι νόμους  
 ἔθεντο προνοούμενοι τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ παραβαίνοντες

19 ποιήσῃ Jk: -σαι P || 27 νόμους Jk: -οις P || 32 ἐπιζητήσεις Vat.: -σης P || 33 ἀρχην  
 aut -ειν P || 38 διὰ τοῦτο Wk: διατί P (cf. infra 76.4 et compendium διατ = διὰ τοῦτο  
 56.21)

withdrawal from this life. As many as have received power on earth from  
 God have, if they remain thankful for God's bounties, this primary duty, to  
 be zealous that God may be glorified. Now, God is glorified in the virtuous  
 life of themselves and their subjects: for in nothing else of earthly affairs is  
 God so much glorified and honored—neither in the building of temples nor  
 in the bestowal therein of ornaments—as He is in virtuous conduct and  
 purity of life. And therefore you (my Son), who have received power from  
 God and are besides a man of sense, who knows how to be grateful to his  
 Benefactor, ought to plan and be zealous for those things which will make  
 men's lives more honorable and their conduct more secure, neither grieving  
 God nor insulting man.

Why do I write so? Because you told me yesterday that those who  
 oppose the Church are saying: "We refuse to seek security for the Church  
 by demanding a written undertaking, because we are afraid lest hereafter  
 once again some imperial authority may do the same and worse, and we  
 shall be back in the same predicament." And (my Son) this defense of theirs  
 carries in itself a manifest condemnation: for in what should priests differ  
 from laity if not in defense of the canons? Is it not true (my Son), that in  
 the military ranks in which you have been brought up and educated from a  
 small command to the greatest, there are many who desert their proper post  
 out of cowardice, and fly from the ranks? Does the fact that this happens daily  
 prevent you from insisting on the application and security of the laws to which  
 they are subject, if you wish to receive back into the military station those  
 who have deserted and run from the ranks? Will you not first discipline them,  
 and make sure they will not venture to do such a thing again or fly from  
 their proper post, before receiving them back? Well, then, are you thus to  
 demand security in the case of a human army, but neglect it in the case of  
 a spiritual and holy? The man of God, whoever he may be, who is entrusted  
 with rule by God, must think and do what is pleasing to God and for the  
 salvation of those beneath him. The latter, if they obey him, find their own  
 salvation, but if they disobey, they have themselves to blame; the ruler is  
 blameless, because he did his duty in taking care for them. Lawgivers are  
 honorable and blessed because they have made laws providing for the sal-  
 vation of men. Those who break their laws are wretches, but the lawgivers

40 τοὺς νόμους ἐλεεινοί· καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ νομοθέται μεμπτοὶ ἢ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἔθηκαν νόμους οὐκ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς γινώσκεις, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καταπατοῦσι καὶ παρορῶσιν.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν λεγόντων ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο δυστυχοῦσι τὰ πράγματα τῆς πολιτείας ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ συνήνωνται οἱ τὴν τετραγαμίαν δεξάμενοι τῇ  
 45 ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐκεῖνο λέγω, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ τί λέγουσιν οἶδασιν, οὐδὲ περὶ τίνων διαβεβαιοῦνται· διότι ἐν παντὶ πράγματι πρῶτον μὲν προηγήσασθαι τὴν σπουδῆν, εἶτα περιμένειν τὴν βοήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ. Οὐδεὶς ἀμελῶς σπειρας  
 50 θέρους πολὺ ἐγεώργησεν· οὐδεὶς μὴ ἐπιμελῶς θεμέλιον καταβαλλόμενος οἶκον ἀσφαλῆ δύναται οἰκοδομεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πελάγη τις πλεῦσαι δύναται καὶ διασωθῆναι ραθυμῶν καὶ κοιμώμενος, εἰ μὴ περιποιούμενος τοῦ πλοίου τὰς ἐξαρτήσεις. Ὅμως, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐνθυμήθητι καὶ τοῦτο, ὅπερ καὶ οἰκεία εἶπομεν γλώσση, ὅτι τοῦ κυροῦ Φωτίου τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ πάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς χειροτονίας ἀποδιωχθείσης, διὰ σπουδῆς ἐπιμελοῦς καὶ συντόνου ὁ πάππος τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου τὴν  
 55 Τεφρικὴν ἐξηφάνισεν, τὴν Βάριν ἐχειρώσατο, τὴν Λογγιβαρδίαν ὑποχείριον ἐποίησατο, τὴν Τερεντῶ καὶ ἄλλα κάστρα ἐκ τῆς ἐπικρατείας τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐξήρπασεν. Ἐποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ κυροῦ Ἰγνατίου καὶ τοῦ Β κυροῦ Φωτίου καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας αὐτοῦ ἐνωθέντων, ἡ Συράκουσα ἠφανίσθη καὶ ἡ Σικελία πᾶσα. Διὰ τί; Διὰ τὴν ἀμέλειαν τοῦ τότε δρογγαρίου τοῦ πλωτῆμου, λέγω δὴ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ. Πάλιν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ κυροῦ Λέοντος γινώσκεις ὅτι ὁ Μάπας συνῆλθεν καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτου ὄντες καὶ ἠνώθησαν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ εἰρήνης βαθείας οὐσης ἀπῆλθεν ἡ Θεσσαλονικὴ καὶ τὸ Ταυρομένιον. Διὰ τί; Ὅτι ἐνταῦθα ἀμέλειαν προηγήσαντο. Καὶ γὰρ ἐπιδοσμένων βοηθείας τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων, ἡμέ-  
 65 ραν ἐξ ἡμέρας ἀναβαλλόμενοι πρὸς τὸ ἀπολυθῆναι ἐκεῖ πλωτῆμον ἀπώλεσαν τὰ πράγματα. Τοῦτο, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ φρόνει καὶ διανοοῦ, καὶ μετ' ἐπιμελείας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνισχύοντός σε ἀντέχου τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ αὐτῇ μαθήσῃ τῇ πείρᾳ τὸ αἴτιον τῆς εὐτυχίας καὶ τῆς δυστυχίας τῆς πολιτείας ἡμῶν.

70 Γράφω δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀποβαλλόμενος οὐδὲ μισῶν τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας (μὴ οὕτω μανείην ποτέ, μηδὲ συγχωρήσῃ θεὸς οὕτω με φρενῶν ἐξῶ γενέσθαι), ἀλλ' ἐπιζητῶ ἔνωσιν τὴν τιμῶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν χαριζομένην κατάστασιν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἀπερχομένων ἡμῶν ἡ ἐρχομένη

are not to be blamed for that, nor is their work, if they have made laws which the majority of mankind, as you know yourself (my Son), spurn and neglect.

But as regards those who are saying that the affairs of our state are meeting disaster because those who accepted the fourth marriage are not united into the Church, I have only to say that they do not know what they are talking about or the matters on which they pronounce. In every affair zeal must first be shown, and then one may expect the help of God. No one who sows carelessly reaps a large harvest; no one who lays his foundation without care can build a secure house; no one can sail the seas and be safe if he is lazy and somnolent, and does not attend to the ship's tackling. However (my Son) consider this also, which I have said to you with my own lips: when the lord Photius the patriarch and all whom he had ordained were expelled, the grandfather of our Emperor lord Constantine, by careful and sustained zeal, destroyed Tephrike, captured Bari, subjugated Longibardia, and tore Taranto and other cities from Saracen dominion. But when lord Ignatius died and lord Photius and those whom he had ordained were united in the Church, Syracuse was lost and all of Sicily. And why? Because of the carelessness of the then admiral of the fleet, I mean Adrian. Or again: in the days of the lord Leo you know that Mapas and his followers came round, and were united in the Church, and, at a time of profound peace *in the Church*, Thessalonica and Tauromenon were lost. And why? Because carelessness had been shown here beforehand. The Thessalonians begged for help day after day, but those here delayed sending the fleet thither, and so the situation was lost. This (my Son) you should consider and understand, and apply yourself to matters with attention, God giving you the power, and you will learn by personal experience what it is that gives our state good fortune or ill.

I write this not as rejecting or hating peace and Church unity: I hope I may never be so mad as that, and God forbid I should be so far from my wits! But I look for a unity that does honor to the Church, one which will bring settlement to affairs both now and hereafter, so that when we are dead,

46 fort. μὲν <δεῖ> || 48 καταβαλλόμενος Vat.: -λλ- P || 50 περιποιούμενος Jk: -ουμένου P || 51 ἐξαρτήσεις Jk || 63 Ταυρομένιον Mai: ταυρόμενον P || 63-64 <ἡ τῶν> ἐνταῦθα ἀμέλεια προηγήσατο dubitanter cf. Jk, sed fort. προηγήσαντο transitive usurpatum, cf. lin. 46 || 71 μανείην Mai: μανείν P

75 γενεὰ καταγνώση ἡμῶν ὡς ἀφρόνων, ὡς ἀλόγων, ὡς καταφρονητῶν τῶν  
θεῶν κανόνων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑμᾶς τῷ ἀναθέματι παρα-  
πέμψωσιν ὅπερ οἶδεν συμβαίνειν, ὅταν οἱ τέως δυνατοὶ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀπέλ-  
θωσιν καὶ ἄλλοι γεννηθῶσιν καὶ φρονήσει καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ  
διαφέροντες.

## 76

Τὸ γνήσιον τῆς στοργῆς ὃ πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν μετρίτητα ἢ σὴ εὐλά- D  
βεια κέκτηται, πάλαι καὶ διελέχθη καὶ γινώσκεται, καὶ οὐ δεῖται νῦν  
ἀποδείξεως οὐδὲ τῆς ἐκ λόγων συστάσεως, ἰκανῆς οὔσης τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἔργων  
πληροφορίας. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ μικρὰν εὐρίσκομεν ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν  
5 ἡμῶν παρηγορίαν ἐκ τῆς σῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς πνευματικῆς διαθέσεως, καὶ  
οὐδὲν χάριτι θεοῦ ζημιούμεθα τῆς ἐκ τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης περιχεομένης  
ἡμῖν ἱερᾶς ἡδονῆς ἕνεκεν τοῦ κωλύεσθαι ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι καὶ διὰ τῆς  
τῶν αἰσθητῶν ὀφθαλμῶν θεωρίας, τοῦ βλέμματος τῆς διανοίας ἀκωλύ-  
τως καὶ ὀρῶντος καὶ νοερῶς ἡμᾶς συνάπτοντος. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν  
10 ὀσιότης μηδὲν νομιζέτω διὰ τὴν σωματικὴν ἀπόστασιν τῆς κατὰ πνεῦμα  
συναφείας ἀποστερεῖσθαι. Ὅπου γὰρ ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης ἔνωσις, οὐ ἂν  
ᾧσιν διεστηκότες, | συνηνωμένοι τυγχάνουσιν ὥστε καὶ ἡμεῖς ταύτη 280  
τῇ θεῖᾳ ἐνώσει οὐ νῦν οὐδὲ χθές, ἀλλ' ἐκ μακροῦ τοῦ χρόνου συνημμένοι,  
τῇ τοπικῇ διαστάσει οὐδαμῶς χωριζόμεθα.  
15 Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἔχει. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ σφαλέντος ἀδελφοῦ δι'  
ἄγνοιαν ἐκεῖνό φαμεν, ὡς οὐκ ἀποκλείει αὐτὸν συγγνώμης τὸ πεπραγμέ-  
νον ἐξ ἀγνοίας, καὶ μάλιστα ὡς τὸ γράμμα διήγγειλε συντριβομένου τὴν  
καρδίαν καὶ δριμύειαις ἀλγηδόσιν σπαρασσομένου. Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἐπ'  
ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχων τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ μετανοίᾳ τούτου σπουδὴν  
20 καθορῶν καὶ τὸ ἄλληλα τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν δοκιμάσης ἐπιτιμῆσει  
μετρία ἰάτρουσον τὸ ἁμάρτημα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκονομεῖν  
εἴωθας, θεῖα χάριτι κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ κυβερνω-  
μένων τὰ σφάλματα διορθούμενος καὶ ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς μετα-  
νοίας καὶ τὴν συγχώρησιν ἐπιμετρῶν.

76: 17-18: cf. Ps. 50.19.

76: P 189r-v || 2 fort. διηλέχθη || 4 διὰ τοῦτο Wk: διατι P (cf. 75.38) || 7 ἀλλήλοις  
P1: ἄλλοις P<sup>x</sup> || 12 τυγχάνουσιν Jk: -ουσιν P || 18-19 ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς Vat.: ὀφθαλμοῖς P

the coming generation shall not convict us for fools, senseless, or despisers  
of the divine canons, and for this reason consign us and you to the anathema:  
as is wont to happen when those hitherto powerful in their lifetime depart  
from it, and others come to birth who are more wise, pious, and virtuous  
than they were.

## 76

The integrity of the affection which your Piety has for my Humility  
has long been discerned and known, and now requires no proof or support  
from words, since it has been sufficiently confirmed in deeds. For this reason  
I derive no small solace in my afflictions from your spiritual regard for me.  
Nor by God's Grace is the holy pleasure with which your love enfolds me at  
all diminished by our being prevented from enjoying one another's company  
through the operation of the physical organs of sight, since the mind's eye  
beholds without impediment and unites us in spirit. In the same way, your  
Holiness is not to suppose that through our corporeal separation we are  
deprived of spiritual contact: for where there is a union of sincere affection,  
*those who* are sundered, wherever they may be, are yet united to one another.  
In this manner we too, joined as we are by a divine union which is not of  
today's or yesterday's growth, but from long time, are in no way separated  
by spatial division.

So much for that. But concerning our brother who has sinned in igno-  
rance, I say this: that what he has done in ignorance does not exclude him  
from pardon, more especially since, as your letter informs me, he is "of a  
contrite heart and torn with bitter remorse." Do you therefore, having regard  
yourself to the man, and observing the sincerity of his penitence and his  
grief of heart, heal his transgression with a penalty as moderate as you may  
see fit, after the manner in which you are accustomed to dispense for others,  
as you are appointed by Divine Grace for this task, setting right the trans-  
gressions of those whom you guide, and apportioning to each his forgiveness  
according to the measure of his penitence.

Ἐδηλώθη καὶ δι' ἑτέρων γραμμάτων καὶ τοῖς πρὸ ὑμῶν, ὧ μακα-  
 ριώτατε, καὶ τῇ σῇ ἀδελφότητι τὰ ἐξ ἐπηρείας τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος εἰς  
 τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίαν συναντήσαντα χαλεπά· καὶ δοκεῖ μοι τὸ γράφειν  
 περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν ἔξω τοῦ δέοντος εἶναι καὶ περιττόν. Πλὴν τοῦτο  
 5 γνωρίζομεν, ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ παρόντος γράμματος ἐγράψαμεν πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν  
 μακαριότητα διὰ τοῦ κληρικοῦ τοῦ Ἀδεαδάτου καὶ Πέτρου τοῦ πατρίδα  
 μὲν ἐσχηκότος τὴν Ῥώμην, ἡμετέρου δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἡμῶν τὴν  
 ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ χρηματίσαντος ἀνθρώπου, καθὼς ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκο-  
 λουθία ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς γέγονεν ἐκκλησία καὶ εἰ τις ἦν πρὸς τὴν καθ'  
 10 ὑμᾶς ἐκκλησίαν λόγος ἀναγκαῖος πρὸς τὸ καταργηθῆναι μὲν τέλεον τὰ C  
 προλαβόντα σκανδαλα, εἶναι δὲ ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὸν σύνδεσ-  
 μον καὶ τὴν ἑνωσιν τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντι-  
 νουπόλει παρὰ θεοῦ κυβερνωμένης. Ἐγράψαμεν δὲ καὶ \*\*\* τῷ πρωτοσπα-  
 θαρίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν θεοστεφῶν βασιλέων καὶ τέκνων ἡμῶν κέλευ-  
 15 σις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξεπέμφθη, ὥστε καταλαβεῖν ἐκεῖνον πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν  
 ἀγιωσύνην καὶ ἀποδοῦναι εἴ τι ἐξεπέμφθη λόγον ἔχοντα ξενίων, καὶ  
 ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτόθεν ἀποστόλους τῆς ὑμῶν ἀγιότητος καὶ ἀναδραμεῖν πρὸς  
 ἡμᾶς τοῦ κοινῆ συνεδρία τῶν τε ὑμετέρων ἀποστόλων καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν τα-  
 πεινότητος εὐστάθειαν λαβεῖν εἴ τι καὶ ἔτι ὑπολείπεται ἕνεκεν τῶν προ-  
 20 λαβόντων σκανδάλων ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ στασιαζό-  
 μενον.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι κατέλαβον πρὸς ὑμᾶς, πληρωθήσεται τὰ D  
 γεγραμμένα διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀνόδου σὺν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἀποστόλοις. Εἰ  
 δέ, οἷα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐξεγένετο παραστῆναι ὑμῖν, ἀλλ'  
 25 οὗτος ὁ τὸ παρὸν γράμμα ἐπικομιζόμενος, καθὼς παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν ταπει-  
 νότητος ἐνηγήθη, πάντως ἀπαραλείπτως ἀπαγγελεῖ πάντα <καὶ> θεοῦ  
 βουλομένου τὴν ἐπάνοδον αὐτοῦ ποιουμένου πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα, τῆς  
 ἀγάπης μεσιτευσούσης ἣν κατέλιπεν ἡμῖν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν, τῆς  
 ὑμετέρας ἀγιωσύνης ἀναδραμοῦνται σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ ἀπόστολοι, ἵνα μηδὲν  
 30 ἔτι παραλυτῆ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀδιόρθωτον ὄν τῶν δεομένων ἐπανορθώσεως.  
 Εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, ἀλλὰ χάριτι τοῦ τὴν αἰώνιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων

77: 10–11: cf. Gal. 5.11.

77: P 189v–190v || 1 mg. m. rec. τῷ Πάπᾳ P || 7 τὴν<sup>s</sup> Vat.: τῇ P || 9 εἴ τις Wk:  
 ἥτις P || 13 spat. vac. 3 litt. P (deest nomen protospatharii) || 16 ἔχοντα] debebat ἔχον ||  
 18 συνεδρία Jk: συνέδρια P || 26 καὶ P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup> || 28 κατέλιπεν Vat.: κατέλειπεν P

In other letters (most blessed Brother), both to your predecessors and  
 to your Fraternity, the story has been told of the cruel events in our Church  
 which arose out of the malice of the evil one; and to repeat the same would,  
 I believe, be unnecessary and superfluous. But this I make known to you:  
 I wrote, before this, to your Beatitude, by the hand of the cleric Adeodatus  
 and of Peter, who is a native Roman but has been my agent since my resto-  
 ration to this throne, to tell of the sequence of events in our Church and to  
 provide your Church with the information necessary for the total abolition  
 of the offenses that had gone before and for reestablishing the bond and  
 union, now as of old, between the Church of Rome and that of Constantinople  
 governed by God. I also wrote to . . . the protospatharius; to whom, moreover,  
 was despatched a mandate from the God-crowned Emperors, my Sons, that  
 he was to proceed to your Holiness, with instructions to deliver the presents  
 that had been despatched, and to take thence the envoys of your Holiness,  
 and to return to us, to the end that, in common session of your envoys and  
 my Humility, any outstanding dispute over the previous offenses in the  
 Church of Constantinople might be settled.

If these persons have reached you, then our proposals will be imple-  
 mented by their return with your envoys. But if, as may happen in human  
 affairs, they have not succeeded in presenting themselves before you, then  
 the bearer of this letter, in accordance with his instruction from my Humility,  
 will no doubt inform you of the whole without reserve; and when, God  
 willing, he returns here, by the mediation of that love which Christ our God  
 bequeathed unto us, the envoys of your Holiness will come along with him,  
 so that the Church may no longer be injured by anything unreformed that  
 stands in need of reformation. For, if not entirely, yet by the Grace of Him

διάστασιν εἰς ἔνωσιν μετασκευάσαντος ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀπέιληφεν | ἐκκλησία 281  
 τὴν ἔνωσιν· καὶ δέον ἐστίν, εἴ τι καὶ ἔτι ἐξ ἐπηρείας τοῦ ἀεὶ στασιάζοντος  
 δαίμονος ὑπολέλειπται, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκποδῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ τελείαν καὶ  
 35 ἀπληρτισμένην ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν διαπρέπειν.

Πλειόνων λόγων οὐκ ἔστιν οἴμαι χρεῖα· διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἐκτείνουμεν  
 τὴν ἐπιστολήν. Οἶδαμεν γὰρ ἀναμφιβόλως ὡς ἡ τελειοτάτη θεοῦ χάριτι  
 σύνεσις ὑμῶν καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων γραμμάτων πάντα διερευνώσα καὶ  
 ἐξετάζουσα οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἡμῶν ἐξεπίσταται τὰ συμπεσόντα ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ  
 40 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξ οὗ χρόνου, εἰ καὶ ἀχρεῖοι καὶ ἀνάξιοι, εἰς τὴν  
 ἀρχιερατικὴν κατέστημεν τάξιν, καὶ μέχρι τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας, εἰς ἣν  
 οὐκ οἶδα ποίοις κρίμασιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅμως δ' οὐδ' ἡ ἐπάδυνος ἡμῶν ἐξέτεινεν  
 ζωή. Ἐρρωμένον <σε> διαφυλάξει ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, μακαριώτατε ἡμῶν  
 ἀδελφέ.

78

B

Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κομίζοντος αὐτὸ μοναχοῦ τὰ  
 περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅσοι τοῦ θεοῦ θεράποντες, ἀναμεμαθηκότες τὴν ὀφειλομένην  
 ἀνεπέψαμεν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ ἐκλεξαμένῳ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ βίου ματαιό-  
 τητος καὶ δυναμώσαντι ζωὴν ἐλέσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων, δι' ἧς καὶ τῆς  
 5 ἐκείνου ἀξιοθήσεσθε συμπαραστάσεως καὶ δόξης, ὅτε τὰ παρόντα καὶ τοὺς  
 ἀπατωμένους ἐφελκόμενα τὴν λύσιν λάβη καὶ φανερωθῇ τῶν ἁγίων ἡ  
 μακαρία διαγωγή. Ὅντως μακάριοι ἐστε, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος καθ' ὑμᾶς  
 τοιοῦτον ἐκτήσατο φρόνημα, καὶ κατέλιπε τὴν ἄστατον ταύτην τοῦ βίου  
 περιφορὰν καὶ μόνην τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἐζήτησεν ὅσον ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὸν ἐκ  
 10 τῆς σαρκὸς | ἐκδημίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔνωσιν, εἰ καὶ τὸ παχὺ τοῦτο C  
 νέφος τοῦ σώματος οὐ συγχωρεῖ καθαρῶς ἐνωθῆναι τῷ ποθουμένῳ.

Ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὑμέτερον τοιοῦτον ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀντὶ παντὸς δώρου τὰς  
 ὁσίας ὑμῶν εὐχὰς ἐξαιτούμεθα, ἃς καὶ ὑμῖν εὐπρεπὲς παρέχειν καὶ ἡμῖν  
 ἀναγκαῖον λαμβάνειν. Τί γὰρ τούτου δῶρον τερπνότερον ἢ ὀφελιμώτερον;  
 15 Ταύτας οὖν μὴ λήγοιτε διδόντες· καὶ φυλάττοισθε ἡμῖν ἔρρωμένοι ἐν  
 κυρίῳ, εὐοδοῦμενοι τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀεὶ προστιθέντες αὐτῇ, μέχρις ἂν τῶν  
 σαρκίνων λυθέντων δεσμῶν ἀναπτῆτε πρὸς τὴν οὐράνιον λῆξιν.

37 οἶδαμεν (sic) P || 43 σε Vat.: om. P || διαφυλ(άξει) P || μακαριώτατε Vat.: καριώτ(α)τ(ε) P  
 78: P 190v-191r

Who has converted the eternal disunion of men into union, our own Church  
 has achieved unity: and it is right, if anything remains of the malice of the  
 ever-disturbing demon, that this should be removed, and concord reign  
 perfect and full in the Church of God.

I believe I need say no more, so I will not prolong my letter. I know  
 beyond doubt that your wisdom, by God's Grace most perfect, which, without  
 letters of mine, searches and examines all things, is as well aware as I of what  
 has happened to me and to the Church of God from the time when (though  
 worthless and unworthy) I became Archpriest until this present day, to  
 which—I know not by what Judgments of God—my painful life has somehow  
 dragged on. May our Lord preserve you in health, my most blessed Brother.

78

I learned your news (holy servants of God) both from your letter and  
 from the monk who carried it, and I return appropriate thanks to Him Who  
 has elected you out of the vanity of life and strengthened you to choose the  
 life of angels, whereby you shall be found worthy of His fellowship and His  
 glory, when the present things, and those which allure the deluded, are passed  
 away, and the blessed life of His saints is revealed. Blessed in truth are ye,  
 and all others who have taken your decision, and abandoned this unstable  
 turmoil of life, and sought only, so far as a man may, the departure out of  
 the flesh to God, and union with Him, even though this thick cloud of the  
 body forbids the pure unity with Him we desire.

So much for your condition. But I, beyond every gift, beg for your  
 holy prayers, which it becomes you to supply and is needful for me to receive.  
 For what gift is more pleasing and profitable than this? Do not then fail to  
 offer it: and may you be preserved in health, cultivating your virtue in the  
 Lord, and still adding to it, until the bonds of the flesh are loosed, and you  
 fly upward to your heavenly home.

Ἴσως καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων γραμμάτων ὑμῖν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς ἡμῶν τέκνοις ἢ φήμη διεκόμισε | τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῆς θεϊκῆς D εὐμενείας διωκημένα· πλὴν καὶ τὸ γράμμα ταῦτα εὐαγγελίζεται, ὅτι τῆς θείας ἀγαθότητος τὰς ἡμῶν παραβλεψαμένης ἀμαρτίας ἡ ἐκκλησία τὴν 5 πολλὴν ἐκείνην διέλαθεν ἐπήρειαν, καὶ τέως οἱ ταύτης ἐπήρεασται τῆς βιαίας ἰσχύος ἀφήρηται καὶ τῆς τυραννικῆς ἐπιθέσεως, ἡμῶν ἀπολαβόντων θεία χάριτι τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν ἣν ὑπήρχομεν, εἰ καὶ ἀχρεῖοι, λαχόντες, καὶ ἦς ἢ βίαιος ἀπήλασε χεῖρ.

Ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον οὕτως εὐδοκία θεοῦ τετέλεσται· ὑμεῖς δέ, 10 ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ τῶν θείων ἀποστόλων συγκοινωνοὶ τῶν καμάτων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνέσεως, οἱ δραμόντες τὸν μακάριον δρόμον, ὧν οἱ πόδες ὠραῖοι ὡς εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην, τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον ἔτι σπουδαιότερον διανύσατε, ἐλαύνοντες τὸ σκότος τῆς δυσ|σεβείας ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατεχομένων 284 ψυχῶν καὶ ἀνατέλλοντες αὐτοῖς τῆς σωτηρίας τὸ φέγγος, ἵνα δι' ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως αὐτόθι κρατυνθείσης, δοξάζεται μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς, 15 δοξασθεῖτε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τῇ θεῖα καὶ ἀλύτῳ δόξῃ. Οἶδα μὲν ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ συνέχοντα ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ὑμῶν στενοχωροῦντα ζωὴν, αὐτὸς τε ὡς εἰκὸς ἀναλογιζόμενος τοῦ τόπου τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἷς συνδιάγετε τὸν τρόπον καὶ 20 τοῦ ἥθους τὸ ἀλλότριον, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ὑμῶν ἀποκρισιαρίου τοῦτο αὐτὸ διδαχθεῖς. Ὅμως οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παρὰ τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ὑμῖν. Πρὸς ἣν ἀφορῶντες καὶ τὸν πόνον καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν ἐν δευτέρῳ τιθέμενοι τὸ μακάριον ἔργον | ὑμῶν τελειώσατε, B καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει τὸν στηριγμὸν τοῖς νεοπαγέσι περιποιήσασθε· καὶ 25 καταλιμπάνοντες αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀνδ' ὑμῶν μέλλοντας τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ πρὸς τὴν ἀπλανῆ ὁδὸν τούτους καθοδηγεῖν καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, καιροῦ καλοῦντος μετὰ τῆς ἀνωθεν συνεπινεύσεως πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν ἀναδράμετε μετριότητα, οἰκειοὺς τε λόγοις αὖξοντες ἡμῶν τὴν 30 χάριν ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς προσαγομένοις Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν κεκτήμεθα διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, καὶ συνησθησόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἣν παρακληθεῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸς τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρέσχεν ἐλπίζουσιν.

79: 11-12: Rom. 10.15; cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 42,1, PG 36,457A4-5. || 21-22: Rom. 8.18.

79: P 191r-v || 9 τετέλεσται Vat.: τετελεσθαι (sic) P (εὐδοκία . . . τετελέσθαι Jk)

Perhaps even before my letter reaches you, rumor will have brought you (my Sons in the spirit) news of what has been wrought for the Church by Divine Favor. However, this letter brings you joyful tidings, that the Divine Goodness has overlooked my sins and the Church has escaped out of that great malice, and those who until now have practiced their malice against her have been deprived of their violent strength and of their forcible usurpation, and I, by Divine Grace, have received back that same station which I formerly (albeit unworthy) achieved, and from which the hand of violence had driven me out.

In this manner God's Favor has approved that my affair should be concluded; but do you (my beloved), who share in the toils and thus in the comfort of the divine Apostles, who have run the blessed course, whose feet are beautiful as of those who bring joyful tidings of peace—do you perform your proper task with yet greater zeal, driving the darkness of impiety out of the souls possessed by it, and bringing unto them the dawning light of salvation, so that when through you the faith has been strengthened in that place, God may be glorified in them, and you too may be glorified in this life, and in the life to come with the divine and imperishable glory. I know that there are many things to afflict you and to obstruct your holy life, when I myself reflect, as I naturally do, on the desolate nature of the place and the kind of men you live with, and the strangeness of their manners, and am informed of these very matters by your own messenger. Nonetheless, the things of the present time are unworthy to be noticed by comparison with the future glory, looking toward which, and disregarding toil and obstruction, you must fulfill your blessed task, and by all means contrive the confirmation of the faith among those in whom it has lately been fixed. And when you hand them over to those who will, in your stead, by their doctrine guide them to the sure path and lay hold on their salvation, then, when that time comes with the Divine Approval, return to my Humility, to increase with your own words the joy which I feel over those who are being led through Baptism to Christ our God, and yourselves to participate in that delight of the Church which our Saviour and God, yielding to His own admonition, has granted unto those who hope in Him.



Τὰ γράμματά σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐδεξάμεθα, καὶ | *περὶ τῆς ἐρη-* C  
*μώσεως τῶν κάστρων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἐξελεθεῖν σε τῶν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς λόγους*  
*ἠκούσαμεν καὶ παρὰ σοῦ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων· καὶ οἶδα ὅτι*  
*καὶ τότε ἀληθῆ ἔλεγες καὶ νῦν ἀληθῆ λέγεις. Καταλιπὼν οὖν ἐκεῖνα*  
 5 *γράφειν, ἐκεῖνα τοῦ θεοῦ δυναμοῦντός σε γράφε ἡμῖν, ὅτι τὴν διόρθωσιν*  
*ἐποιήσω τῶν ἐρημωθέντων, ὅτι ὅσα οἱ πρὸ σοῦ στρατηγήσαντες τῇ*  
*ἑαυτῶν ἀπώλεσαν ἀμελεία, ταῦτα ἡ σὴ φρόνησις ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ τῇ σῇ*  
*ἐπιμελείᾳ συνεστήσω. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ σου ἐπὶ μᾶλλον διαφανήσε-*  
 10 *ται καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἡμῶν θεραπεύσεις βασιλέα καὶ τῆς ἀξίας παρ' αὐτοῦ*  
*ἀντιδόσεως ἀπολαύσεις.*

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἀθέων ἐχθρῶν τοῦτο γινώσκων, ὅτι οὐκ  
 ἐν πλήθει λαοῦ ἢ δύνამις, ἀλλ' ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁμοψυχίᾳ, καὶ ὀλίγους  
 ἔχεις τοὺς ὑπὸ σέ, ταῦτα παιδεύων αὐτούς μετ' ἐκείνων ἀγωνίζου προ-  
 θύμως, καὶ πεποιθάμεν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ καὶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν ὅτι ὑπὲρ τοὺς  
 15 ἐν πλήθει λαοῦ καυχωμένους εὐδοκίμησεις.

Λέγεται πολλὰ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν πλείω (φεῦ  
 τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω νεύσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων) τοῦ ψεύδους ἐστὶν κληρονομία,  
 ἔστιν δὲ ἃ γινώσκει καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια. Λέγεται περὶ σοῦ, ἀγαθὲ καὶ καλὲ  
 ἀνθρωπε, ὡς ἐχθραίνεις, αἰσχύνομαι λέγειν, πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Τί γὰρ ἐσμεν, εἰ  
 5 καὶ τὸν πολυφθονον ἐγχειρίσμεθα θρόνον, δι' ἃς οἶδεν αἰτίας ὁ (πῶς  
 εἶπω;) τοῦτον ἐγχειρισθῆναι κεκρικώς; Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐχθραίνεις οὐ πρὸς  
 ἡμᾶς, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀχραντον καὶ ἡρμοσμένην αἵματι ἀχράντων νύμφην τῷ  
 υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στρέφεις μὲν κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἃ στρέφεις,  
 συνιστᾷς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους, ὡς μὲν οἶει τῷ | καθ' ἡμῶν συναπισμῶ, τῷ δὲ 285  
 10 ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ κατὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ καὶ χωρὶς τῆς  
 ὑμετέρας συσκευῆς πάντως ἢ νῦν ἢ μετ' ὀλίγον κεισόμεθα ἐν τάφῳ λυό-  
 μενοι, ὅπερ ὑμῖν ἐστὶν διὰ σπουδῆς· αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν ἀποικοιμένων πείρα  
 μαθήσεσθε τοῦ συναπισμοῦ τὸ κέρδος. Τοῦτο δὲ φαμεν ὑπὸ μάρτυρι θεῷ,

80: 11-12: cf. Ps. 48.7.

80: P 191v-192r

81: P 192r || 5 ὁ πῶς Wk: ὅπως P || 9 συνιστᾷς Vat.: -ἄς P || τῷ<sup>1</sup> Vat.: τὸ P

I have received your letter (my Son) and indeed had heard accounts  
 of the desolation of the towns even before you left here, both from you (my  
 Son) and from others: and I know that you spoke the truth, and speak it  
 now. So do not write any more about this, but write to me that, God lending  
 you strength, you have repaired what has been desolated, and that what  
 those who commanded before you lost through their own carelessness, your  
 Wisdom has recovered and by your care reestablished. So shall your Virtue  
 appear more brightly, and you will serve our great Emperor and enjoy a  
 worthy recompense from him.

Regarding the impious and godless foes, you must know that strength  
 lies not in number of troops but in righteousness and concord, and even though  
 you have but few at command, you should train them in these, and strive  
 eagerly with them; and I trust in Christ our God and Saviour that you will  
 approve yourself above those who boast in the number of their troops.

People say many things, and most of them (alas for human degeneracy!)  
 are the legacy of falsehood; but also, here and there, what is recognized as  
 truth. It is said of you (virtuous and noble Sir) that you are—I am ashamed  
 to say it—my enemy! For what am I, even though I have been entrusted  
 with this much envied seat, for reasons which He (how shall I say it?) knows  
 Who has decided to entrust me with it? But in fact you are the enemy not  
 of me, but of that stainless Bride Who was joined to the Son of God by His  
 stainless Blood. Thus you plot your plots in your own mind, and encourage  
 others to join in the conspiracy: against me, as you imagine, but in fact  
 against their own salvation. For I, even without your machination, shall  
 certainly, either today or some day soon, lie rotting in my grave, which is  
 what you are eager for; and then, when I am gone, you will learn by ex-  
 perience what it is you have won by your conspiracy. I say this before God

καὶ μὴ ἀπιστήσης, ἀπαραλόγιστος γὰρ ὁ μάρτυς· οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐν-  
 15 τευξόμεθα καθ' ὑμῶν οὔτε θεῶν· ἐπεὶ περ οἶδα ὅτι μᾶλλον σιωπώντων  
 ἡμῶν ἢ ἀπροσωπώληπτος καὶ θεία ἐπόψεται δίκη τὴν ὑμετέραν προαίρε-  
 σιν.

82. Τῷ περιφανεστάτῳ ἡγαπημένῳ πνευματικῷ  
 τέκνῳ Λανδούλφῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ Νικόλαος ἐλέφ θεοῦ  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως

Τὸ γεγονός εἰς τὸν πατρίκιον καὶ στρατηγὸν Οὐρσολέοντα καὶ πρὸ Β  
 5 τῶν γραμμάτων σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, προλαβοῦσα ἡ φήμη ἐγνώρισεν ἡμῖν,  
 καὶ ἐδεξάμεθα λύπην αὐτῆς ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπτομένην, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸν  
 θάνατον ἐκείνου τε καὶ τῶν ὁμοίως ἀποθανόντων, τὸ πλεον δὲ ὅτι περὶ  
 σοῦ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, πονηροὶ λόγοι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῶν θεοστεφῶν βασιλέων  
 ἡμῶν προσήρχοντο, πᾶσαν τὴν πρόφασιν τῶν κακῶς ἀποθανόντων ἐπὶ  
 10 σὲ φέροντες καὶ κατηγοροῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς ὑψηλῆς καὶ μεγάλης βασιλείας,  
 ἧς καὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀπέλαυσας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς δόξης ὅση παρ'  
 αὐτῆς σοι δεδώρηται. Ἐλυπούμεθα οὖν διὰ ταῦτα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὡς εἶπον,  
 λύπην οὐ δεχομένην παράκλησιν, μάλιστα ἐννοοῦντες καὶ παραβάσεις |  
 ὅρκων οὐς ἐποιήσω πρὸς τὸν μακαριώτατον ἡμῶν βασιλέα τὸν κύριν C  
 15 Λέοντα.

Νῦν δὲ διὰ τῶν σῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς κοινότητος  
 ἀναπεμφθέντων ἑτερά τινὰ διδασκόμενοι, καὶ οὐχὶ τοιαῦτα ἀναίσχυντα  
 οἷα προαπήγγειλεν ἡ φήμη, ὥσπερ τινὰ μικρὰν παραμυθίαν τῶν λυ-  
 πούντων ἐσχίσαμεν· εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ οὕτω δικαίως ἀναφαίνεσθε  
 20 μέμψεώς τε καὶ κατακρίσεως. Ἔστω γὰρ ἀληθὴ πάντα ὅσα κατὰ τοῦ  
 ἀποθανόντος πατρίκιου καὶ στρατηγοῦ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐγράφη, ἀλλ' οὐκ  
 ἔδει τοῦτον παρ' ὑμῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν δέξασθαι· ἀλλὰ παρὰ τίνος; Παρὰ  
 τῆς κοινῆς δεσποτείας καὶ βασιλείας, παρ' ἧς καὶ σὺ ἐδοξάσθης καὶ εἰς  
 τὸ στρατηγεῖν τοῦ τόπου ἐκεῖνος προβέβληται. Ἐπρεπεῖν μετὰ τὰς παρα-  
 25 κλήσεις, μετὰ τὰς παραινέσεις, μετὰ τὰς ἄλλας φιλοφρονήσεις τὰς παρὰ D  
 σοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν γεγενημένας, ἐπεὶ ἀπαράκλητος ἦν καὶ ἀδυσώπητος καὶ  
 πρὸς μόνην ἐφέρετο τὴν πονηρίαν, ἀνενεγκεῖν τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῶν  
 βασιλέων ἡμῶν, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξαιτεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν  
 κακῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς φονεῖς μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ

82: P 192r-194r || 10 ἐπὶ Wk: ἐκ P (sed fort. quaedam exciderunt) || 25  
 παραινέσεις Jk: προαιρέσεις P (cf. 52.80)

as my Witness, and you had better believe me, for that Witness is not to  
 be ignored. I shall invoke neither man nor God against you; for I know, on  
 the contrary, that even when I am silent, the impartial and Divine Justice  
 will survey your purpose.

82. To our most illustrious, beloved, spiritual Son Landulf,  
 Proconsul, Nicholas by the Mercy of God Archbishop of  
 Constantinople

Of what had befallen the patrician and governor Ursoleon, even before  
 you wrote of it (my Son), rumor had already informed me, and I experienced  
 a grief which touched me to the very heart: partly owing to his death and  
 that of those who perished with him, but even more because words have  
 reached the ears of our God-crowned Emperors concerning you (my Son),  
 words which imputed to you all the responsibility for those who have miser-  
 ably perished, and accused you before that high and mighty Empire, to which  
 you owe the benefits and honor and glory which it has bestowed on you.  
 And so I grieved at this (my Son), as I say, with a grief that knew no conso-  
 lation, especially when I considered the violation of the oaths which you  
 swore to our Emperor the lord Leo, of most happy memory.

But now that I have a different account from your own letter and from  
 that of the Community, a less deplorable version than that previously  
 delivered by rumor, I have some slight consolation in my griefs, though you  
 do not appear, even so, to be exempt from just censure and condemnation.  
 Even granted the truth of all you write against the dead patrician and  
 governor, it did not lie with you to punish him. With whom, then? With  
 your common Master and Imperial Majesty, by which alike you were made  
 glorious and he was appointed to the governorship of that place. After your  
 expostulations and exhortations and the other favors you showed him, if he  
 still remained obdurate and inexorable and merely persisted in his wicked-  
 ness, you should then have sent in a report to the God-crowned Majesty of  
 our Emperors, and begged of them a remedy for these evils, and not have  
 constituted yourself the murderer of your brothers and fellow servants, or

30 συνδούλων, ἐκδικητὰς δέ, ὡς λέγετε, τῶν κακῶς γενομένων. Τοῦτο ἦν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τῇ εὐγενείᾳ σου πρέπον, τῇ φρονήσει, τῇ ὀρθῇ πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ τῇ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν, τοῖς σοῖς ὅρκοις οὓς ἐποίησω πρὸς τὴν σὲ δοξάσασαν βασιλείαν. Νῦν δὲ οὐ μόνον τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὡς φασιν ἐχειρῶσω καὶ κάστρα τὰ μηδαμῶς πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀνήκοντα, καὶ ὑπὸ 35 τὴν σὴν ἐποίησω ἐπικράτειαν ἃ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος [πρὸς] τὴν σὴν οὐκ ἐγνώριζεν ἐπικράτειαν.

Ταῦτα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εἰ ἀληθῶς διεπράξω, οὐκ οἶδα τίς εὐρεθῆ- 288 σεται ἀπολογία, τίς λόγος ἡμῖν συναγωνιεῖται πρὸς τὸ συστήσαι ὅτι σφίσεις ἔτι τὴν ὀφειλομένην εὐνοίαν καὶ τὴν ὑποταγὴν πρὸς τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ὑψηλὴν βασιλείαν. Ὅμως ἡμεῖς ἀμφιβόλως διακείμενοι πρὸς τὴν 40 προλαβοῦσαν φήμην, καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἄρτι καταλαβοῦσι γράμμασι προστιθέμενοι, τοὺς θεοστεφεῖς ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς ἐδυσωπήσαμεν μὴ ἐκστῆναι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαθέσεως, μηδὲ ἀλλοτρίους νομίζειν <τῶν> τὴν πίστιν καὶ εὐνοίαν διασφῶζόντων πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι, καθὼς 45 καὶ πρὸ τῶν συμβεβηκότων τούτων κακῶν διέκειντο πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὕτως ἔχειν περὶ ὑμῶν, παραβλέψαντας τὰ τολμηθέντα, εἴ τι καὶ γέγονεν, ὡς τὴν ἀφορμὴν μὲν δεδακώτος τοῦ Οὐρσολέοντος, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνθρωπίνως συναρπασθέντων καὶ πραξάντων ἃ μὴ ἔδειπραχθῆναι.

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι σε στρατηγὸν Λογγιβαρδίας Β 50 λόγους ἐποίησάμεθα πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ γε τούτων εὐμένεια καὶ τὰ γεγονότα παρεῖδεν σφάλματα καὶ τὸ κατανεῦσαι πρὸς τὴν στρατηγικὴν ὑμῶν προβολὴν οὐ παντελῶς ἀπηγόρευσεν, ἀλλὰ ζητεῖ, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἀκόλουθον, πληροφορίαν δέξασθαι παρ' ὑμῶν τῆς ἀσφα- 55 λοῦς καὶ ἀνοθεύτου πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν ἀγάπης καὶ μέχρι βίου παντὸς ὑποταγῆς καὶ δουλώσεως. Ἡ δὲ πληροφορία καὶ διὰ τιμίας αὐτῶν κελεύσεως ἐδηλώθη σοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ παρόντι γράμματι ταύτην ἐνσημαινόμεθα, πρὸ παντὸς ἄλλου καταλιπεῖν τὰ κάστρα ὧν μήπω πρό- 60 τερον ἐξουσιάζων νῦν ἰδιοποιήσω τὴν ἐξουσίαν μετὰ τὴν γενομένην ἀταξίαν· δεύτερον, ὃ πάντως καὶ παρέξει τὴν ἐντελῆ πληροφορίαν, ἃ περὶ C τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ διαγωγῆς ἐκελεύσθη σοι. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτό σοι μὴ δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν υἱῶν σου πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐξαποσταλῆναι, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ὄντος παιδός σου συνῶν καὶ συνδιάγων τῆς βασιλικῆς τιμῆς καὶ ἀντιλήψεως ἀπολαύῃ. Τούτων 65 παρὰ σοῦ γινομένων, ὥσπερ ἔφημεν, ὡς μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν γενόμενα ἄπερ ἐγένετο σφάλματα παρορῶντες οἱ θεοστεφεῖς ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς τῇ σῇ

“avenger,” as you put it, of their “crimes.” This (my Son) would have been the course suitable to your nobility, your wisdom, your upright faith and love toward the throne, and the oaths which you swore to the throne that has raised you to glory. But, as it is, this is not the worst: they say you have made yourself master of towns which do not belong to your authority in any way whatsoever, and have put under your dominion that which until now has never been subject to it.

If (my Son) you have in fact done this, I do not know what defense can be found for you, or what argument will help me to establish that you still preserve your due loyalty and subjection to the high and mighty Empire. But, since I was in some doubt as to the previous rumor, and was rather inclined to believe the letter which has recently come, I have implored our God-crowned Emperors not to abandon their favor toward you, nor to consider you as alien from those who preserve faith and loyalty toward their Majesty, but, as they were once disposed toward you before these evils took place, so should they be still in your regard, overlooking the outrages, if such have in fact occurred: because it was Ursoleon who gave the provocation, and you who were, in human fashion, incensed and did what should not have been done.

On this ground I also spoke to their Majesty about your being made military governor of Longibardia; and their favor has overlooked your errors and did not wholly refuse consent to your appointment as governor; but they required, as was of course, that they should receive from you a confirmation of your sure and untainted love toward their Majesty, and of your subjection and servitude to them as long as you live. This demand for confirmation has been communicated to you in their honorable mandate, and I also give notice of it in this present letter: first of all, you must evacuate the towns which you never before had under your authority, but have now, after the recent revolt, annexed; second, which will certainly provide perfect confirmation, there are the orders about your wife and her residence in Peloponnesus. Should you be unable to do this, you can at least send here another of your sons, so that he may live and consort with your child who is already here, and enjoy the imperial honor and favor. If you do this, as I say, our God-crowned Emperors will overlook the errors as if they had never

35 πρὸς del. Jk || 43 ὑμᾶς Mai: ἡμᾶς P || τῶν Wk: om. P || 45 τούτων Mai: τοῦ τῶν P || 46 παραβλέψαντας Wk: -ες P || 47 δεδακώτος Mai: -ες P || ὀρσολέοντος h.l. P || 61 τὸν Mai: τὸ P || 65 βασιλ(εῖς) P

αἰτήσει δώσουσι πέρας, καὶ στρατηγὸν σε τῆς ὅλης Λογγιβαρδίας ἀνα-  
δειξουσιν.

70 Ἄ μὲν ἐσπουδάσθη παρ' ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ὑψηλοὺς  
ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς ὑπὲρ σοῦ, καὶ ἣν ἔχουσι γνώμην πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἔτι εὐεργε-  
σίαν καὶ ἀντίληψιν, ἰδοὺ διὰ τοῦ γράμματος μανθάνεις. Τὸ λοιπὸν σὸν  
ἔστιν ἢ τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτῶν ἐπισπάσασθαι ἢ τῆς εὐμενείας καὶ ἀγαθότητος,  
ὅπερ ἐλπίζω καὶ εὐχομαι, ἀπολαύσειν.

## 83. Τῷ τοῦ Ἰδρουῦντος

D

Ἄ μὲν περὶ τῆς θείας καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης βραβευθείσης εἰρήνης ἐν τῇ  
ἐκκλησίᾳ εὐχαρίστεις, καλῶς εὐχαριστεῖς. Ὅπου γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ  
σωτηρίῳ πράγματι οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ λαοῦ καθέστηκεν  
5 ὃς οὐχὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν δίδωσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμοιοῖα τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ πληρώ-  
ματος τῷ θεῷ, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον, εἰ δυνατόν, μὴ μόνον γλώσση ἀλλὰ καὶ  
πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις μέλεσιν ἡμᾶς ἐκπληροῦν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, οὓς εἰ καὶ  
ἀναξίους κύκλω τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου παρέστησεν ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμῶν  
καὶ θεός; Ἄλλ' ἔδει μετὰ τῆς ἰδίου εὐχαριστίας τὰ ἐνταῦθα καταλαβεῖν  
10 σε καὶ κοινῶς μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου καὶ συναρχιερέων εὐχαριστήσαι τῷ  
αἰτίῳ καὶ βραβευτῇ τῆς εἰρήνης, τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ ἀρχιερεῖ | καὶ 289  
θεῷ· πλὴν ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τοῦτο περιστάσεις πονηρῶν πραγμάτων ἐκώλυ-  
σαν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γε τοῦ νῦν μὴ ἀναβάλλη ποιῆσαι μηδ' εἰς ὑπέρθενον τὴν  
πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα δώσεις πορείαν.

15 Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτου. Ἄ δὲ περὶ τοῦ πατρικίου Οὐρσολέοντος  
ἔγραψας, ταῦτα κοινῶς ἀνενεχθέντα καὶ παρὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐνήχηνται οἱ  
μεγάλοι καὶ ὑψηλοὶ βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ ὅς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς σωτηρίου καὶ  
συμφερούσας παρέσχοντο ἀποκρίσεις· πλὴν οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῦτα  
εἰδέναι. Ἀμνηστίαν ἐπηγγείλαντο τῶν τετολμημένων, εἰ τοῦ λοιποῦ εὐνοί-  
20 καὶ ὑπήκοοι διαμενοῦσιν οἱ τὰ πονηρὰ τετολμηκότες. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πρὸς  
τὴν Ῥώμην ἀποσταλέντων τὴν μὲν σὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς προαίρεσιν ἀπεδεξά-  
μεθα, τὴν δ' ἐκείνων βραδυτῆτα καὶ ῥαθυμίαν ἐν οἷς ἔδει συντείνειν τὸν  
δρόμον οὐκ ἔξω τίθεμεν μέμφεως· πλὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος εἰ τίς σοι  
δύναμις συναντιλαβέσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὡς κοινωφελοῦς οὔσης τῆς συναντι-  
25 λήψεως πρόθυμος περὶ ταύτην γενοῦ. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα \*\*\*

83: 8: cf. Ps. 25.6. || 11: cf. Coloss. 3.15.

83: P 194r-v || 2 leg. θείως καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως? || 13 ἀναβάλλη Jk: ἐπιβάλλη P ||  
25 sollemnem clausulam om. redactor (cf. Epp. 84, 96, 104, 112, etc.)

taken place, and will grant your request, and proclaim you military governor  
of all Longibardia.

So you see from my letter what pains I have taken on your behalf with  
our high and mighty Emperors, and how they are disposed to yet further  
generosity and favor toward you. In future it is for you to choose whether  
to invoke their anger against you, or (as I hope and pray) to enjoy their  
favor and goodness.

## 83. To the Archbishop of Otranto

The thanks offered by you for the award of divine and human peace in  
the Church are well bestowed. For where, upon this work of salvation, there  
is none, even in the body of the laity, who does not offer thanks to God for  
concord among the priestly body, it is surely our duty to express our thanks,  
if it were possible, not with our tongues only, but with all our other members  
as well—we, whom (though unworthy) Christ our God has set in the circle  
of His Holy Sanctuary. But, besides your individual thanks, you ought to  
have come here and have offered thanks jointly with your brothers and  
fellow Highpriests to the Author and Awarder of peace, the first and great  
Archpriest and God. And if, however, crises of evil circumstances have  
prevented this, yet do not now postpone it, nor allow your journey hither  
to be delayed.

So much for that. What you wrote about the patrician Ursoleon has  
been commonly reported by the others as well, and has been communicated  
to our high and mighty Emperors, who have furnished such replies as seemed  
to them salutary and profitable. There is no reason why you should not know  
what these are. They have promised an amnesty of the outrages, if in future  
those who committed these crimes remain loyal and subject.

As for those despatched to Rome, I appreciate your efforts in regard  
to them; but their own dilatoriness and sloth, in an affair where speed was  
essential, I cannot but censure; however, from now on, if you can in any  
way cooperate with them, where cooperation is for the common interest,  
pray be ready to do so. For the rest, . . .

84. Τῷ εὐκλεεστάτῳ ἡγαπημένῳ πνευματικῷ τέκνῳ Γαίδωνι, Β  
 βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ, Νικόλαος ἐλέῳ  
 θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως

Τῷ γράμματί σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐντυχόντες, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς  
 5 ἄλλοις γράμμασιν ὅσα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξεπέμφθη παρὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων τῆς  
 αὐτόθι γῆς, ἀνεμάθομεν τὰ δυστυχῆ πράγματα, καὶ ὅσα ὁ πονηρὸς καὶ  
 οἱ ἐκεῖνῳ συνεργοῦντες ἄνθρωποι κατειργάσαντο. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἤδη  
 πραχθέντων δυστυχῶς οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑψηλοὶ βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν συγγνώμην  
 παρασχόντες τοῖς ὑπουργοῖς τῶν τοιούτων δυστυχημάτων ἐδήλωσαν διὰ  
 10 κελεύσεως αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐδήλωσαν. Δεῖ οὖν καὶ σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὡς πιστὸν  
 θεράποντα τῆς βασιλείας, ἐκεῖνα καὶ λέγειν καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι | ὅσα πρὸς C  
 κατάστασιν καὶ ἀταραξίαν ὄρᾳ οἷς ἂν δύνῃ προσεντυγχάνειν καὶ λέγειν,  
 καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ὑποταγὴν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ κυριότητος.

Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὑμῶν συμβεβηκότων. Περὶ δὲ  
 15 τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ἔχω πλέον τι γράφειν παρὰ τὰ ἤδη  
 γραφέντα σοι. Εἰ οὖν ἐστὶν σοι δύναμις τὴν Ῥώμην καταλαβεῖν καὶ κατὰ  
 τὰ γραφέντα σοι διοικῆσαι, τοῦτο σπουδαίως ἐπιτέλεσον, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ  
 σοῦ καμᾶτου καὶ τῶν πόνων καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολήψῃ παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ παρὰ  
 τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας, καὶ εἰ τίς ἐστὶν καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος  
 20 ἀνταμοιβή, καὶ αὐτὴ προσεπιχορηγηθήσεται. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα διατηρήσει  
 ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εὐαρεστοῦντας αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐκείνου ἀεὶ θέλημα καὶ  
 ζῶντας καὶ πράττοντας.

85. Πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἄρχον|τας καὶ D  
 τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ Λογγιβαρδίας Νικόλαος  
 ἐλέῳ θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος

Τὰ γραφέντα παρ' ὑμῶν, τέκνα μου ποθητά, ἐπιμελῶς ἀνέγνωμεν  
 5 καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐπιμελέστερον ἀνεσκεψάμεθα· καὶ ἃ μὲν συνέβη περὶ τὸν  
 ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑψηλοὶ βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν τῷ ἐκεῖθεν πα-  
 ραπέμφαντες κριτηρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ λανθάνει οὐδὲν οὐχ ὅτι τῶν πραττομένων,  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν εἰς ἐνθύμησιν ἡκόντων, ἀφῆκαν ἔξω τῆς ἐτάσεως τῆς  
 οἰκειᾶς αὐτῶν ἐπισκέψεώς τε καὶ κρίσεως, ὥστε τούτου γε ἕνεκεν μηδένα

84: P 194v || 2 βα(σιλικῷ) P || 7 ἐκεῖνῳ Vat.: -ου P || 12 καὶ λέγειν del. ? (cf. lin. 11) ||  
 19 βασιλικῆς Vat.: βασιλῆς P || 20 αὐτῇ Jk: -ῆς P  
 85: P 194v-195v

84. To my most renowned, beloved, spiritual Son Gaidon,  
 imperial Protospatharius, Nicholas by the Mercy of God  
 Archbishop of Constantinople

On reading your letter (my Son) and the other letters sent to me by the  
 inhabitants of your country, I learned of those unhappy events and of the  
*crimes* committed by the devil and by those men who are his collaborators.  
 And as for what has already been unhappily committed, our high and mighty  
 Emperors have granted pardon to the agents of these misfortunes, and have  
 stated their decision in a mandate. But it is your duty also (my Son), as a  
 faithful servant of the Empire, to say and advise, to all whom you can meet  
 with and speak to, those things which conduce to order and quiet, and to  
 subjection to the imperial authority and lordship.

So much for events in your country. But as regards matters ecclesi-  
 astical, I have nothing to add to what I have already written to you. If  
 then you can go to Rome and manage matters in accordance with what has  
 been written to you, pray effect this with zeal, in the knowledge that for  
 your toil and pains you shall receive recompense from God and from the  
 imperial government; and if there be any reward that my Mediocrity can  
 bestow, this shall be added as well. For the rest, may God keep you accept-  
 able to Him, still living and acting according to His Will.

85. To the priests, archpriests, nobles and the general body  
 of the people of Longibardia, Nicholas by the Mercy of God  
 Archbishop

I have read your letter carefully (my beloved Sons), and turned it over  
 in my mind more carefully still. For the act committed regarding that man,  
 our high and mighty Emperors have referred it to the heavenly Tribunal,  
 before which every deed, nay, every thought lies open, and have dismissed  
 it from the examination of their own scrutiny and judgment: so that, so far

10 φόβον οἱ πράξαντες τοῦ τι κακὸν παθεῖν παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ὑφοράσθω-  
σαν. Μόνον τοῦτο πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ εὐγνωμοσύνῃ διατη|ρείτωσαν, τὸ 292  
πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ ἦν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δεσποτεῖαν τὴν ὀφειλομέ-  
νην ἀγάπην καὶ πίστιν διαφυλάττειν ἀμετακίνητον· μᾶλλον δὲ σπουδάσαι  
15 διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ γενομένῳ φόνῳ ἀποτρίψασθαι κατη-  
γορίαν, καὶ δεῖξαι ὅτι κακέينو ἔπραξαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἔδει, ἀλλ' οὖν διὰ τὸ  
μισοπόνηρον καὶ τὴν ἀποδιώξιν τῆς κακίας. Τοῦτο δὲ φανερόν ἐσται,  
ἐὰν τοῖς κελευομένοις παρὰ τῶν ὑψηλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἡμῶν βασιλέων  
εὐπειθῆ παρέχωσιν τὴν ἀκοήν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκπλήρωσιν ἔτοιμοι  
γίνωνται.

20 Περὶ δὲ τοῦ προχειρισθῆναι στρατηγὸν τὸν ἀνθύπατον Λανδοῦλφον  
οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑψηλοὶ βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν δεδομένην αὐτοῖς ἄνωθεν  
παρὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν καὶ συνδιεσκέψαντο καὶ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ τὴν οἰκείαν  
γνώμην ἐδήλωσαν, | καὶ πάντως εἰ βουλήσεται πεισθῆναι τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν B  
ἀπεσταλμένη κελεύσει, τὸ κοινὸν αἴτημα ὑμῶν τε κακέινου εἰς πέρας  
25 ἐκβήσεται. Τί δεῖ πλέον γράφειν; Πᾶς ὁ δωρεᾶς ἀξιούμενος, εἴτε θεϊκῆς  
εἴτε ἀνθρωπίνης, ταύτης ἀξίον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν, καὶ οὕτως παρὰ τοῦ  
διδόντος τυγχάνει ὧν ὁ δίδους ἔκριεν ἀξίον τὸν λαμβάνοντα τὰ δωρή-  
ματα. Εἴη δὲ Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ ἀρχομένους ἐκεῖνα  
διδούς καὶ λογίζεσθαι καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι καὶ πράττειν ὅσα εἰς σωτηρίαν, ὅσα  
30 πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ὁρᾷ καὶ τὴν ὑμῶν εἰρηνικὴν κατάστασιν καὶ εὐζωΐαν.

### 86. Τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκονόμου τῆς ἐκκλησίας

Δέσποτα καὶ τέκνον δεδοξασμένε ὑπὸ θεοῦ, ὁ ἀναγαγὼν σε εἰς τὸ  
ὑψος τῆς βασιλείας ὑψωσεν καὶ τὸν νοῦν σου καὶ τὰ φρονήματα, ὡς  
πιστευθῆναι μὲν | τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητι, εἰς ὑψος τὸ ἀρμόζον τῇ βασιλείᾳ C  
5 σου· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπομιμνήσκω ὡς πατὴρ τὸ δεδοξασμένον μου τέκνον  
καὶ δεσπότην, ἵνα κατὰ τὸ ὑψος τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀγαθότητος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς  
ὑποχειρίους σου διατίθῃσαι, καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην τῶν πολλάκις  
παραφρονούντων καὶ λεγόντων ἃ μὲν οὐ δεῖ λέγειν πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν  
σου, ὅμως δὲ νικωμένων παρὰ τῆς ἀφροσύνης καὶ φλυαρούντων. Ἄρκει  
10 αὕτη ἡ ὑπόμνησις, καὶ πλείονων οὐ δεόμεθα λόγων.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ οἰκονόμου, ἡγάγομεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὅσα ἔδει παρηρέσαμεν,  
καὶ νομίζω μηκέτι αὐτὸν τὴν σὴν τιμίαν λυπήσειν ψυχὴν, ὥσπερ πρότερον

18 αὐτῶν Jk: ἑαυτῶν P || 19 γίνωνται Vat.: -ονται P || 27 ὧν Jk: ὅν P

86: 4 πιστευθῆναι μὲν] πεπιστευκαμεν ci. Jk || 6 δεσπότην Vat.: δέσποτα P

as this is concerned, the perpetrators need have no fear of reprisal from the imperial government. They should however continue, in all zeal and gratitude, to preserve intact their due love and loyalty to their proper Sovereigns, set over them by God; and moreover to show, by their good works, their willingness to wash away the guilt of that murder, and to prove that they did this deed, wrong as it was, out of a hatred of evil and for the reform of abuse. This will be apparent if they listen obediently to the orders of our high and mighty Emperors, and are ready to carry them out.

Respecting the appointment as military governor of the proconsul Landulf, our high and mighty Emperors have consulted, according to the Providence granted them by God from on high, and have declared their own decision to the proconsul: and I am sure that, if he is willing to obey the mandate sent to him, the joint request of yourselves and him will be granted. What more is there to say? Every one who claims a gift, whether divine or human, shows himself worthy of it, and thus obtains from the giver what the giver judges the recipient to deserve. May Christ our God grant that you, both rulers and ruled, may think and ask and do those things which are for your salvation, your interest, and your settled peace and prosperity.

### 86. To the Emperor, on behalf of the Oeconomus of the Church

My Lord and Son glorified of God: He Who has raised you up to the summit of Empire has also elevated your mind and thoughts (as we may trust in His Goodness) to the level which befits your Imperial Majesty. And therefore I suggest to you, as a father, (my glorious Son and Lord), that you be disposed toward your subjects in accordance with the elevation of your imperial goodness, and not according to the folly of those who often rave and speak improperly of your Imperial Majesty, though their nonsense is but the delusion of folly. This memorial suffices, and I need say no more.

But as regards the Oeconomus, I sent for him and gave him the proper instruction, and I believe he will not again vex your honorable heart, as he

ἐλύπει, τὰ μὴ πρόποντα λέγων καὶ ὡς ἐδόκει ἐξονειδίζων τὴν σὴν τιμω-  
 τάτην βασιλείαν. Ἀπεστείλαμεν οὖν αὐτόν, καὶ δεῖξον αὐτῷ πρόσωπον  
 15 εὐμενές | ἄξια ποιῶν τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος, καὶ οἰκεία γλώσση ἃ ὁ θεὸς D  
 ἐμπνεύσει ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ σου ψυχῇ λέγων αὐτῷ, καὶ πάλιν ἐγγχειρίζων τὰ κλει-  
 δία τοῦ οἰκονομείου. Ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος, ἀνθ' ὧν τῆς ἡμετέρας τεταπεινωμένης  
 ἤκουσας δεήσεως, αὐτός σοι παρέξει εὐήκοον τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ ὡτίον ἐν  
 πάσῃ δεήσει σου καὶ πληρωτῆς ὀφθειή πάντων σου τῶν θελημάτων.

Τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, οὐ λογιζομαι ἀγνοεῖν τὴν σὴν ἔμφρονα σύνεσιν  
 οὔτε τὴν ἐμὴν φύσιν οὔτε ὅπως ἔχω γνώμης ὁ ταπεινός σου πατήρ πρὸς  
 τὰ πολλάκις ἀνθρωπίνως γινόμενα προσκρούσματα, οὐδ' ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν  
 τοιούτων ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀποθησαυρίσω ψυχῇ, οὐχ ὅτι πρὸς τέκνον ἐμὸν καὶ  
 5 σπλάγχχνον οἰκείον | καὶ μέλος, ὡσπερ εἶ σὺ χάριτι θεοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ 293  
 συγκοινωνὸν τῶν ἐμῶν παθημάτων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρὸς ἕτερον τινα. Μηδεὶς  
 οὖν ὑποτρεχέτω λογισμός, τέκνον ἡγαπημένον, τὴν σὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς ἔνεκεν  
 τῶν προλαβόντων ἀηδές τι ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀποκείσεται ψυχῇ, οὐδ' ἀποστροφή  
 τις καὶ ἐναντίωσις. Μὴ γένοιτο, τέκνον μου, μὴ οὕτως ποτὲ νικήσῃ τις  
 10 ὑπεναντίως κινούμενος λογισμός, ὥστε τοιοῦτον ἐνθύμημα ἐν τῇ σῇ ἐμ-  
 φυτευθῆναι ψυχῇ. Ἄλλ' ὅψει μᾶλλον πλεόν ἢ πρόσθεν τὴν ἡμετέραν πρὸς  
 σὲ καὶ διάθεσιν καὶ γνώμην καὶ στοργὴν ἐξηπλωμένην, καὶ τοσοῦτο πλεόν  
 ὅσον νῦν εἰς μέσον εἰσέρχομαι τῶν ἴσως διὰ τὰς ἐμας ἀμαρτίας μὴ  
 καθαρῶς μηδὲ γνώμῃ ἀδιαστρόφω μεθ' ἡμῶν μελλόντων συναναστραφή-  
 15 σεσθαι. Καὶ πάλιν φημί· εἴ τις παρενοχλεῖ λογισμός ἔνεκεν | τῆς μικρᾶς B  
 ταύτης γεγενημένης διαστάσεως, τοῦτον ὅλη ψυχῇ ῥῖψον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, λαμ-  
 βάνων πληροφορίαν ὡς οὐδ' ἔχνος ὅλως τῶν γεγονότων μεταξὺ ἡμῶν τῇ  
 ἐμῇ ψυχῇ (ἐν θεῷ φάμεν) ἀποκείσεται.

Οἶδαμεν τὴν ἀγαθὴν σου προαίρεσιν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, μὴ δεομένην  
 τῆς ἡμῶν παραινέσεως· οἱ γὰρ οἰκοθεν ἔχοντες τὸ συμπαθές οὐ χρῆζουσιν

17 οἰκο(νομείου) P (cf. 92.23)

87: P 196r || 2 γνώμης Vat.: -ην P || 5 μέλος Vat.: μένων P

88: P 196r-v

used formerly to do, by speaking improperly of and, it would seem, insulting  
 your most honorable Majesty. I have therefore dispatched him *to you*; and  
 do you show him the light of your countenance, as befits your goodness, and  
 say to him with your own lips those things with which God shall inspire  
 your holy heart, and place the keys of the Oeconomus' office once more in his  
 hands. And may the Holy God, inasmuch as you have heard my humble  
 prayer, Himself incline to you His holy ear in all your petitions, and fulfill  
 all your desires.

My holy Son: I believe your prudent Wisdom is well acquainted with  
 my character and with the attitude which I, your humble Father, adopt  
 toward the grievances which frequently arise in human affairs; and knows  
 that I shall not cherish any such grievance in my heart—not merely against  
 a son who, like you, has been by God's Grace as my own heart and limb,  
 and partner in my sufferings, but against any one else at all. Do not therefore  
 (my beloved Son) entertain any suspicion that because of what has passed  
 any unpleasantness shall remain in my heart, or any coolness or hostility.  
 God forbid (my Son) that any notion to the contrary should so far prevail  
 that this impression should root itself in your heart! No: you shall experience,  
 even more widely than before, my regard for you, and my feeling and  
 affection: the more so since I am now entering among men who (perhaps for  
 my sins) are not likely to consort with me in sincerity and integrity. I say,  
 once more, if you have any uneasiness over this slight estrangement that has  
 taken place, cast it utterly away, and be assured that not one single trace of  
 what has passed between us shall, God willing, remain in my breast.

I know that your good disposition (my Son) requires no exhortation  
 from me: for those who are by nature merciful, need no appeal for mercy



ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἐκτὸς παρακλήσεως. Διὰ τοῦτο οἱ τὸ γράμμα ἡμῶν ἐπιφε-  
 5 ρόμενοι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἐκόμισαν γράμμα περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν  
 συνεισφορᾶς ἐν τῇ πατριαρχικῇ διοικήσει. Ἐλογιζόμεθα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ χω-  
 ρὶς τοῦ ἡμετέρου | γράμματος τούτους ἀφήσεις τοῦ δημοσίου βάρους C  
 ἀνέτους· οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνατόν (ὡς καὶ ἡ σὴ ἐξεπίσταται σύνεσις) τὰ τε τῷ  
 10 πατριαρχείῳ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διορισθέντα συνεισφέρειν καὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις ὑπη-  
 ρεσίαις καταβαρύνεσθαι. Διὰ ταῦτα γράφομέν σοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εἰ δυνα-  
 τόν, ἔἶσαι πένητας ἄνδρας διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπορίαν μικρὰν συνεισφέροντας  
 χρεῖαν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ μὴ βάρος αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν  
 ἐπιθεῖναι, ὃ καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασι λειτουργεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐ συγχω-  
 ρήσει, καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς προσενέξεως τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποστερήσει.

### 89. Γρηγορίῳ Ἐφέσου

Ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὁ μέγας καὶ πρῶτος  
 ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν | Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς οἰκονομηθῆ- D  
 ναι παρέσχεν, ὃν τρόπον τῇ αὐτοῦ ἔδοξεν ἀγαθότητι—τίς γὰρ ἐπὶ νῦν  
 5 τολμήσοι λαβεῖν ὡς τὸ μέγα τοῦτο ἔργον μὴ γέγονεν σὺν τῇ ἐκείνου  
 εὐδοκίᾳ;—ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπεὶ τὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς αὐτοῦ συναγωγῆς διωκῆθη, ὀρί-  
 ζομεν τοὺς μὲν ἀρχαίους λειτουργοὺς τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου προτετά-  
 χθαι τῶν παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ εἰς λειτουργίαν προ-  
 10 κεχειρισμένων· μετ' ἐκείνους δὲ τοὺς παρὰ σοῦ τὴν χειροθεσίαν λαβόν-  
 τας· ἐσχάτους δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν οὐκ οἶδα ποίοις κρίμασιν  
 θεοῦ συγκεχωρημένων ἐπεισελθεῖν σκανδάλων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπὸ Κωνσταν-  
 τίνου καὶ Ἰωάννου χειροθετηθέντας.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ μέρος τοιοῦτον ἔχει τὸν διορισμόν. Ἔτερον δὲ  
 ὀρίζομεν (καὶ τοῦτο μενέτω πάντως ἀπαραποιήτον), ὥστε τὸν | παρὰ σοῦ 296  
 15 εἰς τάξιν πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου τεταγμένον καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν  
 τοῦ λεγομένου δευτερεύοντος συντηρεῖσθαι τάξιν τε καὶ κατάστασιν, καὶ  
 μηδαμῶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὑποβεβηκυῖα τάξει δοκιμάσαι καταγαγεῖν. Ταῦτά  
 σοι ἐντελλόμεθα, καὶ γενοῦ φύλαξ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐντολῆς, ὡς ἐπόμενος,  
 εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ, ὅμως δ' οὖν πατρί σου καὶ ἀρχιερεῖ.

7 ἀφήσεις Wk: ἀφίσης P || 14 ἀποστερήσει Jk: -σειν P

89: P 196v-197r || 2 πρῶτος] α' P || 4 γὰρ P<sup>1</sup>: γὰρ ἂν P<sup>c</sup> || 5 γέγονεν Wk: γεγονόνα P ||  
 8-9 προκεχειρισμένων Wk: πρὸ κεχειρισμένους, πρὸ- in ras., P || 12 χειροθετηθέντας Mai:  
 -ων P || 16 δευτερεύοντος Mai: -α P (τὸν τοῦ λεγομένου δευτερεύοντα Jk)

from elsewhere. For this reason the bearers of my letter have hitherto  
 brought *you* no such letter about their exemption from taxes on account of  
 their contribution to the patriarchal diocese, which has, from time imme-  
 memorial, relieved them. I supposed that, without my writing, you would  
 leave them free of the fiscal burden: for it is impossible, as your Wisdom  
 well knows, that they should both pay what has from the first been assigned  
 to the patriarchate and also be encumbered with the fiscal taxes. I therefore  
 write to you (my Son) to exempt, if it be possible, poor men who, in their  
 poverty, contribute a small requirement to the Church of God, and not to  
 impose on them a burden beyond their strength, which will not permit them  
 to be of service to the state treasure and will at the same time deprive the  
 Church of God of a small revenue.

### 89. To Gregory of Ephesus

Now that our great and first Archpriest, Our Lord and God Jesus  
 Christ, has granted to the affairs of His holy Church such dispensation as  
 was pleasing to His goodness (for who will venture to suppose that this great  
 work has been done without His approval?); now, I say, that the affairs of  
 His holy assembly have been settled, I ordain: that those who served the  
 Holy Sanctuary in the beginning shall have precedence over those recently  
 ordained by your Archpriesthood: next shall come those ordained by you:  
 and last those ordained by Constantine and John during the period when—  
 by God's inscrutable Judgments—offenses were permitted to invade the  
 Church.

Such is the ordinance for this part of the business. Next, I ordain  
 (and this must be absolutely inviolate) that the men whom you set in the  
 rank of protopresbyter and archdeacon, and in the rank of his so-called  
 "remplaçant," shall keep their rank and position, and you must in no circum-  
 stances sanction their degradation to a subordinate rank. These things I  
 command you, and do you keep my commandment, in obedience to him  
 who—albeit a sinner—is yet your father and Archpriest.

Ἄδελφοί μου,—προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τέκνα, εἰ μὴ λύπην ἢ προσθήκη ποιῆ τοῦ τέκνα καλεῖσθαι ἁμαρτωλοῦ μὲν, ὅμως δ' οὖν πατρός, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ ἀρνηθεῖτε, εἰ καὶ πλ \*\* εἶναι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἄξιοι καθεστήκαμεν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τέκνα καὶ ἀδελφοί, (ἢ μὲν διὰ τοῦ) πονηροῦ δαίμονος τῆς ἐκ-  
 5 κλησίας διάρρηξις προμηθεῖα τοῦ αἰεὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ δισεστώτα εἰς ἑνώσειν | ἄγοντος, μάλιστα μὲν δι' ἑαυτοῦ, οἷς ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς B πάντων ἐνώσεως καὶ παθεῖν ἠνέσχετο οἷα πέπονθεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου πρόνοιαν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εἰσεληλυθότων ἐνώσεως, ἀποστόλων φαμέν καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς διαδόχων, ἀπέληφεν τὴν (ὡς γε νομί-  
 10 ζομεν, εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοί, θείῳ νεύματι) πρέπουσαν ἱερεῦσι θεοῦ σύναψιν· καὶ εἴ τις ταύτην οὐκ ἐν ἀποδοχῇ τίθεται, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν ἐλέγχειν, τῶν πραγμάτων ἀρκούντων εἰς ἔλεγχον, κἂν ἡμεῖς σιωπήσωμεν. Ἄ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ταπεινώσειν εἴτε παρ' ὑμῶν, εἴτ' ἀπ' ἄλλων αἰτιάματα βλέπει, οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τὴν τῶν αἰτιωμένων προαίρεσιν, εἰς ὃ προελθεῖν ἀγαπῶ-  
 15 σιν, κἂν θεῖα χάριτι μὴ δειλιῶμεν τὴν τῶν αἰτιαμάτων διάλυσιν. | Ὅμως C οὖν, τέκνα καὶ ἀδελφοί, εἰ βαρὺς ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπαρέσκων, ἔτοιμός εἰμι καὶ τοῦ βάρους ἀπαλλάττειν τοὺς βαρυνομένους καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀρεστὸν ὑμῖν τὰ κατ' ἑμαυτὸν διατιθέναι, παραχωρῶν τῷ εἰς ἀρέσκειαν ἐσομένῳ τὸ εἶναι ὑμῶν κεφαλὴν, μόνον πρὸς τὴν ὁλότητα τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστρέ-  
 20 φητε σώματος.

91. Τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ πνευματικῷ τέκνῳ, τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ  
 κουροπαλάτῃ

Οἶδαμεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ πρὸ τῶν γραμμάτων τῆς σῆς τελειοτά-  
 5 τῆς συνέσεως, ὡς ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων δυσχέρεια τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀπεκόλυσεν τιμωριότητα διαπέμπεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Πλὴν τοῦτο σε μὴ λανθάνετω, ὅτι, κἂν μὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὴ|λωσίς τις ἐγίνετο παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἐτίθειμεν ἐν D παροράσει τὸ ἐν ταῖς τεταπεινωμέναις ἡμῶν εὐχαῖς μεμνησθαι τῆς ὑμῶν εὐζωίας καὶ σωτηρίας. Τοῦτο καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος οὐ λήξομεν, εἰ καὶ

90: 6: Phil. 2.7.

90: P 197r-v || 1 ἢ προσθήκη Mai: ἢ προσθήκην P || 3 πλ et spat. vac. 3 litt. P (μὴ πατέρες Jk, πολλοστοὶ Wk) || 4 ἢ μὲν διὰ τοῦ Jk: spat. vac. 10 litt. P || 5 διάρρηξις Jk: διαρρήξεις P || 13 ἀπ' Jk: ἐπ' P

91: P 197v-198r || 2 κουροπαλάτῃ Wk: κοροπαῶ P

My Brothers (I will add also "Sons," unless you are pained by the addition of being called "Sons" of one who is a sinner indeed, yet still your father, as you yourselves would not deny, even if I am *not* regarded by all as worthy *to be so*)—well, at all events, Brothers and Sons: The division of the Church, *brought about* by the wicked demon, has, by the Providence of Him Who ever from the beginning bringeth the divided into unity, most of all through Himself, in that He emptied Himself out for the unity of all and endured His Passion, and thereafter through those who inherited His care for the unity of mankind—I mean, the Apostles and their successors—achieved (by Divine Ordinance, as I, though a sinner, believe) a unity becoming the priests of God. If any do not receive this *unity*, it is not necessary for me to confute him, since, though I remain silent, the facts suffice for his confutation. But as regards accusations made against my Humility, whether by you or others, I do not deprecate the spirit of my accusers—let them go any lengths they like—though by God's Grace I do not shrink from dispersing their accusations. However, if (Brothers and Sons) I personally am burdensome and distasteful, I am ready to relieve the burdened of their burden, and to dispose of myself as may be pleasing to you, yielding to him who may please you the headship over you, do you but return to the wholeness of the Body of the Church.

91. To my beloved spiritual Son, the most renowned  
 Curopalate

I was aware (my Son), even before receiving the letter of your most perfect Wisdom, that awkward circumstances were preventing your Honor's communication with me. Yet be assured of this, that though no declaration from you had reached me, I did not neglect to remember your prosperity and salvation in my humble prayers; nor, from this time forth, shall I cease to

ἀμαρτωλοί, ποιούντες. Ἔστιν δὲ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως τὴν ταπεινὴν ἡμῶν  
 10 εὐχὴν ἐνεργῆ ποιῆσαι καὶ παρρησίαν λαβεῖν τοῦ προσιέναι τῷ πάντων  
 θεῷ. «Ἰσχύει γὰρ «δικαίου δέησις ἐνεργουμένη.» Εἰ δὲ ἡ τῶν δικαίων  
 εὐχὴ χρῆζει καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ ὧν εὐχεται βοήθειας, πόσω μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν  
 ἀμαρτωλῶν ὁποῖοι τυγχάνομεν ἡμεῖς; Πάντως δέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, γενή-  
 15 σεταὶ ἡ παρὰ σοῦ βοήθεια τῇ ἡμῶν τεταπεινωμένῃ εὐχῇ, βιοῦντός σου  
 θεοφιλῶς, ὅπερ ὀφείλει πᾶς μὲν ὁ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν τελῶν,  
 μάλιστα δὲ οἱ παρὰ θεοῦ λαβόντες τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ ἴσα καὶ θεῷ τοῖς  
 ὁμοφύεσι καὶ ὁμοδούλοις τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις ὄντες. Τί οὖν φημι; Ὅτι 297  
 πατρικῶς ἄρχων μᾶλλον καὶ οὐχὶ δεσποτικῶς, ὅτι προνοούμενος τῶν  
 ὑπηκόων ὡς τέκνων οἰκείων, ὅτι δικαιοσύνην τιμῶν καὶ σωτηριώδη  
 20 ποιούμενος πρόνοιαν τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ σῆ προνοίᾳ κειμένων, καὶ ἀπλῶς, ἵνα  
 μὴ πλέον λέγω, ὅτι οὕτως ἄρχων τῶν ὑποχειρίων ὡς παρὰ θεοῦ τὸ ἄρ-  
 χειν λαβὼν καὶ εἰκονίζων τὸν πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ κυριότητος ἄρχοντα, τὴν  
 ἡμετέραν ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἔμπρακτον καταστήσεις εὐχὴν· καὶ οὕτω, καθὼς  
 εὐχόμεθα, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς ζωὴν διανύσεις ἐνδόξως καὶ τῆς μελλούσης  
 25 οὐκ ἀποτεύξῃ, πρὸς ἣν πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἔρωτα τῆς κληρονομίας τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 κεκτημένος καὶ εὐχεται καὶ σπουδάζει καταστήναι. Εἴη δὲ θεὸς ὁ καὶ  
 προαγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι, καὶ εἰς ἀρχὴν ἀφορίζων οἷς  
 οἶδεν ἐκεῖνος κρίμασιν τῶν ὁμοδούλων, ἐκ πάσης μὲν κακώσεως ὅση  
 ὄρωμένη καὶ ἀόρατος διατηρῶν, πάση δὲ ἀρετῇ σεμνύων ὅση τὸν κατὰ  
 30 θεὸν ἄρχοντα οἶδεν ἐξωραϊζειν.

Αἱ κοιναι περιστάσεις κοινὴν ἀπαιτοῦσι καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἔστιν ἄλλως τὰς κοινὰς συμπτώσεις λαβεῖν ἐπανόρθωσιν, εἰ μὴ πάντες  
 κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν συνεπιλήψονται τῆς διορθώσεως. Διὰ τί ταῦτα λέγομεν;  
 Πάντως καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων οὐκ ἠγνόηκεν ἡ σὴ θεοσέβεια, ὅμως  
 5 ἀπαγγέλλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς· ἡ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς βαρβάρου καὶ

10-11: cf. Hebr. 4.16. || 11: Iac. 5.16. || 22: cf. Ephes. 1.21. || 26-27: cf. Liturg. Chrysost., PG 63, 915.29-30.

27 ἡμᾶς Jk: ἡμᾶς P || ἄρχην P  
 92: P 198r-199r || 2 λαβεῖν P<sup>c</sup>: -ὦν P<sup>1</sup>

do so, sinner though I am. It is for your Wisdom to make my humble prayer effective and find free access to the God of all. "The supplication of the righteous prevails when it is put into effect." But if the prayer of the righteous needs the help of those on whose behalf it is made, how much more does the prayer of a sinner, such as I am, require it? I do not doubt (my Son) that you will aid my humble prayer by living as God approves, which is the duty of all of our nature, but especially of him who has received rule from God, and is as God to the fellow creatures and fellow servants whom he governs. I mean this: if you will reign as a father and not as a tyrant; if you will care for your subjects as for your own children; if you will honor justice, and provide for the salvation of those who are beneath your providence; if, in a word, you will so govern your subjects as one who has received his rule from God and is the image of the Ruler of all rule and sovereignty: then you will make my prayer for you effective, and will thus, as I pray you may, pass your life on earth in renown, and will not fail of the life to come, which all who love that goodly heritage pray for and strive to attain. And may God that brought *you* into life out of nothingness, and by His inscrutable Judgments marked you out to rule over your fellow servants, preserve you from all harm whether seen or unseen, and dignify you with every virtue which can adorn the ruler that ruleth unto God.

Dangers which threaten the community require that the community shall assist: for circumstances affecting us all cannot be amended unless all of us to the best of our power take a hand in their amelioration. Why do I say this? I am sure that, even before my writing, your Piety is well aware of the reason, but nevertheless I will explain it. The deterioration in our

Βουλγαρικῆς ἐπαναστάσεως γεγενημένη τῶν πραγμάτων κατὰπτωσις πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας δεῖται καὶ σπουδῆς, χεῖρα θεοῦ ὑπερέχοντος, εἰς τὸ τὴν ὀφειλομένην λαβεῖν ἐπανόρθωσιν. Ἡ πολλὴ δὲ αὐτῆ σπουδὴ πῶς ἂν γένοιτο ἢ δηλονότι πάντων κατὰ δύναμιν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν

10 τὰ δέοντα συνεισφερόντων; Οὐκοῦν δεῆσει τὴν σὴν | τελειότητα, πράτ- C  
τουσαν μὲν ἑαυτῆς ἄξια τῆς φρονήσεως, ἀναγκαῖα δὲ τῇ κοινῇ καταστά-  
σει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐκκλησίας ποσότητα χρυσοῦ ὅση μὴδὲ  
τὴν ὑμῶν ἐκκλησίαν καινοτομῇ καὶ καταβαρύνῃ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ προξενῇ  
τὴν ὀφέλειαν, προθύμῳ παρασχεῖν γνώμῃ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ σὲ μο-  
15 ναστηρίων καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖων τελούντων τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον καταπραΰξει  
τὴν συνεισφοράν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἰδίᾳ στενοχωρουμένοις τισὶν ὀφείλομεν  
χορηγεῖν κατὰ δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ λύσαι τὴν στενοχωρίαν τῶν ἀπορουμέ-  
νων, πόσω μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ παγκοίνῳ ταύτῃ στενοχωρία καὶ ἀπορία τοῦτο  
πράττειν ὀφείλομεν, ἐκεῖνο καλῶς εἰδότες ὅτι σωζομένης τῆς κοινότητος  
20 πάντως σώζεται καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐκάστῳ, τῶν δὲ κοινῶν παραπολωλῶτων τίς  
ἔτι σωτηρία τοῦ ἰδιάζοντος ἀπολείπεται; Ὡς οὖν | ἔφημεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, D  
καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ σὲ χάριτι θεοῦ διεπομένης ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν μοναστηρίων  
καὶ τῶν ἐπισκοπεῖων ποσότητα χρυσοῦ συναγαγὼν ὅσην ἢ σὴ ἔμψρων  
οἰκονομία ὀρᾷ μῆτε ὑμᾶς εἰς ἀφόρητον ἀπάγουσαν στενοχωρίαν καὶ τῇ  
25 κοινῇ βοηθοῦσαν ἀπορία, εἴτε διὰ σεαυτοῦ ἤκε φέρων εἴτε δι' ἀνθρώπου  
τοῦ σοὶ πιστοῦ τυγχάνοντος μέχρι τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς ἐξαπόστειλον.

Περιττόν τι ποιεῖν δοκοῦμεν τῇ σῇ τελειότητι δεσμὸν ὑποβάλλ-  
λοντες· πλὴν οὕτω καταναγκαζούσης τῆς χρείας, ἐν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ  
ἀγίῳ πνεύματι προστίθεμεν τὸν δεσμὸν, οὕτω τὴν εἴτε λειτουργίαν εἴτε  
30 συνεισφοράν χρῆ λέγειν ταύτην ἐπιτελέσαι, ὥστε μῆτε τοῦ δέοντος  
ἔλαττον τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν | τὴν βοήθειαν γενέσθαι μῆτε πλεόν ἢ 300  
προσῆκε τὰς συνεισφερούσας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας τὸ βάρος ὑποστῆναι τῆς  
ζημίας. Ὅπερ δὲ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν εἰδέναι τὴν ὑμῶν τελειότητα, τοῦτο ἔτι  
προσκεισθῶ, ὅτιπερ ἐάν τε ὑστέρησις γίνηται ἐάν τε σμικρολογούμενοι  
35 ἔλαττον τοῦ δέοντος εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ταύτην χρείαν συνεισενέγκητε, τότε  
βασιλικοὶ ἐξαποσταλήσονται ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν προαίρεσιν ἀκρι-  
βολογούμενοι καὶ ἀκόντων ὑμῶν τὴν συλλογὴν ταύτην ἐπιτελέσοντες. Καὶ  
ὅση τις γενήσεται βαρύτες ὑμῶν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως, οὐκ ἐμὲ  
χρῆ διδάσκειν· αὐτὸς γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων τὸ γενησόμενον  
40 ἐξεπίστασαι.

9 πάντων P<sup>c</sup>: -ως P<sup>1</sup> || 10-11 πράττουσαν Vat.: πράττουσι P<sup>1</sup>, πραττούση P<sup>c</sup> || 16 ἰδίᾳ Mai:  
ἴδια P || 23 ἐπισκο(πεῖων) P || ὅσην Vat.: ὅση P || 25 ἀπορία Vat.: -ίαν P || 27-28  
ὑποβάλλοντες] ἐπιβ. ci. Jk || 34 γίνηται Mai: γίνεται P

affairs which, for our sins, has been caused by the barbarous and Bulgarian uprising, demands much care and energy, supported by the hand of God, if it is to be properly amended. And how can this great energy be displayed unless everyone makes his proper contribution to the best of his power or even beyond it? So, therefore, it will be the duty of your Perfection, acting in accordance with your own wisdom and under the compulsion of our common predicament, first, to provide with right goodwill such a sum of gold from your own church as, while not damaging or crippling it, will at the same time assist the community; and second, to levy contribution in the same way from the monasteries and cathedral churches in your diocese. For if to those who are privately distressed we owe a duty to provide such means as we can to relieve their distress and poverty, how much the more must we do so in this all-embracing distress, well knowing, as we do, that if the community is saved, then each will certainly preserve his own along with it, but that if the whole is ruined, there can be no salvation left for the individual. To repeat, then (my Son): you are to collect from the church put under your administration by God's Grace, and from the monasteries, and from the cathedral churches, a sum of gold such as your prudent dispensation regards, on the one hand, as not inflicting unbearable distress upon you, and on the other, as assisting the common crisis; and this sum you should either bring here yourself or else dispatch before the month of March by the hand of a servant whom you regard as trustworthy.

I believe it is unnecessary to place your Perfection under a bond; yet, so imperative is the need, I add the bond in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, that you shall so perform this service or contribution (however it should be called) that the assistance shall neither fall short of what is required for our common affairs, nor yet shall the contributing churches of God suffer an improper weight of damage. Let me add what is needful for your Perfection to know: if there is any delay, or if out of parsimony you contribute less than what is required for this common necessity, then imperial agents will be sent out who will take strict account of your attitude and will make the collection themselves, whether you like it or no. I need not say how vexatious to you this proceeding would be: you yourself are well aware what would happen, without any words of mine.

## 93. Θεοκτίστῳ Κλαυδίουπόλεως

Ἄ γράφομεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, τῇ θεοσεβείᾳ σου, καὶ ἐκόντες B  
 καὶ ἄκοντες γράφομεν· ἐκόντες μὲν ὅτι ὁ κομίζων τὸ γράμμα ἐν πάσῃ προ-  
 ὀδῷ ἡμῶν, ὅση ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅση ἐν βασιλείοις, οὐ διέλιπεν κόπτων ἡμῶν  
 5 τὴν ἀκοὴν ταῖς βοαῖς αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἀνέπεισεν δοῦναι τὸ γράμμα. Αἱ δὲ  
 καταβοήσεις, ὅτι πολλὴν παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν ἐξελαύνεται  
 παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἰδίων· ὅπερ οὔτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν οὔτε πιστεύομεν, πλὴν ὁ  
 ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα κράζει, καὶ οὐ ἂν ἐμφανεῖς αὐτῷ καταστῶμεν, πληροῖ  
 τὸν ἄερα τῶν οἰκείων φωνῶν, μάλιστα προστιθεὶς ὅτι καὶ γενομένης ἐπι-  
 10 σκέψεως περὶ ἧς ἐγκαλεῖ ὑποθέσεως ἐκ διαφορῶν βασιλικῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 τὴν δικαιοῦσαν ἔλαβε ψῆφον. Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκόντας ἡμᾶς ἐκίνησεν εἰς  
 τὸ γράφειν· ἄκοντες δὲ γράφομεν διὰ τὸ ἀκηροῦναι ὡς Βασίλειος ὁ  
 πρωτοσπαθᾶριος ἐν τῷ καθ' ὑμᾶς θέματι ἐξαποσταλεὶς διάταξιν ἐκ τῶν C  
 βασιλείων φέρει τὴν τοῦ ἐγκαλοῦντος καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκλησιν ἐπισκέψασθαι.  
 15 Εἰ μὲν οὖν συνορᾷ σου ἡ ἀρετὴ, οἷα πολλὰ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, παρὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 δικαίου φύσιν πάσχειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἂ πάσχειν διατείνεται, σὸν ἐστὶ καὶ  
 τῆς σῆς εὐλαβοῦς συνειδήσεως μήτε βασιλικῷ δεηθῆναι κρίσεως μήτε  
 ἄλλου τινός, ἀλλὰ σεαυτοῦ γενέσθαι κριτὴν καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ συστῆναι. Εἰ  
 δὲ τὸ ὅλον μανία καὶ γνώμη ἀπάνθρωπος καὶ ἀσυνειδήτος ἐστὶν ἡ κινουσα  
 20 τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὰς καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκλήσεις, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου βοή-  
 θειαν, ὅση ἐστὶν βοηθουσα ὑμῖν, ἢ αὐτόθι προβαλλόμενος τῆς κατὰ σοῦ  
 ἀπόστησον συκοφαντίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἢ πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα καταπραττό-  
 μενος ἦκειν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀντιδικοῦντος ἀγωνί-  
 ζεσθαι τὸ ἀμεμπτον σεαυτῷ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἀνενόχλητον περιποίησαι.

## 94. Γρηγορίῳ Ἐφέσου

D

Ἄ μὲν, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, τῆς ἄνωθεν συνεργίας τοῦ παναγίου  
 πνεύματος συναντιλαμβανομένης ὑμῖν ἐπράχθη πρὸς τε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν  
 ἔπαινον καὶ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως ἡμῶν καὶ θεοῦ δόξαν καὶ σωτη-  
 5 ρίαν τῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν κυβερνωμένων καὶ παραμύθιον τῆς ἡμῶν πολυωδύνου  
 ψυχῆς, ταῦτα εἰς εὐφροσύνην διέθηκεν· καὶ ηὐχαρίστησα τῷ Χριστῷ μου

93: P 199r-v || 5 ἀνέπεισεν Wk: ἀν ἐπεισεν P || 14 βασιλειῶν P  
 94: P 199v-200r

## 93. To Theoctistus of Claudiopolis

I am both relieved and sorry to be writing this letter to your Piety  
 (my Son): relieved, because the bearer, whenever I proceed either to church  
 or palace, has continually belabored my ears with his cries until he has  
 persuaded me to give him the letter. His clamor was that, though the force  
 of justice is strong on his side, yet you are evicting him from his own. I did  
 not believe this, and do not now; nonetheless, this is what the man vociferates,  
 and whenever he catches sight of me, he fills the air with his shouts, and adds  
 that several imperial agents have made enquiry into the matter of his accu-  
 sation and have ruled in his favor. This is why it is a relief to me to write to  
 you. But I am also sorry to do so because I have heard that the protospa-  
 tharius Basil has been dispatched to your province with a mandate from the  
 palace to inquire into the charge brought against you by this plaintiff. Now,  
 if your Virtue considers that—as often happens in human affairs—the man  
 suffers what he claims to be suffering in defiance of justice, then you and  
 your pious conscience should need no verdict of an imperial agent or anybody  
 else: you should be your own judge, and support the right. But if the man's  
 motives in accusing you are mere frenzy and unconscionable savagery of  
 heart, then you should invoke what assistance you can get from justice on  
 the spot to refute the slander against you, or else see to it that both the  
 accuser and those who are briefed for your defense all come here, so as to  
 establish your own innocence and my peace of mind.

## 94. To Gregory of Ephesus

I had been delighted (my holy Son) at what, with the assistance from  
 above of the Most-holy Spirit, you have performed for your own credit, for  
 the glory of our Great Archpriest and God, for the salvation of those beneath  
 your government, and for the comfort of my grief-laden heart; and I offered  
 thanks to my Christ and God, and approved your most perfect Wisdom and

καὶ θεῶ καὶ σὲ τῆς τελειοτάτης συνέσεως καὶ πρεπούσης τῇ σῇ ἀρετῇ  
 ἔμφρονος ἐπιμελείας καὶ σπουδῆς ἀπεδεξάμην, καὶ ἠύξάμην οἷα εἰκὸς  
 εὐξασθαι πατέρα ὑπὲρ τέκνου ποθουμένου καὶ ἀντιποθεῖν τὸν πατέρα  
 10 οὐκ ἔλαττον ὑπολαμβανόμενου. Τὰ δ' ἐξῆς τοῦ γράμματος ἠλλοίωσε τὴν  
 ἡδονὴν ἡμῶν | τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν οἷς διεξῆει τῇ τῶν μειζόνων 301  
 προσλήψει τοὺς εὐτελεῖς ὑμᾶς καὶ μικροὺς παρὰ φαῦλον ἀπορρῆψαι. Καὶ  
 καινόν τι πεπόνθαμεν, λύπη καὶ θαύματι συνεχόμενοι· ἐθαυμάζομεν γὰρ  
 πῶς τοῦτο εἰς νοῦν ἦλθε τῆς ὑμῶν τελειότητος, συνειχόμεθα δὲ τῇ λύπῃ  
 15 τοιοῦτοι δόξαντες οἷους ὑπεζωγράφει τὸ γράμμα. Ἄλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν,  
 ἀνθρώπινα ταῦτα, καὶ δεῖ μὴ ἀκριβολογεῖν. Πλὴν ἵνα γνῶς ὅτι ἐπλήγημεν  
 τὴν καρδίαν, ἐγράψαμεν οἷα ἐγράψαμεν.

Τὸ δὲ πεμφθὲν πρὸς σὲ γράμμα, ὃ καὶ τῆς λυπηρᾶς ταύτης ὑπο-  
 θέσεως γέγονεν ἀφορμὴ, οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν ὁσιότητα προσε-  
 20 τάγη πεμφθῆναι, ἀλλὰ φήμης ἀεὶ καταλαμβανούσης ὡς ἀλογοῦσι | τῆς B  
 ἐν κοινῇ συνόδῳ γεγεννημένης ἀσφαλείας οἱ προϊστάμενοι τῶν ἐκκλη-  
 σιῶν καὶ χειροτονίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν ὃν ἂν αὐτοῖς τρόπον δοκῇ, διωρισάμεθα  
 πρὸς πάντας ὥσπερ ἀνάμνησίν τινα τῶν κοινῶς δοξάντων διὰ τοιούτου  
 γενέσθαι τύπου τοῦ γράμματος, οὐ πρόσωπον σὸν ὀνομάσαντες, μὴ  
 25 γένοιτο, ἀλλ' εἰπόντες πρὸς πάντας τοιαύτην ἐκπεμφθῆναι γραφὴν. Καὶ  
 τοῦτο γέγονεν αἴτιον, ἀλλ' οὐ φαύλη τις ἐνθύμησις, οὐ γνώμης ἀλλοτριώ-  
 σις, οὐδὲ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς στοργῆς καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν πρὸς σέ, τέκνον, φιλίας  
 ἀθέτησις.

Ἀπολογούμεθα ταῦτα καὶ τὴν σὴν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν θεραπεύοντες  
 30 καρδίαν. Τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου ἵνα μὴ <ῆ> καὶ πάλιν πρόφασις θλίψεως  
 γράφομεν· ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων καθημένοις συνεισφορὰν  
 ποιήσασθαι ἀπὸ πάσης ἐκκλησίας | ὅση δυνατὴ γενέσθαι, καὶ βασιλικοὶ C  
 κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐξεπέμφθησαν ἐπαρχίαν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ νομίζοντές τι φρονεῖν  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, μὴ χωρὶς τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων γνώμης διοικεῖν  
 35 τοὺς βασιλικούς κατεπραξάμεθα. Δεῖ οὖν σε, τέκνον ἐμόν, αὐτὸν τὰ τῆς  
 οἰκείας ἐπαρχίας διασκέψασθαι, ἐπισκοπεῖα τέ φημι καὶ μοναστήρια,  
 καὶ ὃ ἂν συνίδοις ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν δυνατὴν οὖσαν συνενεγκεῖν, τοῦτο  
 ἐπισυναθροῖσαι· καὶ εἴτε διὰ σεαυτοῦ εἴτε δι' ἀνθρώπου τοῦ πιστοῦ  
 40 χρυσίων ὥστε πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα κομισθῆναι διοικήσασθαι.

the prudent care and zeal that befits your Virtue, and prayed for you such  
 prayers as a father may on behalf of a tenderly loved son, who is believed  
 fully to reciprocate his father's affection. However, the remainder of your  
 letter has changed my pleasurable sensation, and more especially that passage  
 in it which relates with much circumstance that I have allied myself with  
 persons of greater importance and have cast you aside as cheap and insigni-  
 ficant! And I experienced a fresh sensation, an affliction of combined grief  
 and amazement: I was amazed how such an idea could have been entertained  
 by your Perfection; and I was grief-stricken that I could seem to be such a  
 person as your letter appears to depict. Well—no doubt this is human weak-  
 ness, and we must not be too severe on it. But I have written this to assure  
 you that I have been cut to the heart.

But now, as regards the letter sent to you, which is the origin of this  
 painful affair: there was no instruction that it should be sent just simply to  
 your Holiness; but, because of a persistent rumor that the heads of the  
 churches are ignoring the pledge agreed on in common synod and are carrying  
 out ordinations in whatever way they see fit, I gave instructions that all of  
 them should receive a letter in this form, as a reminder of what had been  
 jointly decided; I made no mention of you personally—God forbid!—but  
 said that this letter should be sent to all. This is how it happened. It betokened  
 no idle whim, no change of mind, no withdrawal of my previous affection  
 and friendship toward you (my Son).

I make this explanation as much for my own comfort as for yours.  
 But as for the future, to avoid any excuse for further heart-searching, I  
 write *as follows*: the government of our commonwealth have decided to levy  
 as large a contribution as possible from every church: and imperial agents  
 have been sent out to each diocese. With the interests of the Church in mind,  
 I have secured that these agents shall not act independently of the bishops.  
 It therefore becomes your duty (my Son) yourself to make a survey of the  
 establishments of your own diocese—I mean, the cathedral churches and the  
 monasteries—and to collect whatever sums you consider each church capable  
 of contributing; and to see to it that either personally or through an agent  
 trustworthy for this service, the sum so collected shall be conveyed here by  
 the month of March.

## 95. Ῥωμανῶ καίσαρι

Δέσποτα καὶ τέκνον μου εὐλογημένον· φήμην ἠκούσαμεν (παράσχοι D  
 δὲ θεὸς ψευδῆ ταύτην εἶναι) ὅτι πρὸς τὴν Λάμψακον ἐπέρασαν Βούλγαροι  
 καὶ ἐποίησαν κακώσεις τινάς. Εἴτε οὖν ψευδῆς ἐστὶν ἡ φήμη, μὴ κα-  
 5 ταφρονήσωμεν τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας ἀσφά-  
 λεια γενέσθω εἰς τὸν τόπον· εἴτε ἀληθῆς ἐστίν, καὶ ὡς οὕτω πλέον καὶ  
 πλέον γενέσθω πρόνοια τοῦ μὴ συμβῆναι ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον. Εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο  
 ἀρχὴ τοιαύτη, καὶ μικρὸν τι ἀποθαρρῆσαι τοῦ περνᾶν πρὸς τὰ μέρη  
 τῆς Λαμψάκου, πολλῆς μετὰ ταῦτα δεησόμεθα σπουδῆς, ἵνα τὸ πρᾶγμα  
 10 θεραπεύσωμεν. Νῦν οὖν γενέσθω ἡ πᾶσα φροντίς καὶ ἐπιμέλεια, ἵνα θεοῦ  
 συνεργούντος μὴ ἀρχὴν λάβῃ τὸ τοιοῦτον κακόν, εἴτε δι' ἐντοπίων  
 χελανδίων, ἐὰν εἰσίν, εἴτε μονερίων ἐντεῦθεν καὶ δύο ἀποστελλομένων  
 εἰς παραφυλακὴν τοῦ τόπου καὶ σωτηρίαν.

304

## 95A

Ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος αὐτός, ὥσπερ τῷ ὕψει τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐδόξασεν,  
 οὕτω καὶ τῷ ὕψει τῶν κατορθωμάτων καὶ τῆς εὐδοώσεως τῶν κοινῶν  
 πραγμάτων δοξάσει, καὶ ὀνομαστὸν ποιήσει καὶ ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ γενεᾷ καὶ  
 ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταύτην ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντων σου τῶν κατ-  
 5 ορθωμάτων μετὰ θεὸν τὴν δικαιοσύνην οἶδα αἰτίαν γενήσεσθαι (δι-  
 καιοσύνη γὰρ ἔθνος ἀνυψοῖ), καὶ τοῦτο ὑπομιμνήσκω, ἵνα τοὺς ἀντιγρα-  
 φεῖς, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς γέροντας, τιμιωτέρους τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ποιήσεις,  
 πάντως ἀρκουμένων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ προκοπῇ τῶν ἀξιωμάτων καὶ μὴ  
 προσθήκην ῥώγας ἐπιζητούντων, καὶ παραινέσεις αὐτοὺς σπουδαιότερους  
 10 γενέσθαι εἰς τὰς κρίσεις καὶ ἀπροσωπολήπτους· προστιθεὶς καὶ τοῦτο,  
 ὅτι «Ἐπειδὴ πληροφορίαν ἔλαβον περὶ ὑμῶν ὡς ἄνθρωποι φιλοδίκαιοί  
 ἐστε, διὰ τοῦτο προανεβίβασα τὰς ἀξίας ὑμῶν, ἵνα ἐπὶ πλέον καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑμῶν ἐπαυξήσητε καὶ μὴ μόνον διὰ τοῦ ἀξιώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 διὰ τῆς ἐπαυξήσεως τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑμῶν τιμιώτεροι γενήσεσθε.»

95A: 5-6: Prov. 14.34.

95: P 200v || 6 ὡς οὕτω] τοσοῦτω Jk || 9 δεησόμεθα Vat.: -ώμεθα P

95A: P 200v-201r; continuatur ep. 95, sed in mg. signum initium epistolae (ut videtur) indicans apposuit P<sup>x</sup> || 4 ἀνθρωπίνῳ Jk: ἄνω P (ἀνθρώπων Vat.)

## 95. To the Caesar Romanus

My Lord and blessed Son. I have heard a rumor (God grant it be false!)  
 that Bulgarians have crossed to Lampsacus and done some damage. Now,  
 even if the rumor be false, let us not neglect what is being said, but, with  
 God's help, make the place secure; and, should it be true, so much the more  
 and more care should be taken to prevent anything of the sort happening  
 again. For if they have made a beginning and are even slightly encouraged  
 to cross over to the area of Lampsacus, much energy will henceforth be  
 needed to put matters right. So now, let us take all thought and care so that,  
 with God's active assistance, such an evil may not begin; either by the  
 dispatch of home-based ships of the line, if available, or even of a couple of  
 galleys from here, to guard and rescue the place.

## 95A

The Holy God Himself, as He has glorified you by elevation to the  
 summit of rank, so may He glorify you with the summit of achievements  
 and success in public administration, and make you renowned both in the  
 present generation and among the race of man hereafter! But since I know  
 that, after God, righteousness will be the cause of all your achievements,  
 since "Righteousness exalteth a nation," I submit this memorandum, asking  
 you to give the antigraphers, especially the seniors, a more honorable rank.  
 They would be quite satisfied with an advance in rank, and are not asking  
 for more pay. You will thus encourage them to greater zeal, and impartiality,  
 in their decisions. You might add this: "Since I am assured of you that you  
 are men who love justice, I have raised your status in advance, so that  
 thereby you may increase your virtue, and thus become more honorable not  
 only through rank but through augmentation of your virtue."



Τὴν περὶ τῶν μοναστηρίων ὑπόμνησιν ἐποίησάμεθα, καὶ περὶ  
 τῆς αὐτῶν διοικήσεως τῷ Μονομάχῳ ἐδήλωσαν ἡμῖν διατάξασθαι· ἃ δὲ  
 τούτου ἡ διάταξις ἔξει, καὶ ὁ σὺν ταῖς μοναζούσαις καταλαβὼν κληρικὸς  
 5 πάντως ἀπαγγελεῖ, καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ γράφομεν. Εἶπον γὰρ ὡς εἴ τινας τόπους  
 ἐκ τῶν ἀλλαγῶν ἐκτήσαντο τὰ μοναστήρια ἢ τινας τοὺς ὑπουργοῦντας ἐν  
 αὐταῖς προσελάβοντο, τὴν ἀντ' ἐκείνων ὑπουργίαν ἄξιοι ποιεῖν τυγχά-  
 νουσιν οἱ καινοτομήσαντες τὴν τοῦ δημοσίου δουλείαν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔστιν  
 10 αἰτία τοιαύτη, παράλογος ἡ δουλεία τῶν μοναστηρίων καὶ πάντως δοθή-  
 σεται αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐλευθερία. Ἄ ὦρισται, τέκνον ἱερόν, ἰδοὺ ἐγνωσμένα  
 ἔχεις· τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστιν σὺν τε καὶ τῶν μοναστηρίων τὴν ὀφειλομένην σύ-  
 στασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν παρασχεῖν ἐλευθερίας.

Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοῦ γράμματος· καθὼς καὶ προεγράψαμεν, χωρὶς τῆς  
 ὑμῶν παρουσίας οὔτε κἂν | λέγωμεν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἀνυσθήσεται τι C  
 15 πλέον οὔτε κἂν ἄλλα σπουδάσωμεν ἢ σπουδὴ τὸ πέρας ἔξει, διότι ὁ κατὰ  
 καιροὺς βασιλικὸς τοῖς σοῖς ἐπαίνοις ὀχυρωθεὶς νῦν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων λό-  
 γων οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἀποχυροῦται, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ τοιοῦτος εἶναι ὅποιος ἐμαρτυ-  
 ρήθη παρ' ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ μέμψεις δεχόμεθα τὰ ἐκείνου  
 πράγματα διασύροντες. Ὅταν οὖν τὰ ἐνταῦθα καταλάβῃς, τότε σὺ ὁ  
 20 ἐπαινέτης οἶδας ὃ ἐρεῖς, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 ψεγομένων αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἔρρωσο.

## 97. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἄ περὶ τοῦ κυροῦ Θεοστηρίκτου ἔγραψας, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, λέγω  
 δὴ τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι ση|μείωσιν τῆς γεγενημένης ἐπ' αὐτῷ κρίσεως D  
 παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἔχειν ἀκολουθίαν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ προσῆκον οὐδ' εὐπρε-  
 5 πὲς τὰ παρ' ἑτέρων κρινόμενα σημειώσεσιν ἑτέρων ἐξοχυροῦσθαι· ἀλλὰ  
 τὴν σημείωσιν ταύτην, εἴτε καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον κρίσιμον, ὑμᾶς δεῖ ποιῆσαι  
 τοὺς διοικήσαντας τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν κρίσιν ἀχθέντα. Καὶ  
 τοῦτο οὕτως γενέσθω, δηλονότι μνημονευούσης τῆς σημειώσεως ὑμῶν,  
 ἢ καὶ τοῦ κρίσιμου, ὅτι κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν ἡμετέραν τῶν πραγμάτων  
 10 ὀρισθέντων τῆς ὑμετέρας τυχεῖν σκέψεως τε καὶ κρίσεως ἐπράχθη τὸ  
 καὶ τό, καθὼς ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων προέβη τάξις <καὶ> ἡ τούτων ἀποπε-  
 ράτωσις.

96: P 201r-v

97: P 201v || 10 τυχεῖν Vat.: τυχην P\*, ψυχην P<sup>1</sup> || 11 καὶ Jk: om. P

I have submitted the memorandum on the monasteries, and *the Emperors* let me know that they have instructed Monomachus about the administration of these. What his instruction is to be you will of course learn from the cleric who is coming with the nuns, and I also write it here. What they said is this: if, as a result of the re-allotments, the monasteries have acquired any lands, or taken over any persons, subject to labor services, then those who have thus curtailed the duties owed to the state are liable to make good the service in compensation. Where, however, this is not the case, it is unreasonable to make the monasteries liable, and they will no doubt be granted exemption. So (holy Son) you know what has been decided: it remains for you and for the monasteries to supply the necessary evidence so as to secure their exemption.

As regards the rest of your letter: I have already written to you to say that, unless you come here, nothing more can be done by any words of mine to the government, and that no other action on my part can be effectual: the reason is that the imperial agent of the day, supported as he has been by your commendation, cannot now be discredited by your simply saying the opposite. He appears as your testimony represented him to be, and if I reflect on his conduct, I get nothing but rebuke. So then, when you come here, you, who commended him, will know what to say regarding both those of his actions commended by you and those which you criticize. For the rest, farewell.

## 97. To the Same

What you write about Master Theosterictus (my holy Son), namely that I should seal the judgment passed on him, I do not see fit to comply with. It is not fitting or seemly that one person's judgments should be confirmed by the seal of another. This sealing, the so-called "verdict," must be done by you, who have settled the matter brought before you by him. Let it be done so: I mean, let your bull or verdict record that, since on my authority it was decided that the affairs should be examined and judged by you, such and such was done—giving the events in order, *and* the upshot.

98. Τῷ ἁγιοτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ καὶ  
συλλειτουργῷ

305

Ἵπὲρ μὲν ὧν τοῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐνταλαιπωρεῖ κινδύνοις ἡ ἀγιότης  
ὑμῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῶν κινδύνων ἐσμὲν κοινωνοί, ἀλλὰ γε τῶν θλίψεων καὶ  
5 τῶν σπαρασσόντων ὀδυνῶν τὴν καρδίαν οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἀλλότριον τῆς κοι-  
νωνίας. Καὶ πάντως οὐκ ἀπιστήσεις· ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ παναγίου πνεύμα-  
τος τοὺς ταύτῃ δεσμίους καὶ ἠνωμένους οἶδεν καὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν πρά-  
γμασιν ἐνοποιεῖν καὶ κοινὰ τούτων ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ ἡδέα καὶ τὰ ἀλγύ-  
νοντα. Ἔστιν μὲν οὖν κοινὸν τὸ ἄλγος ἡμῖν, καθὼς ἔφημεν, οἶδεν δὲ  
10 πολλάκις καὶ μείζονα ποιεῖν τὴν ὀδύνην τῷ μὴ κοινωνοῦντι μέρει τῶν  
παθημάτων ἢ ὄντως εἰλικρινῆς ἀγάπῃ τοῦ πνεύματος, διότι ἐν μὲν τῷ  
κοινωνεῖν τοῖς παθήμασι τοῦ | φιλουμένου νομίζει τι κέρδος ὁ φιλῶν B  
ἔχειν αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ μετασχεῖν τῶν ἴσων παθῶν· ὅταν δὲ μὴ τοῦτο παρῇ,  
ὥσπερ ζημίαν ἠγούμενος τὸ μὴ τὰ ἴσα παθεῖν, πλέον φέρει τὸ ἄλγημα.  
15 Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῆς ὀδύνης τοιαῦτα, ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ παράκλησιν τὴν ἀπο-  
κειμένην ἐλπίδα ὧν ἠτοίμασεν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχουσιν Χρι-  
στός ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. Ἐνθυμούμενοι γὰρ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπικήρων τούτων  
πόνων αἰωνίαν ἐτοιμαζομένην ἀνάπαυσιν τῇ σῇ ἀγιότητι, μεγάλης ἀπο-  
λαύομεν παρακλήσεως καὶ χαρᾶς, ἧς οἶδα πάντως καὶ τὴν ὑμῶν ἱεράν  
20 ψυχὴν, εἰ καὶ συνέχεται τῶν πειρασμῶν τῷ πυρὶ, καὶ ἀπολαύειν καὶ  
κρίπτω γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκ τῶν λυπούντων πυρώσεως.

Ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτων τέως μὴδὲν πλέον. Τὰ δὲ τῆς | καθ' ἡμᾶς C  
ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, ἐπέπερ καὶ ταῦτα εἶπερ τι ἄλλο ἢδὲ προξε-  
νήσειν ὑπολαμβάνω τὸ ἡσθῆναι τῇ σῇ ἀγιότητι, εὐαγγελιζόμεθά σοι ὡς  
25 ταῖς ὑμετέραις εὐπροσδέκτοις εὐχαῖς ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ μέσου τὰ πονηρὰ ἐκεῖνα  
σκάνδαλα τῆς διαστάσεως, ὅσα ὁ ἀποτρόπαιος γάμος (ὃν εἶθε μὴ  
ἔγνωμεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ) εἰσήγαγεν, πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν πρώην  
οἷα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα συναρπασθέντων ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῇ τούτου παρα-  
δοχῇ μετὰ τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος ἀποκηρυξάντων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλλότριον  
30 ἀποφνημαμένων τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν  
πολιτείας. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἐσμὲν πάντες μιᾷ ψυχῇ, ἐνὶ πνεύματι καὶ φρονή-  
ματι τὸ ἱερόν κυκλοῦντες θυσιαστήριον, ἐκείνων μὲν συγγνώμην ἐξαιτη-  
σαμένων, ἡμῶν δὲ τῇ ἄνωθεν εὐμενεῖα τεταρρηγῶτων καὶ τῇ ἐξαιτήσει

98: 15-16: Coloss. 1.5. || 29-30: Basil., *Ep.* 217, can. 80, PG 32, 805A15-B1 ||  
31: cf. Phil. 1.27. || 32: Ps. 25.6.

98. To our Most Holy and Blessed Brother and Fellow Minister

Forasmuch as your Holiness is oppressed by daily perils, I, though I do not share these perils, yet partake in your sorrows and heartrending agonies. I am sure you will believe this. For the love of the All-holy Spirit is wont to make those whom it binds and unites one also in their experience of passing events, and to share these events, whether pleasing or painful, between them. Your grief then, as I say, is shared by me. Indeed the true and unfeigned love of the Spirit may well cause yet greater agony to that partner who is not partaking in the actual suffering, inasmuch as, by sharing in the pains of those he loves, the lover believes that there is some gain, in this very communion of equal suffering. But where this is not so, the lover thinks it a loss that he cannot suffer equally, and his grief is therefore greater. So much then for the agony. But we have comfort in the hope that is laid up for us of those good things which Christ our God has prepared for those who suffer for His sake. And as I reflect on the eternal rest which is prepared for your Holiness in return for these temporal pains, I experience great comfort and a joy which I am sure your holy soul, though afflicted in the fire of trials, feels also, and which overcomes the flame of your misfortunes.

So much concerning this for the present; and no more of it. But concerning the state of our holy Church of God, since I imagine that this will give you pleasure if any pleasant thing can, I send you joyful tidings that through your acceptable prayers we have done away with those evil offenses of disunion to which the disgraceful marriage (which should never have been known in the Church of God) gave rise; and all those who were previously, in human weakness, carried away by temporal authority into accepting it, have now, under the leadership of my Mediocrity, denounced it and declared it alien to the human race, and especially to the society of Christians. And so, then, with one soul, one spirit, and one mind we encircle the Holy Sanctuary, while they ask our forgiveness, and we, confident of Divine

τὸ πέρας ἀπονειμάντων καὶ | εὐχαριστούντων τῷ συνάψαντι τὰ διεστῶτα D  
 35 Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ αἴτιον τῆς ἔχθρας καταλελυκῶτι μεσότοιχον.  
 Ἐγράφη ταῦτα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγιότης ἐπὶ τούτῳ συνηδομένη τὰς  
 χαριστηρίους ἀναφέρῃ εὐχάς, δεομένη καὶ ἔτι συντηρηθῆναι τὴν ἀγίαν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἐν εὐσταθείᾳ εἰρηνικῇ καὶ πάσης καταιγίδος ἀπει-  
 40 ράτῳ γαλήνῃ. Ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν, ὡ πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἐγράφη τιμιώτατε·  
 σὺ δὲ ταῖς ὁσίαις ἡμᾶς ἀμείβου εὐχαῖς, ἐρωωμένος μοι συντηρούμενος ἐν  
 θεῷ καὶ τῶν πειρατηρίων ἐφ' ὅσον δυνατὸν ὑπεράνω γινόμενος.

## 99

Χαίρομεν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ σὺ, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπαγγέλ-  
 λεις τοὺς σοὺς πολίτας καὶ τὸν εὐαγγῆ | κληρον τὴν πρέπουσαν ἀρχιε- 308  
 ρεῦσι θεοῦ καὶ οἰκίῳ πατρὶ ἀπονέμοντας αἰδῶ καὶ τιμῆν. Ὀφειλόμενον  
 δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πλεόν τὰ πατρικὰ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι σπλάγγνα καὶ τὴν  
 5 πρόνοιαν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν, καὶ τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι τὸ  
 εὖνουν καὶ τὴν εὐπίθειαν διαδείκνυνται παρεχόμενοι. Γράφω δὲ ταῦτα  
 οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων τοῦτο ποιεῖς, ἀλλ' ὅτι  
 καθὼς συνηδόμεθα ἴτὸ δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφάνη καὶ τὸ κοινῇ περὶ τούτου συν-  
 διασκέπτεσθαι. Εἴη δὲ θεὸς ἀκείνους ἐπὶ πλεόν τῷ δεσμῷ τῆς πνευμα-  
 10 τικῆς ἀγάπης τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀρχιερεῖ αὐτῶν συνενῶν καὶ σὲ πλουσιωτάτῃ  
 στοργῇ τῇ πρὸς τὰ τέκνα καὶ ποθεινότερον καὶ τιμιώτερον ἀποτελῶν. Ἡ  
 δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφιξίς, ἐπεὶ τὰ τῆς σωτηρίου ἐορτῆς ἐκτετέλεσταί σοι, μὴ  
 ἐν δευτέρῳ εἴη κειμένη.

## 100. Πρὸς τὸν μητροπολίτην Νικαίας

B

Ἵπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα κατὰ γνώμην τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτι  
 ἐπακολουθεῖ, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τὴν ὀφειλομένην εὐχα-  
 ριστίαν φέρομεν τῷ ποιουμένῳ θεῷ τὴν διευθέτησιν τῶν πραγμάτων· ἀ  
 5 δὲ πρὸς τὰς ὑμετέρας ἀκοὰς ἀφικνεῖται περὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα, οἶδα καὶ χωρὶς  
 τοῦ δέξασθαι τὸ σὸν γράμμα ὡς ἀστάθμητα καὶ τί ἄλλο ἢ δημῶδη φλυα-  
 ρήματα; Ὅποτε γὰρ μηδ' ἐνταῦθα δυνατὸν ἐστὶν λόγον ὑγιῆ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς

35: Ephes. 2.14.

37 ἀναφέρῃ Mai: -ει P

99: P 202v || 8 τὸ δὲ] fort. τῷδε, &lt;δέον&gt; || 10 ἀρχιερεῖ Jk: ἀρ P

100: P 202v-203r || 3 ἐπακολουθεῖ Mai: -ῆ P

Approval, grant their request and offer thanks to Christ our God Who has  
 joined that which was divided and has demolished the middle wall that  
 caused our enmity. These things I write in order that your Holiness may  
 rejoice with us over them, and may offer up prayers of thanksgiving, and  
 may ask that the holy Church of God shall still be preserved in peaceful  
 stability and in a calm that knows no tempest. These things I write (most  
 honored of Fathers and Brethren); and do you requite us with your holy  
 prayers, continuing to fare well in God, and superior—so far as may be—to  
 every ordeal.

## 99.

I am as much delighted as you (my holy Son) at your report that your  
 citizens and your reverend clergy are paying you the respect and honor due  
 to archpriests of God and to their proper father. It is therefore yet the more  
 incumbent on us to display our fatherly affection and our care for their  
 salvation, in proportion as they display their loyalty and obedience. I am  
 sure that you are doing this without any words of mine; but I write because,  
 just as I rejoice with you over this matter, so I think it right that we should  
 consider it together. May God unite them yet more closely in the bond of  
 spiritual love to their father and Archpriest; and make you yet more beloved  
 and honored for your most abundant affection toward your sons. Do not  
 postpone your coming here now that you have celebrated the Festival of  
 Salvation.

## 100. To the Metropolitan of Nicaea

For those affairs in the Church (my holy Son) which, by God's grace,  
 continue to develop according to plan, I offer suitable thanks to God, Who  
 has the ordering of them; but as for the reports which reach you regarding  
 the situation here, I did not need your letter to tell me how uncertain these  
 must be. What else are they but the nonsense of the mob? Even here, as

ἐλκύσαι, ὅπερ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀγνοεῖς, τί δεῖ λογίζεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐντευθέντων  
μέχρις ὑμῶν διαπετομένων ῥημάτων; Ἐγράψαμεν καὶ πρὸ βραχέος τοῦ  
10 καταλαβεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ὥσπερ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὴν σὴν  
ἐβλέπομεν παρουσίαν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ ἐδόθη ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπιτηδεῖν C  
πρὸς τὴν διακονίαν τὸ γράμμα, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἀφίχεται πρὸς σέ, καθὼς  
παρὰ τοῦ κοιμιστοῦ ἀνεμάθομεν· νῦν οὖν δευτέρου γράμματος περὶ τῶν  
αὐτῶν ἐν χρεῖα κατέστημεν. Ζητοῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τὴν σὴν  
15 ἀφιξίν, ζητοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιλημμένοι,  
καὶ προσεῖπον ἡμῖν ὥστε μετάκλητόν σε γενέσθαι. Τοῦτο μαθὼν, τέκνον  
ἡμῶν, πάντως μὴ ἀναβάλλῃ τὸ τὴν Νικαίαν μὲν καταλιπεῖν, πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
δὲ παραγενέσθαι.

## 101

Φίλοι εὐγνώμονες καὶ θεράποντες, ὅταν τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον τιμῶσιν,  
εὐεργεσίας τυγχάνοντες σπουδῆν ποιοῦνται τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀμείβεσθαι·  
ἡ δὲ ἀντάμειψις ἐν τῷ καθιστάναι ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἐκπλήρωσιν | ἐτοιμοὺς τῆς D  
τῶν εὐεργετῶν βουλήσεως. Συνοραῖς, τέκνον ἡμῶν· ἡ παρὰ τοῦ θεοστε-  
5 φοῦς βασιλέως εὐεργεσία παρεσχέθη σοι, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος ταύτης, ἵνα μὴ  
λέγωμεν ἡμεῖς, πάντως οὐκ ἠγνόησας· λοιπὸν οὖν σὸν ἐστὶν ἐν πᾶσι πρό-  
θυμον ὀφθῆναι οἷς ἂν ἡ αὐτοῦ βασιλεία τὴν σὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐπιζητεῖ,  
ἵνα καὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἄξιός ᾖ ὄντως ἀναφανῆς καὶ ἡμεῖς φιλοτιμώμεθα  
ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς τοιοῦτου τὴν μεσιτείαν πεποιημένοι καὶ ὁ μέγας καὶ ὑψηλὸς  
10 ἡμῶν χαίρη βασιλεὺς ἄξιόν σε τιμῆς ὄντα τηλικαύτης <ὄρων> δι' ὧν ἐπι-  
γινώσκεις τὸ εὐεργέτημα· ἐπιγινώσκων δὲ εἴης, ὅπερ ἔφην, τὰ τούτου ἐπι-  
τάγματα ἐκπληρῶν ἐν τῇ τιμῇ καταστάς. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἔρωμένον σε διαφυ-  
λάξει ὁ κύριος. Εὐλογίας δὲ χάριν ἀπέστειλά σοι ἰμάτιν.

## 101A

Τοῖς αἰτήμασιν ὑμῶν ὁ μέγας καὶ θεοστεφῆς βασιλεὺς εὐήκοος  
οὓς παρασχῶν ἐπέθηκε τὴν τελείωσιν, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἣν ὁ τὴν ὑμετέραν  
ἀρχὴν πεπιστευμένος πολὺν εἶχεν πόθον λαβεῖν παρέσχεν αὐτῷ. Τὰ μὲν

13 κομ(ιστοῦ) P, suppl. Mai:

101: P 203r-v || 1 αὐτῶν Wk: -ὄν P || 3 ἑαυτοὺς Jk: αὐτοὺς P || 7 fort. ἐπιζητῇ ||  
8 ἀναφανῆς Vat.: -εἰς P || 10 χαίρη Jk: -ει P || ὄρων Jk: om. P || 12 καταστήσας,  
-ήσ- eras., P || 13 σοι Vat.: σε P

101A: P 203v; initium ep. indic. Jk

you know, it is impossible to hear any trustworthy information; so how are  
we to value reports that have filtered from here over to you? I wrote to you  
a short while ago that you should come to us, and have looked every day for  
your arrival; but it seems that my letter was entrusted to an unreliable  
messenger, and for this reason it did not reach you, as I learn from the bearer.  
So I am now under the necessity of writing again to the same effect: I ask  
you to come on my own account, and those who have taken over the govern-  
ment ask you also, and have instructed me to summon you. In view of this  
(my Son) do not on any account delay your departure from Nicaea and your  
arrival here.

## 101

Grateful friends and servants, if true to their nature, when they receive  
a benefit, are eager to repay their benefactors. This repayment consists in  
readiness to do the benefactors' will. You realize (my Son) that the benefit  
has been conferred on you by the God-crowned Emperor, and I am sure that,  
without words of mine, you are aware of its magnitude. So then it is for you  
to show your willingness in all matters in which his Majesty requires your  
service, in order that you may appear truly worthy of the benefit, and I may  
be rewarded for my intercession on behalf of such a man, and our high and  
mighty Emperor may be glad *when he sees you* worthy of so great an honor  
in your gratitude for the benefaction. Do you then show this gratitude, as I  
say, by performing his commands, now that you are granted the honor. For  
the rest, may the Lord keep you in health. I am sending you a robe for my  
blessing.

## 101A

The mighty and God-crowned Emperor has lent a favorable ear to the  
requests, and has granted their fulfillment, and has conferred on your Prince  
the honor which he had a great desire to receive. Such have been the

παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοιαῦτα γεγένηται εἰς ὑμᾶς· ἀναλογίζεσθαι δὲ  
 5 ἄξιον τὴν ὑμετέραν τελειότητα τὸ εὐεργέτημα ὅσον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν  
 εὐεργέτην τιμᾶν. Τιμὴ δὲ τοῦ εὐεργέτου τίς ἂν ἄλλη πλὴν τοῦ κατὰ  
 πάντα εὐνοίαν αὐτῷ διασφίξεσθαι παρὰ τῶν εὐεργετηθέντων καὶ πάντα  
 τρόπον σπουδῆν ποιῆσθαι τὰ τῆς ἐκείνου δόξης καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ ἐπιτε-  
 10 τελιότητα καὶ τοῦ ἄρχειν ὑμῶν λαχόντος τὴν σύνεσιν, ἐν οἷς προέφημεν,  
 καὶ βεβαίους ἀποκαταστῆσαι φίλους καὶ τὴν ὑμῶν εὐγνω|μοσύνην καὶ B  
 νῦν καὶ ταῖς μετέπειτα γενεαῖς ἐμφανῆ ποιῆσαι, καὶ ὑπόδειγμα πίστεως  
 ἀληθοῦς καταστῆσαι ὑμᾶς <καὶ> τῆς πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργέτας διαθέσεως  
 τοὺς εὐεργετούμενους.

102. Τῷ ὑπερφουεστάτῳ πανευγενεστάτῳ μεγαλοδόξῳ φίλῳ  
 ἡμῶν ὁ δεῖνα τῷ κατὰ θεοῦ ψῆφον τοῦ Σαρακηνῶν  
 ἔθνους τὴν ἐπικράτειαν λαχόντι καὶ κυριότητα

“Ὅσα πάντων τῶν σῶν ὁμοφύλων, ὃ εὐγενεστάτη τῶν Σαρακη-  
 5 νῶν κορυφή, παρὰ θεοῦ ἔλαβες τὸ ὑπερέχειν καὶ ὑπεράνω καθῆσθαι,  
 τοσοῦτον καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ πάντων ὀφείλεις τὸ ἐξαιρετόν ἔχειν. Καὶ  
 λέγω ταῦτα, οὐχ ὅτι μὴ τοιοῦτόν σε ὑπάρχειν ὑπολαμβάνω (διδάσκει γὰρ  
 ἡμᾶς ἡ ἀγαθὴ περὶ σοῦ | φήμη ἃ γε διδάσκει, καὶ μανθάνομεν ἐκ ταύτης C  
 ὅτι ὡσπερ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν, οὕτω καὶ φρονήσει καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ  
 10 καλοκάγαθιᾳ τῶν τρόπων τῶν σῶν διαφέρεις ὑποχειρίων), ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ  
 λόγος ἄτοπος καὶ παράδοξος ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀκοαῖς προσῆλθεν ὡς κατὰ  
 τῶν ὑποκειμένων ὑμῖν Χριστιανῶν εἰς φοβερὰν ὀργὴν ἐξηνέχθη, ἀπ’  
 οὐδεμιᾶς ἀληθοῦς αἰτίας, ἀπὸ δὲ ψιλῆς μόνης συκοφαντίας, διὰ τοῦτο  
 προοιμιαζόμεθα ταῦτα. Ἀπήγγελλεν γὰρ ὁ ἄτοπος ἐκεῖνος λόγος ὡς τῆς  
 15 ὑμῶν μεγαλοπρεπειᾶς ἀκοὴν δεξαμένης οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν,—ἢ μᾶλλον οἶδα  
 πόθεν, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου τοῦ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τὸ ψεῦδος τεκόντος,—ὅτι τὸ τῶν  
 Σαρακηνῶν εὐκτῆριον ὅπερ ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς κατα-  
 λέλυται βασιλείας, καὶ ὅτι καὶ Σαρακηνοὶ βίᾳ καὶ ἄκοντες ἕξαννοι μὲν  
 τῆς ἰδίας καθ|ίστανται πίστεως, πρὸς δὲ τὸ σέβας μεθίστανται τῶν Χρι- D  
 20 στιανῶν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐξηνέχθη παρ’ ὑμῶν πρόσταγμα τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν  
 ὑμετέραν ἐξουσίαν ναοὺς τῶν Χριστιανῶν καταλύεσθαι.

13 καὶ add. Wk (διὰ Jk), sed fort. plura desunt

102: P 203v-208r || 1 mg. μη(νι) λου(λω) λνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι' P || 1-2 ὁ δεῖνα Darrouzès: ὁ  
 P (ad nominativum cf. Lampe s.v. δεῖνος) || 10 διαφέρεις Wk: -ει P

Emperor's actions toward you. But your Perfection must consider how  
 great this benefit is, and honor the benefactor accordingly. And what else  
 is it to honor the benefactor but for those benefited to preserve their loyalty  
 to him in all things, and show in every way a willingness to think and act  
 what shall be for his glory? I need say no more. This will suffice to restore  
 your Perfection, and your Prince's Wisdom (in what I have just written  
 to him), to firm friendship *with us*, and to make plain your gratitude both  
 now and to succeeding generations, and will render you an example of true  
 fidelity *and* of your disposition toward the benefactors who are benefiting  
 you.

102. To our most excellent, most noble, most glorious friend,  
 NN, by God's appointment sovereign Lord over the Saracen  
 nation

Inasmuch (most noble Chief of the Saracens) as you have received from  
 God the preeminence and overlordship above all your fellow countrymen,  
 you should excel them all in virtue also. I do not say this as supposing you  
 do not do so: for I am properly acquainted with your fair report, from which  
 I learn that you stand above your subjects, not only in authority, but in  
 wisdom and justice and other excellences of character as well. But because  
 an unseemly and strange report has reached me that you are transported  
 with frightful rage against your Christian subjects, for no true cause but  
 merely upon a simple slander, I therefore make this the preface of my  
 letter. That unseemly report states that your Magnificence has heard—  
 I know not whence, or rather, I do know, that is, from the devil, who is from  
 the beginning the father of lies—that the oratory of the Saracens that is  
 here has been pulled down by the Roman imperial Government, and that  
 the Saracens, perforce and against their will, are renouncing their own faith  
 and changing to the worship of the Christians: and therefore you have  
 issued a decree that the Christian churches under your authority are to be  
 destroyed.

Τοιαύτην ἀρχὴν τῷ γράμματι ἐπιτεθείκαμεν. Οὐτε γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 ἔδει τῇ πονηρᾷ ταύτῃ λογοποιῖα καὶ διαβόλῳ τὴν σὴν ἀκοὴν ὑποκλῖναι  
 οὔτε, οἷα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑπέσχεσ, πρόσταγμα τοιοῦτον  
 25 ἐξενεγκεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελεῖ ἐξετάσει παραδοῦναι τὸν λόγον καὶ διὰ ταύτης  
 εἴτε ὀρθὸς εἴτε διεστραμμένος μαθεῖν, καὶ μὴ πρὸς κατὰ γνώωσιν τοσαύτην  
 ῥῖψαι τὴν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς βασιλείας φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ ἐπιεικίαν ἐκ τοῦ  
 παρατυχόντος ἀκούσματος· ἀλλ' ὅσῳ μέγας ὢν καὶ ὑψηλὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 περὶ μεγάλης ἡκουεσ καὶ ἀρχῆς ὑψηλῆς παράδοξον φήμην, τοσοῦτον  
 30 ἐχρῆν ἀσφαλεστέρας ἔχειν τὰς ἀκοὰς καὶ | μὴ τοῖς φημιζομένοις ὑπάγε- 312  
 σθαι. Καὶ γὰρ πολλῶν ὑπαρχόντων οἷς τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν σεμνύνεται γένος,  
 ἐν τοῦτο ὑπάρχει ἐξαίρετον, τὸ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιεικείας.  
 Καὶ τούτου μάρτυς οὐχ ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗ πῆξιν ἔσχεν ἐπὶ γῆς ἡ  
 Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἐξουσία καὶ πανταχοῦ γῆς ἐξετάθη ταύτης ἡ ἐπικράτεια, πάντες  
 35 ἀνθρωποὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ πᾶσα ἱστορία ταύτην παρέχονται τὴν  
 μαρτυρίαν. Πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς ἦν, ὢν παρὰ πάσης γλώσσης καὶ πάσης ἱστο-  
 ρίας κοινὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας αἱ μαρτυρίαι, ὡς ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς φαίης  
 φρόνιμος τυγχάνων, καὶ πείραν πρέπουσαν ἀρχῇ τοσαύτῃ ἐφ' ἣν ἐπιβέ-  
 βηκας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔχων πραγμάτων, τοιαύτας ἐνεργηθῆναι πράξεις  
 40 ἀφιλανθρώπους; Οὐκ ἔδει οὖν τὸ ὑμέτερον ὑψηλὸν ἐν τε ἀρχῇ καὶ συνέσει  
 ὄλωσ | ἀπονεῖμαι πίστεως χώραν ταῖς διαβόλοις γλώσσαις, αἰτινές ποτέ B  
 εἰσιν, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τοσαύτην ἐπεδείξαντο ἀπανθρωπίαν.  
 Πλὴν ἐπεὶ τοῦτο γέγονεν καὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων αὐτόθεν  
 καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡκόντων πληροφορίαν ἐπιζητεῖς, λήψη καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ  
 45 ζητούμενον· ὁ γὰρ οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐθεάσαντο καὶ ὢν τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
 ἔχουσιν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀκοαῖς, ταῦτα προσαναγγέλλουσιν ὑμῖν· οὐ μόνον δέ,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπεσταλμένοι τῆς ὑμετέρας φυλῆς καὶ πίστεως  
 παρέξονται τὴν ὁμολογίαν ὡς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι ταύτῃ πόλει ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου  
 τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἐγένοντο ἔτυχόν τε καὶ ἐν πείρᾳ κατέστησαν. Καὶ ἴσως  
 50 ἥρκει τοῦτο μόνον γενέσθαι, τὸ διὰ γλώσσης τῶν ὑμετέρων ὁμοφύλων  
 καὶ τῶν νῦν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀποσταλέντων | λαβεῖν τῆς γενομένης ψευδολογί- C  
 ας τὴν μάθησιν. Πλὴν ἀλλὰ γράφομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἁμαρτωλοὶ μὲν ὄντες,  
 τοῦ δὲ Χριστιανικοῦ λαοῦ εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιοι πατέρες ὄντες καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν τυγχάνοντες μαθηταὶ καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀλήθειαν οὐδέ-  
 55 ποτε (μὴ γένοιτο, μηδὲ τοσοῦτον καταλειφθεῖν τῆς ἐκείνου ὁδηγίας  
 καὶ προνοίας) ἐξαρνούμενοι.

45-46: cf. 1 Ioann. 1.3.

23 διαβολῆ Jk || 26 ὀρθὸς ... διεστραμμένος Wk: -ὡς ... -ως P || 27 βασιλείας P mg. m. rec., Vat.: -αν P || 29 aut μεγάλου leg. aut ὑψηλῆς ἀρχῆς

Such is my exordium. Now, in the first place, you should never have  
 lent an ear to this evil, slanderous gossip, nor, if in human weakness you  
 had listened to it, should you have issued such a decree; but have subjected  
 the report to careful scrutiny and thus have learned if it *were* faithful or  
 distorted; and not, on idle hearsay, have condemned outright the mercy  
 and benevolence of the Roman imperial Government. Inasmuch as you  
 are yourself high and mighty in rule, when you heard a strange rumor of  
 another high and mighty rule, you ought rather to have made more certain  
 of your information, and not have been seduced by what was rumored. The  
 Roman race has many titles to respect, but one above all others: its mercy  
 and benevolence. Witness of this is not simply my statement: ever since the  
 Roman power was established on earth and extended its dominion all over  
 the earth, all men universally and all history bear this testimony. How then  
 was it reasonable that those whose mercy is commonly attested by all  
 tongues and all history—as you would yourself admit in your wisdom and  
 in the experience of human affairs which befits the great rule over which  
 you are set—*how was it reasonable* that they should have acted so mercilessly?  
 Your Highness, high both in rule and in intelligence, should therefore have  
 accorded no belief whatsoever to the slanderous tongues, whoever they  
 may be, that said Romans had committed such cruelty.

However, since this has happened, and you are asking for confirmation  
 by those whom you have sent from your country and who have arrived here,  
 you shall receive from them what you demand: for they report to you what  
 they have seen with their own eyes and the truth of which they have in their  
 own ears. Not only so: those of your own race and faith who are sent along  
 with them shall confess to their life and experiences in this capital City  
 ever since they became prisoners. These oral reports of your own fellow  
 countrymen and of your present envoys might perhaps suffice to convince  
 you of the falsehood. Nonetheless, I write myself, who am, though a sinner,  
 yet the father (however unworthy) of the Christian folk, and the disciple  
 of Christ our God, Whose truth—may He forbid it that I should be so far  
 abandoned by His guidance and care!—I will never renounce.

Ἄκουε οὖν, τοῦ Σαρακηνῶν γένους ὁ μέγας καὶ ὑπερκείμενος ἄνθρωπος. Ῥωμαίων οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλεύσαντες οὕτω τὰ περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων διέταξαν, ὡς εἰδότες ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τῆς τοῦ πολέμου συστάσεως  
 60 δεῖ πρὸς κάκωσιν τῶν πολεμίων ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἐπειδὴν δὲ λάβωσιν ὑπὸ χεῖρα τοὺς πολεμοῦντας, ὡς ὑπεξουσίῳ κήδεσθαι καὶ πρόνοιαν | ἐπι- D  
 δείκνυσθαι τῆς αὐτῶν ἀταλαιπώρου ζωῆς, καὶ ὥστε μηδὲν αὐτοῖς λυπηρὸν ἕτερον ἐπιτρέχειν ἢ μόνην τὴν ἀποστέρησιν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἰκήσεις ἀπένειμαν  
 65 ἀστενοχωρήτους καὶ ἀέρος καθαρωτάτου ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν συντελεῖ οἷα τοῖς ὁμογενέσιν καὶ ὁμοπίστοις, καὶ τοῖς τῆς ὑμετέρας θρησκείας ἀφωρισμένον εὐκτήριον. Καὶ ἀπλῶς, ὅπερ προφθάσας εἶπον, ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλεῦσι  
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑστερεῖσθαι τοὺς ὑμετέρους αἰχμαλώτους τῶν ἐν τῇ  
 70 οἰκείᾳ πατρίδι καὶ χώρᾳ διαγόντων Σαρακηνῶν ἢ μόνον [ἢ] τῇ ἀποξενώσει τῶν οἰκείων συγγενῶν. Ταῦτα τῆς φιλανθρωπίας οὕτως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διατεταγμένης οἱ καθ' ἑκάστην γενεάν | τὸ τῆς βασιλείας διαδεχόμενοι 313  
 κράτος ἔμειναν τὴν αὐτὴν προαίρεσιν μέχρι καὶ σήμερον διασφύζοντες· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τιμῶν ὡς παραλλαγὴ τις ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖ-  
 75 ρον, ἢ τῆς οἰκήσεως ἢ τῆς ἄλλης διαγωγῆς τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπονεμημένης τοῖς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν γέγονεν αἰχμαλώτοις, καίτοι γε τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν αἰχμαλώτων Χριστιανῶν, ὡς ἔστιν παρὰ πάντων ἀκούειν, ἐν τοιαύτῃ στενοχωρίᾳ κειμένων καὶ τοιαύτην ἀθλίαν ζωὴν ἐκμετρούντων, ὡς πολὺ κρείττονα εἶναι καὶ ποθοῦμενον αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον τὸν θάνατον ἢ τὸ ζῶσιν  
 80 ἐναριθμεῖσθαι.

Σκέψαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· διὰ τί ἔμελλον οἱ σήμερον λαχόντες βασιλεύειν τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ γένους τοιαῦτα χαλεπὰ εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ὑμῶν διαπράξασθαι οἷα ἢ πονηρὰ λογοποιία ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἀνήγγειλεν ἀκοαῖς; Οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἶποιτε ὅτι τῶν πρώην βεβα|σιλευκότων ἀπολείπονται τῆς φιλ- B  
 85 ἀνθρωπίας. Πῶς γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, κἂν τις προαιρεθεῖη τοῦτον ἐξενεγκεῖν, χώραν εὐρήσει πίστεως; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ βάσανοί τινες νῦν ἐκαινοτομήθησαν ἢ θανάτου τρόπος ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις αἰχμαλώτοις, λεγέτω τις παρελθῶν ἐξ ὑμῶν, καὶ τότε καὶ ταύτην προφερέτω τὴν κατηγορίαν· καίτοι γε ὑμῶν πολλάκις θανάτους βιαίους καὶ ξένους τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπι-  
 90 νοίας τοῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν αἰχμαλώτοις ἐπαγόντων. Ὅποτε γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν ὡς πρόβατα σφάζειν οὐκ ἰλιγγιάτε οὐδ' αὐτὴν εὐλαβεῖσθε τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν· ὅποτε κρεμαννύντες ἐπὶ ξύλου τόξοις καὶ λίθοις βιαίως τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ ζῆν ἀπελαύνετε, τί ἂν τις

Hear then, mighty Sovereign of the Saracen race! The emperors of the Romans have from the beginning thus laid it down with regard to prisoners: while they realize that so long as fighting lasts their duty is to strive to hurt their enemies, yet, when their enemies fall into their power, these must be cared for as subjects, and provision be made for the comfort of their life, so that they suffer no hardship other than deprivation of country, families, friends, and relatives. For this reason they have allotted them spacious apartments, the enjoyment of the cleanest air, and other comforts belonging to human life such as are at the disposal of their own coracials and corigionists; and moreover an oratory is set apart for the use of members of your sect. In short, as I have just remarked, Roman emperors have from the first decreed that your prisoners shall be no worse off than Saracens living in their own fatherland and country, except in the single article of estrangement from their own relations. This conduct was from the first dictated by their mercy; and those who in each generation have succeeded to the imperial government have maintained the same attitude until today. No one with any regard for truth can claim that there has been any deterioration, either in lodging or in any other living conditions, from those originally allotted to the Saracen prisoners. And yet the Christian prisoners taken by you, as we hear on all hands, are kept in such close confinement and in such misery of life, that death would be far better and more desirable for them than life!

Consider this also: for what reason should those at present on the throne of the Roman race inflict on your fellow countrymen such cruelties as those which gossip has brought to your ears? You will not claim that they are inferior in point of mercy to their predecessors: for how could such an allegation, if any saw fit to utter it, possibly be believed? If new and worse tortures, or some new mode of execution of your prisoners, have been recently introduced, send someone to tell us what they are, and then pronounce the indictment also. And yet you have frequently subjected Christian prisoners to violent deaths, deaths strange to human devising. When, instead of decapitation by the sword, you do not shrink from cutting their throats as if they were sheep, without regard to our common nature; when you hang a man on a gibbet and do him violently to death with arrows and stones; what



εἶποι; Ἄλλ' ἔμως καὶ ταῦτα πρακτόντων ὑμῶν τὸ φιλόφρονον τοῦ |  
 95 Ῥωμαϊκοῦ γένους οὐ μιμεῖται τὴν βιαιότητα, ἀλλ' ὅποτε δεήσει τινὰ τῶν C  
 Σαρακηνῶν τῆς ζωῆς ἀποστερηθῆναι, ἀπλῶ τρόπῳ καὶ βίας <καὶ> χαλε-  
 πότητος ἀπεστερημένῳ μόνῃ τῇ ἀποτομῇ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
 ὑπεξάγουσιν τῆς ζωῆς. Πῶς οὖν τοὺς οὕτως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν  
 ἐπιεικεῖς ὄντας καὶ φιλοφρόνους ἔπρεπεν ὑπολαμβάνειν νῦν βίαν τοσαύ-  
 100 τῃ ἐπαγαγεῖν Σαρακηνούς ὅσῃν οἱ λογοποιήσαντες εἰς πρόσταγμα τῆς  
 ὑμετέρας ἐξουσίας ἀνάξιον τὴν σὴν προήγαγον ἡμερότητα; Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνοι  
 μὲν, ἵνα μὴδὲν εἴπω περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαχθέστερον, δοκοῦσι τοιαῦτα ταῖς σαῖς  
 ὑποβαλεῖν ἀκοαῖς δυσμενεῖα τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς καὶ ζητοῦντες  
 τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτεῖναι ἀκάωσιν, καὶ μίσει τῷ πρὸς τὸν | Χριστὸν καὶ D  
 105 θεὸν ἡμῶν, ὃς οὔτε τῷ βίῳ παρῶν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν οἰκειαν δόξαν ἀναδρα-  
 μῶν ἄμυναν κατὰ τινος ἐπεδείξατο τῶν ἐπανισταμένων αὐτῷ, τάξας  
 ἐκείνην τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν ἐν ἧ ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.  
 Ἄλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν πειραθέντων τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιεικειαν εἰς ὀργὴν  
 ἀνακαῦσαι τὴν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἱκανὰ τὰ εἰρημένα. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἂν εἰ  
 110 παρόντες ἐτύχομεν καὶ οἰκεία γλώσση προσεφθεγγόμεθα, ταῦτα διὰ τοῦ  
 παρόντος προσομιλουμέν σοι γράμματος· Οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ τοῦ  
 Σαρακηνῶν γένους ὃ παρὰ θεοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος, ἀληθὲς τὸ  
 νῦν εἰς ὑμᾶς διαβεβηκὸς προσάγγελμα τῶν οἴτινές ποτέ εἰσιν οἱ τοῦτο 316  
 διαπλάσαντες, μήτε θεὸν φοβηθέντες τὸν ἐρευνῶντα καρδίας, οὐ πρὸ τῶν  
 115 ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ κρύφια παντὸς περικαλύμματος γεγυμνωμένα παρέστηκεν,  
 μήτε τὴν λογικὴν αἰδεσθέντες εὐγένειαν, μήτε τὴν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν μέγα  
 φέρουσαν παρὰ θεῶ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀξίωμα τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπὶ λογισμὸν  
 λαβόντες, μήτε τὰς σὰς ἀκοάς, αἷς οὐδὲν οὕτω φίλον ὡς τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς  
 ἀληθείας (τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο φιλικώτερον ἀνδρὶ ἀρχικῷ τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ  
 120 μάλιστα τῷ ἀρχεῖν λαχόντι τοσοῦτου ἔθνους τῶν Σαρακηνῶν;), ρυπαί-  
 νειν ἀποδειλιάσαντες, ἀλλ' ὁμόσε κατὰ πάντων ὧν διεμνημονευσάμην  
 ἐχώρησαν, προτιμότερον θέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ τὴν συκοφαντίαν κατὰ  
 τῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλως τοιοῦτον ἑαυτοῖς συνειδόντων, καὶ ἐθάρρησαν τοιαῦτα  
 πλαστολογεῖν ἃ ἔμελλεν ἐκ τοῦ παρατύχαι ὡς ἔστιν ψευδῆ ἀπελέγχεσθαι.  
 125 Οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν οὐδὲν τῶν εἰρημένων παρ' αὐτῶν ἀληθὲς οὐδὲ γεγο- B  
 νός, ἀλλὰ παντελῶς ἀγένητα καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ψεύδους χώραν ἀπορριπτό-  
 μενα. Οὔτε γὰρ εὐκτῆριον τῶν ὁμοπίστων ὑμῶν οὔτε νῦν οὔτε πρότερον  
 κατάλυσιν ἔσχεν, οὔτε κεκωλυμένον ἔστιν ἐπισκευάζεσθαι αὐτὸ παρὰ τῶν

107 cf. Joel 3.4. || ib: Ps. 61.13; Prov. 24.12; Matth. 16.27. || 114: Rom. 8.27. || 114-115:  
 cf. Hebr. 4.13.

95 δεήση Wk: -σει P || 96 καὶ P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup> || 97 ἀπεστερημένῳ Wk: -ης P || 105 ὃς Wk: ὅσον P ||  
 114 μήτε Vat.: μήτι P || 116 debebat ἀρετῇ || 117 ἐπιλογισμὸν P || 120 ἀρχην P

can one say? Yet, even though you do these things, the mercy of the Roman  
 race does not imitate your savagery; but, when we have to take the life of  
 one of the Saracens, we execute him in a simple fashion, devoid of savagery  
 and cruelty, by plain decapitation. How then could you conceive that those  
 who from the first until now have been benevolent and merciful should now  
 have inflicted savagery upon the Saracens such as the gossip mongers have  
 feigned, and induced your Tranquillity to issue an edict unworthy of your  
 sovereignty? I do not wish to speak too severely of them; but they seem to  
 have brought these charges to your ears out of enmity to the Christians, and  
 a desire for the increase of hurtful measures against them, and a hatred of  
 Christ our God, who, neither in His life here nor after He had returned to  
 His own Glory, made any resistance against any of those who rose up  
 against Him, but merely fixed that awful day when He shall reward each  
 according to his works.

Concerning those who have sought to inflame your Benevolence into  
 anger against the Christians, I have said sufficient. But I, as though I were  
 in your presence and speaking with my own voice, address these words to  
 you by this letter: O Chief entrusted by God with the government of the  
 Saracen race, there is no truth, no, none, in the report recently conveyed to  
 you by those, whoever they may be, that forged it—without the fear of God  
 Who searcheth hearts, before Whose eyes appear secrets stripped of every  
 covering, without respect to *your* Nobility's intelligence, without consider-  
 ation of the truth which bears so high a rank in virtue before the eyes of God  
 and man, without scruple of defiling your ears, to which nothing is so sweet  
 as the purity of truth (for what more beloved than truth can there be to a  
 man that is a ruler? and especially to him who rules over that mighty race  
 of the Saracens?). No; they have proceeded in defiance altogether of all the  
 aforesaid principles, preferring lies and slander against those whose con-  
 sciences are absolutely clear of any such crimes; and they have dared to  
 forge accusations which were bound straightaway to be proved false.

So then, there is no truth or substance at all in what they have said;  
 it is entirely without foundation, and to be rejected as falsehood. The oratory  
 of your coreligionists has not been pulled down, either now or formerly; nor  
 is there any impediment to its repair by Saracens here; on the contrary, it

ἐνταῦθα Σαρακηνῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοσαύτης ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνει ὅσης ἂν  
 130 ἔτυχεν εἰ παρὰ τῇ ὑμῶν ἐξουσίᾳ ἐτύγχανεν τό τε εὐκτῆριον καὶ οἱ τοῦτο  
 θεραπεύειν βουλόμενοι. Ἄλλ' οὔτε Σαρακηνὸς ἠναγκάσθη τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξαρ-  
 νήσασθαι πίστιν ἐκ βασιλικῆς προσταξέως ἢ ἐξ ἐπηρείας τῶν μεγιστά-  
 νων καὶ ἀρχόντων, ὅσοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πλησιάζουσι καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων  
 135 ἀπολαύουσιν οἰκειότητος καὶ κατήκοοι γίνονται τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν  
 προσώπων ἔχουσιν τὴν ἐποψίαν. Εἰ δέ τις τῶν κάτω κειμένων καὶ  
 ἀφανῶν καὶ μὴ ἐγνωσμένων τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἐνδεεῖς μὲν ὄντες φρενῶν,  
 καταστάσεως δὲ ἀρχικῆς ἀμοιροῦντες, τοῦτο πράττειν ἀπενόηθησαν, οὐκ  
 ἔχω διατείνεσθαι περὶ τούτου. Πλὴν δεῖ τοὺς τοῦτο πράξαντας ἐπιδή-  
 140 λους γενέσθαι, καὶ εἴ γε ὑπεριδεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ μὴ κατὰ λόγον ἐπεξ-  
 ελθεῖν ἢ βασιλικὴ ἐξουσία διανοηθεῖη, τότε τάχα ἐξεστὶν ὑμῖν καὶ  
 μέμφεσθαι καὶ ἴσως καὶ κατὰ τῶν ὑποχειρίων ὑμῶν φέρειν τὴν ἀγανάκτη-  
 σιν· εἰ καὶ μηδὲ οὕτως ὁ τοῦ δικαίου λόγος ἐπιτρέπει, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἡ σὴ  
 περὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπιμέλεια οὔτε ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρὰ τοῦ προφήτου ὑμῶν  
 δεδομένη τοῖς γεγενημένοις ὑποχειρίοις καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐξουσίαν  
 145 κειμένοις ἀσφάλεια. Τί γὰρ ἐγὼ δίκαιος πάσχειν κακῶς ὑπὸ σέ τελῶν καὶ  
 μηδὲν ἀπεναντίας τῇ σὴ πράττων ἐξουσίᾳ, ἂν ἄλλος ὁ κατὰ μηδὲν ὑποκεί-  
 μενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς σὴς ἀπηλλαγμένος κυριότητος, ἐθέλοι τὰ σοὶ μὴ δο-  
 κοῦντα πράττειν; | Τί οὖν διὰ ταῦτα Χριστιανοὶ καὶ οἱ τούτων ναοὶ D  
 ἄξιοι κακώσεως ὑπομένειν, οἱ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον τοῖς σοῖς ἐξυπηρετοῦνται  
 150 προσταγμασιν καὶ οὐδὲ χεῖρα τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον κινήσαι τολμῶσιν μὴ σοῦ  
 βουλομένου, ἂν βασιλεὺς ὁ Ῥωμαίων, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο δῶμεν, προαιρεθῇ  
 τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν δεσμίους τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ταλαιπωρίας ὑποβάλλειν; Καὶ  
 ταῦτα λέγομεν οὐχ ὅτι γέγονεν οὕτως (οὐδὲ γὰρ γέγονεν οὐδὲ γενήσεται,  
 οὐδ' ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ φιλανθρωπία ἠγγόνησεν ἑαυτὴν οὐδ' ἀγνοήσει ποτέ)· ἀλλὰ  
 155 ταῦτα φαμεν, ἵνα εἰδῆς ὅτι οὐδὲ οὕτως δίκαια ποιεῖς τοὺς ὑπὸ σέ Χριστια-  
 νούς ὑποβάλλων ταλαιπωρίας. | Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου προφήτου 317  
 ἔγγραφοι ἀθετοῦνται ὑπ' ἐκείνου δεδομένα ἀσφάλεια, καὶ τῆς σοὶ ὀφει-  
 λομένης τιμᾶσθαι δικαιοσύνης μεγάλη γίνεται ἡ ἀτιμία καὶ ἡ ἀθέτησις.  
 Μὴ οὖν, ὦ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν δόξης καλλῶπισμα, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος  
 160 εἰς ἀδοξίαν περιστῆσαι βουλευθείης τὴν ὑμετέραν δόξαν. Τίς γὰρ τοῦτο  
 μανθάνων, ὅτιπερ ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὴν κυβέρ-  
 νησιν αὐτῶν πεπιστευμένος τοὺς ὑποχειρίους αὐτῶ Χριστιανούς εἰς θλί-  
 ψεις ἐμβάλλει καὶ στενοχωρίας, μηδὲν ὄλωσ αὐτῶ πταίσαντας ἢ ἐναντιου-

150: unde?

130 εἰ P mg. m. rec.: ἢ P || 139-140 ἐπεξελεθεῖν Jk: ὑπεξελεθεῖν P || 147 σοὶ Mai: σὰ P ||  
 157 σοὶ P mg. m. rec.: σὺ P || 162 αὐτῶν Vat.: -ῶ P

receives the same care as if both oratory and worshippers were under your jurisdiction. No Saracen has been forced to renounce his religion by imperial edict or by the malice of any magnate or officer attendant on the Emperors, and enjoying familiarity with, audience of, or presentation to them. Whether some subordinates, men of no account and unknown to the Emperors, men wanting wits and destitute of official position, have not been silly enough to do this, I cannot positively maintain. But, if so, they must come to light; and, if the imperial Government decides to overlook the matter and not to proceed in due form against them, then doubtless you will have a right to censure it and even, it may be, to visit your resentment on your own subjects; although, even so, this would not be allowed by justice, or your care for justice, or the guarantee originally granted by your Prophet to those who became your subjects and live beneath your sway. For why should I, your subject, be maltreated when I have done nothing against your authority, if someone else, who is in no sense your subject but outside your sovereignty, chooses to do that you disapprove of? What then? Are Christians and their churches that have in every way complied with your edicts, and do not dare—as the saying is—to lift a finger without your consent, to suffer injury if a Roman emperor (to grant the supposition) chooses to inflict hardship on Saracen prisoners in his power? I do not mean this has happened: it has not and will not: Roman mercy has not forgotten itself nor will it ever do so; but I say this to have you understand that not even in these circumstances are you justified in ill-treating your Christian subjects. You are canceling the written guarantees given by your Prophet, and great is the dishonor and cancellation of that justice which you ought to honor. Do not then (O pride of the Saracen glory) on this score pervert your glory into shame! For who, on learning that the First Man among the Saracens, who is entrusted with their government, is persecuting and molesting those Christian subjects who have in no way whatever offended or opposed him, will not call your action

μένους, οὐχὶ ἄδικα πράττειν ὑμᾶς λογιεῖται καὶ ἀνάξια τῆς ἐγκεχειρι-  
 165 σμένης σοι παρὰ θεοῦ ἐξουσίας; Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἄξιος ἕκαστος δι' οἰκείαν  
 ἀρετὴν εὐεργετεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἰδίων σφαλμάτων ἕκαστος ὑπέχειν  
 τὰς εὐθύνas ἐστὶ δίκαιος. Ἐπίσταται γὰρ | πάντως ἡ σὴ μεγαλοπρεπε- B  
 στάτη σύνεσις ὅτι περ οὐδὲ υἱὸς πολλὰκις πταίσαντος τοῦ πατρὸς κοι-  
 νωνὸς γίνεται τῆς τιμωρίας, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τοῦ πταίσματος· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
 170 ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφοῦ πονηρὸν τι πράξαντος σὺν αὐτῷ κατακρίνεται, εἰ μὴ καὶ  
 τοῦ πονηροῦ ἔργου γέγονεν συνεργάτης· καὶ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ συγγενὴς ἄλλος  
 τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συγγενεῖ οὐδὲ φίλος τῷ ἰδίῳ φίλῳ ἐπὶ τινὶ πράγματι ἀξίῳ  
 κολάσεως συγκολάζεται, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς πράξεως μετέχων ἀποφανθῆι.

Σκέψαι οὖν ἐκ τούτου πόσω μᾶλλον εὐλογώτερον τοὺς ὑπὸ σέ  
 175 Χριστιανούς μὴδὲν πάσχειν δεινὸν ἕνεκά γε τῆς ὡς λέγετε βίας τῶν  
 ἐνταῦθα Σαρακηνῶν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο δῶμεν, καθὼς προφθάσαντες εἶπομεν,  
 οἱ μὴδὲν ὅλως μὴδὲ καθ' οἰονδήποτε τρόπον τῆς προαιρέσεως ἢ τῆς  
 βίας συμμετέχουσιν τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐξουσίαν ἔχόντων βιάζεσθαι. Ἄλλ'  
 οὐδὲ τοῦτο γέγονεν, | οὐδὲ βία τις ἢ παρὰ βασιλέως ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνου C  
 180 ἀξιουμένων τῆς ὁμιλίας ἢ τῆς ἄλλης γνώσεως καὶ οἰκειότητος προσήχθη  
 Σαρακηνοῖς· πλὴν εἰ μὴ που παρὰ τινος τῶν εἰς ἀφανῆ τάξιν κειμένων,  
 οἵτινες τούτου διαγιγνωσκόμενου τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιτεύξονται διορθώ-  
 σεως. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ δόξωμεν διὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων τὴν περὶ τούτου πίστιν  
 παρέχειν ὑμῖν, καὶ Σαρακηνοὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐξαπεστάλησαν καὶ γράμματα τῶν  
 185 ἐνταῦθα δορυαλώτων, δι' ὧν ἐπὶ πλέον λήψεσθε τὴν πληροφορίαν ὡς ἡ  
 προσελθοῦσα ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ὑμῶν πονηρολογία ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 πονηροῦ δαίμονος ἐμπνεομένων καὶ τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένοι ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ἐκείνου διαφθονομένων καὶ μελέτην ποιουμένων καὶ τοὺς | Σαρακηνοὺς D  
 190 εἰς διαβολὰς ἐμβαλεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῇ δικαίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατακρίσει, καὶ  
 τοὺς Χριστιανούς εἰς κακώσεις καὶ τάλαιπωρίας. Ἄλλὰ σέ, ὦ μεγίστη  
 κεφαλὴ τοῦ Σαρακηνῶν ἔθνους, ταῦτα μὴ λανθανέτω, μὴδὲ λάθης λυ-  
 μεῶνων ἀνθρώπων ὑπαγόμενος ψευδολογίαις μὴδὲ τῇ σῆι δόξῃ καὶ τῷ  
 μεγάλῳ ὀνόματι προστρίβων ὄνειδος, μὴδὲ μνήμη τῷ βίῳ καταλείπης  
 ὡς ἐπὶ σοῦ τὰ ἀλγεῖνὰ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐπλήρηται· ἀλλ' εἴ τι ἐμοὶ  
 195 πείθῃ ἀγαπῶντι καὶ τὴν σὴν δόξαν καὶ σωτηρίαν, ὡς καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώ-  
 πων (τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ ἐμὴ διακονία, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πάντων εἰ καὶ ἀμαρτωλὸς  
 νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν εὐχόμεαι σωτηρίας), μᾶλλον κατάλιπε, ὅποταν ἐκ τοῦ  
 βίου παρέλθῃς, μνημόσυνον φιλανθρωπίας, μνημόσυνον ἐπιεικειᾶς καὶ  
 δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς φιλ|ανθρωπία καὶ 320  
 200 δικαιοσύνη τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐμπολιτεύεται, ἀδικία δὲ πᾶσα καὶ βιαιότης  
 ἀπελήλαται.

unjust and unworthy of the power committed to you by God? Just as each  
 should be rewarded for his own virtue, so each ought to be responsible for his  
 own errors. Your most splendid Wisdom is certainly aware that if a father  
 persistently offends, his son is not made to share his punishment unless he  
 has also shared in the offense; or if a brother has committed some crime, his  
 brother is not convicted along with him, unless he has been accessory; and,  
 in a word, no relative or friend is punished along with his relative or friend  
 who has incurred punishment on any count, unless the former can be shown  
 to have been a partner in the act of the latter.

From this, then, you may see how much saner it is that your Christian  
 subjects should not be molested because of the alleged violence shown to  
 Saracens here (to grant the supposition, as I said above), when they have  
 had no share at all, in any way whatsoever, in the attitude or the violence  
 of those who here have the power to exercise it. But even the supposition is  
 false: no violence has been offered to the Saracens, either by the Emperor,  
 or by those who are honored by his conversation, acquaintance, or familiarity;  
 though perhaps it may have been offered by some obscure officials, who,  
 when the matter is sifted, will meet with the necessary correction. And in  
 order that I may not seem to be offering proof merely by my own statements,  
 some Saracens also are being sent to you from here, and some letters from  
 prisoners of war here, and from these you will receive further confirmation  
 that the slander which has reached your ears is the work of men inspired by  
 the devil, of men who envy the human race as he has done from the beginning,  
 of men whose study it is to expose the Saracens to slanders—or rather, to the  
 righteous condemnation of God—and the Christians to ill-treatment and  
 suffering. But (O mightiest chief of the Saracen nation) take note of this,  
 and do not be seduced unawares by the lies of corrupt men, nor tarnish your  
 glory and your mighty name, nor leave behind you the record that in your  
 days the pains of the Christians were increased: but, if you will be persuaded  
 by me, who love you and your glory and your salvation, along with that of  
 all men (for such is my ministry, and, though a sinner, I pray night and day  
 for the salvation of all men), then leave behind you, when you depart out of  
 this life, a record of mercy, a record of benevolence and justice, and a record  
 that in the days of your rule mercy and justice were practiced toward your  
 subjects, and that all injustice and violence were cast out.

## 103. Γοδίνῳ βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ ἄρχοντι

Πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς εἰκός, λανθάνουσιν ἀρετὴν εἴωθεν ὁ χρόνος ἀνακαλύπτειν, ἐπειδὴν περιστάσεις πραγμάτων ἢ ἐκείνου φορὰ ἐπαγάγη τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ. Τοιοῦτόν τι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ νῦν ὁρῶμεν ἐπὶ σοὶ 5 γεγενημένον. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ πρότερον παντελῶς ἐλάνθανες οἶος εἶ τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ οἶος ἐν τῇ μεταχειρίσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ὅμως νῦν καταφανῆς ὑπῆρξας καὶ τελείως τὴν σὴν διέδειξας ἀρετὴν· πρῶτον μὲν τὸ μέγα τῶν κατορθωμάτων τὴν ἀγάπην ὡς φυλάττεις ἀπαραπόητον· δευτέρον τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐξυβρίζειν εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας· ἐπὶ 10 τούτοις τὸ οἶόν τις ἀγαθὸς κυβερνήτης ἐν κλύδωνι καὶ ταραχῇ τῶν | πραγμάτων σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς μετὰ γε τῆς ἀνωθεν βοήθειας πορίζειν. Β Ταῦτα γάρ, δι' ὧν ἐσπούδασας τὴν τῶν ἀποστησάντων κακίαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τέλος ἐκ μέσου πεποίησαι, ἀλλὰ τέως ἐπισχεῖν τὴν αὐξήσιν ταύτης καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πλεον ἔἶσαι προβῆναι, μαρτύριον ὑπάρχει τῆς ὑμῶν τελειοτάτης 15 ἀρετῆς. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ φιλόχριστοι βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀγάπης ἀποδεχόμενοι, μᾶλλον οἰκεῖόν σε ποιοῦνται καὶ φίλον πιστόν, καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς ἀποδώσουσι τὰς ὀφειλομένας ἀντιδόσεις. Καὶ νῦν μὲν τῶν σῶν αἰτήσεων παρέσχοντο τὰς πληρώσεις· πάντως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα, τῆς σῆς ἱκανότητος τὰ πράγματα διευθυνούσης καὶ τὴν ἀπο- 20 στασίαν σὺν τῇ θεῖᾳ δυνάμει καθὼς ἄξιον | μεταχειριζομένης καὶ τὰ τῆς C χώρας εἰς τὸ εἰρηναῖον ἀποκαθιστώσης, πολὺ κρείττονας καὶ πλουσιωτέρας παρέξονται τὰς ἀμοιβάς. Σὺν οὖν ἐστίν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος, οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὀφθῆναι σπουδαῖον καὶ πιστόν φίλον, καὶ τὰ εἰς τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον διαπρά- 25 ξασθαι, καὶ ἀπολαῦσαι δαψιλεστέρων παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν φιλοτιμιῶν καὶ δεξιῶσεων.

## 104. Κωνσταντίνῳ μητροπολίτῃ Λαοδικείας

Ἐδεξάμην τὸ γράμμα τῆς σῆς ὀσιότητος αὐταῖς ἤδη τοῦ θανάτου ταῖς πύλαις· οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ ἀποστρόφους ἐκείθεν ποιήσεται ὁ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν χορηγὸς καὶ ταμίης καὶ οἰκονομῶν τὰ συμφέροντα, | ὡς ἢ ἐκείνου D 5 ἐξεπίσταται οἰκονομία. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὕτω διακείμενος ὑπὸ τῆς συνεχούσης ἀρρωστίας ἐδεξάμην τὸ γράμμα, καὶ ὅμως ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀπογνώσει τυγχάνων ὥσπερ ἡσθόμην τινα ψυχαγωγὸν ἡδονήν, καὶ ἠύχαριστησα τῷ κοινῷ

103: P 208r-209r || 1 βασιλ(ικῶ) P || 3 ἐπαγάγει P || 12 scr. ἀποστάντων? cf. 101.12 || 13 fort. ποιῆσαι

104: P 209r-v

## 103. To Godinus, imperial Protospatharius and Lord

The latent virtue of many may naturally be discovered by time, when, in its course, it confronts human life with dangerous crises. This (my Son), I see has been the case with you. For although even before this I was not wholly ignorant of your wisdom and administrative ability, yet now you are manifest and have completely displayed your virtue: first (the great one of your achievements), in that you preserve your loyalty untainted; second, your gratitude, and refusal to wrong your benefactors; and lastly, your bringing them, with assistance from Above, to safety, like some good pilot in storm and stress of circumstances. Your prompt action in checking, if not indeed wholly removing, the malice of the rebels, and preventing its spread, is proof of your most perfect virtue. Therefore our Christ-loving Emperors, approving your loyalty and unfeigned affection, make you yet more their familiar and their faithful friend, and will repay your zeal with the due recompense. They have at once granted fulfillment of your requests: and I am sure that in the future, as your competence shall direct matters and shall, with the Divine Power, deal properly with the rebellion and bring the country's affairs back to peace, they will furnish rewards much greater and richer. It rests with you then (my Son) to show yourself in the future, as in the past, the energetic and faithful friend of the Emperors, and to do yet more in their service, and to enjoy yet more magnificent gifts and favors at their hands.

## 104. To Constantine, Metropolitan of Laodicea

I received your Holiness' letter at the very door of death; and I do not know whether I shall be allowed to turn back from it by Him Who has given and husbanded my life and Who dispenses His blessings according to His own inscrutable Dispensation. Yet still, bowed down as I am with the disease that afflicts me, I received your letter, and despite my desperate case, I felt something of heartwarming joy, and rendered thanks to our common

δεσπότῃ καὶ θεῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ ἀρχιερεῖ. Καὶ τὴν μὲν σὴν πορείαν—οἶδα ὅτι χαμαιζήλος ἢ εὐχή· ὅμως οὖν ἀναπέμπω ταύτην, ἐξαιτούμενος  
10 ἀλύτῳ διαθέσει ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος διανυσθῆναι.

Τὸ δ' ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ γράμματος ἴσως οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν παρ' ἡμῶν  
πυθέσθαι· ἔχομεν γὰρ διδάσκαλον ὅπως δεῖ προσεύχεσθαι τὸν ἀγαγόντα  
ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ φωτίσαντα, καὶ ὡσπερ τὰ λοιπά, οὕτω καὶ  
τὰ τῆς προσευχῆς ἡμᾶς διδάσκει. Οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅς τὸ  
15 βραχὺ ἐκεῖνο καὶ σωτήριον παιδεύμα τῆς προσευχῆς ἐκτελῶν μεθ' οἷας 321  
προσῆκεν ψυχικῆς καταστάσεως, οὐκ ἐπιτεύξεται τῶν ἐπαγγελομένων  
ἀγαθῶν. Ἐχεις δὲ καὶ τὸν μακάριον ἀπόστολον διδάσκοντα τρόπον τῆς  
προσευχῆς, ὃς παραινεῖ ἐπαίρειν ὁσίους χεῖρας χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογι-  
σμῶν, διαλογισμῶν δηλονότι τῶν περισπῶντων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου ματαιό-  
20 τητα καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης ἐπίπονα μὲν, ἀνόνητα δέ. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πληθυντικῆ  
λέξει τοῦτο ἐμνημόνευσεν· ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν κεκτη-  
μένος τὴν ἔφεσιν οὐ λογισμοῖς ἐνθεν κἀκεῖθεν περιστρέφεται, ἀλλ' ἕνα  
λογισμὸν ἀναλαμβάνει μονοειδῆ, καὶ τοῦτον διατηρῶν ἀπλανῆ εὕρισκει  
τοῦ μακαρίου ἐκείνου λογισμοῦ τὴν ὄντως ἐπωφελεῖ κτῆσιν καὶ αἰδίως  
25 αὐτῷ τὴν ἄνεσιν περιποιουμένην.

Ἀπεκρινάμεθα οὖν ὡς ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀπορίᾳ τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα. Σὺ  
δέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, τῷ | χρίσαντί σε παναγίῳ πνεύματι πεφωτισμένος B  
ψυχὴν καὶ διάνοιαν ἀξίως τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἐντυγχάνων παρ' ἐκείνου  
μᾶλλον λήψῃ τοῦ ζητουμένου τὴν διδασκαλίαν. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα εἴης μὲν αὐτὸς  
30 ἐρρωμένος, ἀθορύβως καὶ ἀταράχως τὴν ἄλμην μὲν τοῦ βίου διαπερῶν,  
ἡμῶν δὲ μεμνημένος ἐν ταῖς ὁσίαις εὐχαῖς, τυχὸν μὲν ἔτι τῷ βίῳ στρε-  
φομένων, ὑπερ ἀμφίβολου, τυχὸν δὲ ἀπιόντων, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐναργέστε-  
ρόν μοι δοκεῖ παρίστασθαι, τῆς τοῦ βίου ματαιότητος.

Οἶδα παρόντος σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοιοῦτους πεποιημέ-  
νου λόγους, ὡς ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ μακαρίου πατρός σου βούλει  
προσμένειν καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ μονάζουσι συνδιάγειν, οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἐν χρεῖα  
σου ὄντος ἢ μόνου οἰκίσκου ἐν ᾧ τὴν διαμονὴν μέλλεις ἔχειν καὶ τῆς C

12-14: Matth. 6.7-13; Luc. 11.1-4. || 17-19: 1 Tim. 2.8.

18 ὁς Jk: ὡς P

105: P 209v-210r

Lord and God and great Archpriest. As for your journey: I know that my  
prayer is humble, yet I submit it, asking that you may accomplish the same  
in ease of mind and body.

For the rest of your letter, it was perhaps unnecessary to enquire of  
me: for we have One Who has taught us how we should pray, One Who has  
led us to knowledge of Him and has enlightened us, and has instructed us in  
the ways of prayer, as in all other ways. There is none, no, not one, who, if  
he will perform in a proper state of mind this brief and salutary exercise of  
prayer, shall not attain to the blessings that are promised him. You have  
moreover the blessed Apostle to teach you the fashion of prayer, *who* ex-  
horteth "to lift up holy hands without wrath and doubtings," doubtings,  
that is to say, which distract us toward the vanity of life, and to its wearisome  
but idle pursuits. That is why he uses the plural, "*doubtings*." For he whose  
heart is set on the Kingdom of Heaven is not shaken to and fro by a variety  
of considerations, but embraces the one, single purpose, and holds to it con-  
stantly, and finds in that blessed purpose the treasure that is his true salva-  
tion, and that assures his eternal rest.

I answer as I feel, in this extremity. But you (my holy Son), illuminated  
as you are both in soul and mind worthily of your virtue, may converse with  
the All-holy Spirit Who anointed you, and shall the rather from Him receive  
instruction in what you seek. For the rest, may you yourself fare well,  
passing quietly and peacefully across the ocean of life, and remembering in  
your holy prayers one who may perhaps still be alive, though this is doubtful,  
or may have gone hence, which seems more clearly his fate than life and its  
vanity.

I know that when you were here (my Son) you told me of your desire  
to be guardian of your late father's monastery, and live with the monks  
there, your only requirement being a single chamber for your lodging and

5 κατὰ θεὸν πολιτείας τὸ σπουδαῖον καὶ ἐπιμελὲς ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι. Ταῦτα  
 οὖν μέμνημαι παρὰ σοῦ ἀκηκοώς· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένων μοναχῶν αὐτοῖς τε προσείπομεν καὶ σοὶ γράφομεν  
 ἀπελθεῖν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ καὶ καθὼς ἤτήσω τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ποιεῖσθαι  
 διαγωγὴν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἡγουμένου καὶ παρὰ σοῦ φήμας οὐκ ἀγαθὰς,  
 10 ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἀλλοτρίους μοναδικῆς εὐλαβείας ἐνηγήθημεν, καὶ παρὰ  
 τῶν μοναχῶν τὰ παραπλήσια λεγόντων ἠκούσαμεν, ἐξαποσταλήσεται  
 ἄνθρωπος ἔρευναν τῶν φημιζομένων ποιούμενος. Καὶ εἰ γε τοὺς λόγους  
 ἀμετόχους εὔροι τοῦ ψεύδους, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὡς ἀχρηστος πρὸς ἡγουμενίαν  
 ἀποπαυθήσεται, ἄλλος δέ, ὃν ἂν ἡ τε ἀδελφότης συνίδοι ἄξιον εἶναι τῆς  
 15 ἐπιστασίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ ἡμῶν μετριότης ἐπίκρισιν ποιουμένη τὴν ἱκανό- D  
 τητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιγνῶ, οὗτος ἀναδέξεται τὴν τοῦ μοναστηρίου προστα-  
 σίαν. Σὺ δέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προαιρέσεως μηδὲ  
 κατασβέσης τὸ ζέον καὶ πρόθυμον τῆς σῆς καρδίας, ὅτε πρὸς τὸν μο-  
 νήρη βίον κατέσπευδες, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῆς θείας δυναμύσεως σε χάριτος  
 20 προθυμότερος γίνου καὶ ἐντονώτερος, οἷον ἐπὶ κλίμακός τινος τὰς ἀνα-  
 βάσεις ποιούμενος καὶ αἰεὶ ὅσον δυνατὸν προβαίνων ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω, καὶ  
 μὴ πρὸς τὰ ὀπίσω στρεφόμενος.

#### 106. Τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Χερσῶνος

Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἀρμόδιον, μᾶλλον δὲ ὀφειλόμενον τῇ τελειότητί σου  
 καὶ κόπων καταφρονῆσαι καὶ φόβων τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης τῇ <τε> ἄνωθεν  
 ἐλπίδι θρασυνομένοι πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα καταλαβεῖν, τοῦ καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ ὄλω  
 5 τῷ πληρώματι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας συν|ησθῆναι καὶ ἀπολαῦσαι ὡς 324  
 εἰκὸς ὧν ἀπολαύει ψυχὴ θεοφιλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνότητι καὶ ἀπαλλαγῇ  
 τῆς πρὶν διαστάσεως. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ δειλία καὶ τῆς πορείας  
 ὁ κάματος ἐξενίκησεν καὶ τὸ ζημιωθῆναι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγενέ-  
 σθαι ἱερᾶς ἡδονῆς ἐποίησεν, ὃ λοιπὸν ἐστὶν παραμύθιον τῆς ζημίας, ἐκεῖνο  
 10 ποιούμεν, καὶ γράφομεν οὐ μέμψιν ὑπὲρ ὧν ὠκνησας οὐδ' ἐπιτίμησιν ὑπὲρ  
 ὧν ἐδειλιάσας, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην καὶ τὸ εἰδέναι σε ὅτι μηδεὶς θόρυβος ἐν  
 τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ψυχῇ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ βουληθῆναι σε ἐπίδημον πρὸς ἡμᾶς γε-  
 γενῆσθαι.

20-21: Ps. 83.6.

14 εἶναι Wk: εἰς P (om. Vat.)

106: P 210r-v || 3 τε Wk: om. P

instruction in the zeal and carefulness of the life according to God. I remember  
 your telling me this; and so when monks from that monastery came to me,  
 I spoke to them, and now write to you to go to the monastery and live there,  
 as you asked to do. But since, regarding the abbot, you informed me of some  
 ugly rumors, which were wholly inconsistent with monastical piety, and  
 since the monks told me more or less the same, I will send a man to inquire  
 into what is being rumored. If he finds these reports true, the abbot shall be  
 discharged as unsuitable for his post; and another, whom the brethren  
 regard as competent to govern them, shall, after my Humility has made  
 inquiry and approved his suitability, take over the protection of that mon-  
 astery. But you (my Son) must not forget your original purpose, nor quench  
 the zeal and eagerness you felt when you longed for the monastic life; but  
 rather, receiving strength from the Divine Grace, be yet more eager and  
 unyielding, mounting as it were the rungs of a ladder, and still going forward  
 to the utmost of your power, and never turning back.

#### 106. To the Archbishop of Cherson

So, then, your Perfection might properly—indeed, should—have  
 disregarded the labors and perils of the sea, trusting in your hope from on  
 High, in order to come here and rejoice with me and all the complement of  
 God's Church, and to share the satisfaction which a pious heart must feel  
 at our great Union and at the riddance of our former dissension. However,  
 since dread of the sea and fatigue of travel have won the day, and have  
 deprived me of the holy pleasure of having you here, I must do what I can  
 to mitigate the loss; and I write not to censure your reluctance or to reprobate  
 your cowardice, but to pardon you, and to assure you that I have no resent-  
 ment at heart for your declining to pay us a visit.

Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἃ πρὸς τὸ ἐξηπατημένον ἔθνος καὶ μικροῦ  
 15 συληθὲν ἐκ τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας κόλπων ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος διε-  
 σπουδάσθη σοι ἐν μεγάλῃ ἀποδοχῇ πεποιήμεθα, καὶ παραινοῦμεν καὶ ἐπι-  
 ὄση δύναμις τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας μέριμναν καὶ σπουδὴν ἀνα- B  
 δέξασθαι, ἵνα τέλει ἀνασῶθῃ τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν ἡ τούτων  
 οἰκειώσεις καὶ σωτηρία, παντὸς ὄκνου καὶ καμάτου καὶ πάσης ἄλλης  
 20 δυσχερείας ὅση τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐπανίσταται ὑπηρεσία παρὰ φαῦλον τιθεμένης  
 διὰ τὴν ἐλπίζομένην ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων καμάτων ἀντίδοσιν καὶ ἀπό-  
 λαυσιν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ μιᾶς ψυχῆς προσένεξις τῷ Χριστῷ ἀσύγκριτον ἔχει τὴν  
 ἀντάμειψιν («ὁ ἐξάγων» γὰρ «ἄξιον ἐξ ἀναξίου ὡς στόμα μου,» φησίν,  
 «ἔσται»· τί δ' ἂν εὐρεθεῖ τῆς τοιαύτης ὁμότιμον δωρεᾶς;), σκοπεῖν χρὴ τὴν  
 25 ὑμῶν σύνεσιν ὅση τις ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοσοῦτου πλήθους ἐξ ἀναξίων καθιστα-  
 μένων ἀξίων θεοῦ ἀποκείσεται σοι χάρις. Καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος δὲ ἀρ-  
 χιερέως συνεῖ|ναι αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἀνατίθεμεν τὴν φροντίδα, ὥστε τῇ σῇ C  
 πεφροντισμένῃ διασκέψει τὸν ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔργον εὐρεθῆναι  
 καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξαποσταλῆναι τοῦ ἐν τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τὴν τῆς  
 30 ἐπισκοπῆς τάξιν προχειρισθῆναι καὶ εἰς ποιμένα τοῦ τέως ἀπαστερημένου  
 τοῦ ποιμαίνοντος ποιμνίου καταστῆναι. Ἄρκει ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν  
 σύνεσιν, οἴκοθεν ἐχόντων ὑμῶν τὸ περὶ τούτου ἐπιμελὲς ἐξ ὧν ἐκ τῶν  
 προλαβόντων ὑπεδείξατε σπουδασμάτων.

## 107. Εἰς τὸν Κυζίκου

Οὐκ οἶδα ἐπήρεια δαίμονος τοῦ ἀεὶ συνταράσσοντος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον,  
 οὐκ οἶδα γνώμη κακοῦργος ἀνθρώπων φύρειν ἐφιλονεικήσε τὰ ἐκ τῆς προ-  
 λαβούσης κρίσεως ὀρισθέντα περὶ τῆς ὑμῶν ἀναμεταξὺ καὶ τῶν Βλα-  
 5 χερνῶν συζητήσεως· ἀλλὰ κάλιν, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐπαν-  
 ῆκεν ἡ ψῆφος κατάστασιν. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἔστω διαμένοντα ὡς | ὠρίσθη D  
 τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου καὶ τέκνου ἡμῶν τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου,  
 εἰ γε μέχρι τότε μετὰ τῶν ζώντων διατελέσομεν ἀριθμούμενοι, τὰ ἐναυῦθα  
 καταλαμβάνοντος, τότε πάλιν εἴ τι κοινῶς συνδιασκεπτομένων ἡμῶν  
 10 δόξῃ καὶ εἰρηνικώτερον καὶ ἀλυπτότερον, ἐκεῖνο γενήσεται.

23-24: Jerem. 15.19.

107: P 210v-211r || 2,3 οὐκ οἶδα] cf. 3.23 || 2 ἐπήρεια Mai: ἐπηρεία P

On the contrary: your zeal on behalf of that deluded nation, so nearly  
 ravished from the bosom of piety by the evil demon, has been deeply ap-  
 preciated by me, and I beg that you will continue to bestow every possible  
 care and effort on behalf of their salvation, so that their fellowship with  
 Christ our God and their salvation may finally be reestablished; and that  
 you will disregard all reluctance and toil and every other difficulty which  
 obstructs this service in consideration of the hoped-for reward and rejoicing  
 which these toils will bring. For if the winning of a single soul unto Christ  
 bringeth an incomparable recompense (for He saith, "if thou take forth the  
 precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth," and what gift can be  
 compared in value to this?), then your Wisdom must consider how great a  
 store of grace is laid up for you in respect of so great a multitude of the vile  
 made precious unto God. Concerning the archbishop who is to reside among  
 them, I leave the care of this to you, so that by your diligent enquiry one  
 capable of this task may be found and dispatched to me, in order that I may  
 prefer him in the All-holy Spirit to the rank of bishop and establish him as  
 shepherd over the flock hitherto deprived of one to shepherd it. This will  
 suffice for your Wisdom, who are of yourself capable of the charge, as is  
 manifest from your previous endeavors.

## 107. To the Metropolitan of Cyzicus

Either that diabolical malice which is always disturbing mankind, or  
 else some criminal purpose of men, has striven to upset the decisions of the  
 previous judgment on your dispute with the Blachernae; however (my holy  
 Son), the vote has reaffirmed the original position. Therefore, let matters  
 rest as was decided; and when your Brother, my Son, the Archbishop,  
 comes here, then, supposing that I am still numbered among the living, if  
 we can at a further and joint examination reach a more peaceful and less  
 obnoxious settlement, this shall be done.



## 108. Πρὸς τὸν Πισσηγούτων

Τὴν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπήρειαν καθ' ἐκάστην ἀναμανθάνοντες καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ὑμετέρων γραμμῶν λίαν σπαρασσόμεθα τὴν ψυχὴν. Νῦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ γράμματος ἢ ἀπαγγελία [καθ' ἐκάστην] βαθύτερον τὸν σπαραγμὸν ἀπειργάσατο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὀφείλων ἐν ἑτασμοῖς εἶναι ὑπὲρ ὧν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καταφρονήσας σωτηρίας τοῦ μοναδικοῦ βίου τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἀντηλλάξατο, τοιαῦτα κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράττει καὶ οὕτω θρασέως καὶ ἀναιδῶς ἐπεμβαίνει αὐτήν. Ὅμως 5 κατὰ τὴν ἐξαιτήσιν ὑμῶν καὶ βασιλικὴ ἐξεπέμφθη κέλεις καὶ ἡμέτερον γράμμα πρὸς ὃν ἤτήσω· καὶ πάντως εἰ μελέτην ἔχει τιμᾶν τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὅλα τέκνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν ταύτης τιμὴν ἐν λόγῳ τίθεται, πληρώσει τὰ προσταχθέντα, καὶ τοῦ ταλαιπώρου ἐκείνου ἀνθρώπου ἐπικόπτων τὴν πρὸς τὴν κακίαν ὁρμὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ θλίψιν τῆς ὑμετέρας καρδίας καὶ ἦν εὐλόγως περιφέρεις ἀποδιώκων.

10 Τὸ δ' ἀποσταλὲν κτήνος ἐκεῖ ἔδει παρεῖναι οὐ πλέον ἢ τούτου χρεία· οὐκ ἄδηλον δὲ ὅτι μᾶλλον ὑμεῖς τῆς χρείας ἐπίδεεῖς. Πλὴν ἐδεξάμεθα, ὅποτε θεοῦ βουλομένου ὀφθείης ἡμῖν λόγον ἐξαπατηήσοντές σε τῆς τούτου δαπάνης, ἵν' εἰδῆς μὴ πρὸς ἀπόρους καὶ πένητας τοιοῦτον παμμέγεθες κτήνος ἐκπέμπειν, οὐ χορηγεῖν τὴν βρωσὴν ἀμυχανοῦμεν. Ἀπεστάλη δέ 20 σοι τῆς ἱερᾶς κεφαλῆς καλυπτῆριον. Ἐρρωσο, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν.

109

B

Ἦδη τῆς ἀρρωστίας προσομιλεῖν ἀρχομένης ὁ τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπιφερόμενος ἐπίσκοπος μήπω εἰς ὄψιν ἡμῶν καταστάς δι' ἑτέρων τινῶν ἐδήλου ἑαυτὸν ὅστις εἶη καὶ ὅλα τὰ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος αὐτῷ διεπραγματεύθη. Καὶ τῶν μὲν προλαβόντων κατεγίνωσκεν καὶ πολλὰ ἑαυτὸν 5 ἠτιᾶτο τῆς ἀπάτης ἣν ἄνθρωπος ὢν ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπιτηδείων ὑπέστη· νῦν δὲ ὅλη ψυχῇ ἐξομολογούμενος τὸ ἁμάρτημα καὶ ἀνακαλούμενος ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ σφάλματος προσέδραμεν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην καὶ τὸ ἀναγνωρίζεσθαι τοῦτον τῆς ἱερᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ ποιμένης πρόβατον εὐχῆς ἔργον ποιούμενος, συγγνώμην δὲ ἦνπερ εἴωθεν ἢ ἐκκλησία 10 νέμειν τοῖς ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐξαιτούμενος. Ταῦτα μὲν ὥσπερ ἔφην ἀρχομένης ἤδη τῆς ἀρρωστίας, καὶ διὰ μέσου, ἐπεὶ καθὼς καὶ πρόωρον ἐγράφη

108: P 211r-v || 4 καθ' ἐκάστην del. Jk || 8 πράττει Mai: -ειν P || scr. αὐτῆ? || 19 ἐκπέμπειν Jk: -ων P

109: P 211v-212v || 8 ἀναγνωρίζεσθαι Jk: ἕνα γνωρίζεσθαι P (ἕνα γν. Vat.)

## 108. To the Metropolitan of Pessinus

Quite apart from what you write, my heart has been but too much torn at learning daily of the malice practiced against the Churches of God; and now, the purport of your letter makes my distress still more heavy to bear, especially in view of the fact that a man who ought himself to be under inquisition for having, in disregard of his own salvation, exchanged the monastic for the military life, should so act against the Church and so insolently and shamelessly interfere with her. However, as you request, an imperial mandate has been dispatched, and a letter from me to the party to whom you asked me to write: who, I am sure, if he is careful to respect the Divine and, as a son of the Church, has regard to her honor, will pay what has been demanded, thus putting a stop to the vicious course of that wretched man and relieving your heart of the grief which it naturally feels at this occurrence.

The brute you send ought to be where it is most needed: and obviously you need it more than I. However, I accept it; but, when God wills us to meet, I shall demand its expenses from you, so that you may learn not to send to indigent and poor men *like me* such an enormous brute, which I have difficulty in supplying with food. I am sending you a covering for your holy head. Farewell, my holy Son.

109

When my illness began the bishop who brings you this document had, without visiting me in person, made known to me through others who he was and what his conduct had been up till now. He deplored the past, and blamed himself much for having been deceived, in human weakness, by those who advised him in these matters. But now he was making a clean breast of his offense, and retracted his error, and had taken refuge in the Church of God, praying for peace and for his recognition as a sheep of the holy flock of God, and begging for that pardon which the Church accords to those who return to her. This took place, as I say, when my illness was beginning, and in the meantime, since I was, as I wrote to you some time ago, at death's door, nothing further

ταῖς τοῦ θανάτου παρειστήκειμεν πύλαις, πλέον οὐδέν. Νῦν δὲ ὅτι πάλιν κρίμασιν οἷς οἶδεν ὁ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν κύριος ὡσπερ ἐλπίδες ἀνέκυσαν (τίς δὲ οἶδεν εἰ ἀληθεύουσιν;) ὡς πάλιν ἐσόμεθα μετὰ τῶν ἐν βίῳ ζώντων, τὰ

15 αὐτὰ ὁ ἄνθρωπος κελίηκεν ῥήματα καὶ τὴν ἐξαίτησιν προκομίζεται.

Καὶ ἡμεῖς, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιζητοῦντες ὀλόκληρον καὶ τὴν τῶν σκανδάλων ἐλευθερίαν—τούτου γὰρ καὶ ζῶσιν ἡμῖν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι, εἴπερ τινὸς ἄλλου ἐμέλησεν, τοῦτο καὶ ἀπιόντες ἐντεῦθεν ἐγκάρδιον φέρομεν μέρι-

20 μναν, καὶ οὐ βούλεται ἀφίστασθαι ἡμῶν οὐδὲ νῦν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοιοῦτος πόνος—τί οὖν φημί; Ἐπεὶ προσῆλθε τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιον ὑπεριδεῖν ἡμᾶς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπίσταται σου ἢ τελειότης. Ποῦ γὰρ δίκαιον παριδεῖν τὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοις πλανώμενον ἔτεσιν, νυνὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἀγαπήσαντα;

25 Μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς οὐχὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν φιλόανθρωπον, τὸν εὐμενῆ μιμησόμεθα, ὃς οἶδας οἶα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πεπλανημένου παιδὸς ἐπιστροφῇ ἔτέλεσε πράγματα; Οἶδα οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ σοι ῥημάτων ἐμῶν εἰς τὸ ἀνοῖξαι αὐτῷ τὰ σπλάγχνα, εἰς τὸ προσλαβεῖν, εἰς τὸ πᾶσαν εἰς \*\*\* αὐτῷ ἐπιδείξασθαι ὅσα ὀφείλει ἐπιδεικνύειν ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ ὄντι

30 ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ πρώτου ἀρχιερέως τὴν οἰκείαν | ἀγω- 328 νιζόμενος κοσμεῖν ἀρχιερωσύνην. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ αἵτημα οὐ βαρὺ οὐδὲ φορτικὸν οὐδὲ τῆς συνηθείας τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀλλότριον, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν εἰωθὸς γίνεσθαι. Τί τοῦτο; Τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολαβεῖν ἣν κακῶς κατέλιπεν ἐπιζητεῖ ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ ἀντι-

35 τούτου τυγχάνοντα πρόεδρον σχολάσαι μέχρις ἂν ὁ ἐπιτήδειος εὐρισκόμενος τόπος αὐτὸν εἰς ἐφορείαν προσλήψεται. Ἦν μὲν ὁ ἄνθρωπος προσήγαγεν ἐξαίτησιν αὕτη ἐστίν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμφανῆ σοι καθιστῶμεν αὐτήν. Τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστὶν τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος καὶ τὸ πρέπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἰκονομῆσαι καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον πατρικοῖς σπλάγχνοις ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς

40 ἐκείνης ὑποδέξασθαι πλάνης καὶ οὕτως περὶ αὐτοῦ διοικῆσαι ἵνα καὶ θεῶ εὐχαριστῶν καὶ σοὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχιερεῖ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διαφανῆται, καὶ περὶ | τοῦ νῦν προεδρεύοντος ἐν τῇ ἐπιζητούμενῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρόνοιαν B καταθεῖναι μέχρις ἂν, ὡς εἴρηται, τόπου ἀναφανέντος τοῦ προσήκοντος εἰς προεδρίαν πάλιν ἀποκαταστή. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐκρίναμεν,

45 τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, γνωρίσαι σοι· τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἐν τῇ σῆι κεῖται καὶ διασκέψει καὶ μετὰ θεὸν συμφερούση πρόνοια ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐπισκόπων, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν χεῖρα τελούντων.

25-27: Luc. 15.20-32.

28 lac. indic. Wk (ex. gr. αὐτὸν ἀγάπην προτείνασθαι, εἰς τὸ πάντα)

transpired. But now that, by the inscrutable Judgments of the Lord of my life, hope has in some sort revived (but who knows if it will be fulfilled?) so that I shall be once more with them that live, the man has repeated his statement and is presenting his appeal.

As to me (my holy Son), I seek, as everyone else does, the Church's wholeness, and her freedom from offenses: for, as you know yourself, this has been the chief object of my life, and this, as I go from hence, is still my heartfelt care; nor shall such labor on behalf of the Church be resigned even now by me. What then? Since he has approached the Church of God, your Perfection knows, without any words of mine, that it would not be right for us to disregard him: for how could it be right to neglect one who has strayed during so many years, but now has seen fit to return? How shall we not rather imitate the merciful, the kindly father, who, you know, wrought such deeds over the return of the wandering child? And so I am sure, as I say, that no words of mine are needed to induce you to open your merciful heart to him, to receive him and to show him all *the regard* due from a man of God who is truly an Archpriest, and who is eager to adorn his own Archpriesthood after the pattern of our First Archpriest. What the man asks for is neither heavy nor vexatious, nor is it alien from church usage, but such as has been customary from the beginning until now: that is, he asks for the return to him of his own church, which he evilly deserted, and for the retirement of him who is now presiding over it in his stead, until such time as a suitable see can be found for the latter to administer. This was the request preferred by the man, and I declare it to you plainly. It is now for your Holiness to make such dispensation as befits the Church, and to take the bishop to your paternal mercy after his long wandering, and so to arrange for him that he may appear grateful to God and to you, his own Archpriest; and to provide for him who is now presiding over the church in question until, as I have said, when a suitable see presents itself, he can be reinstated as president over that. I have decided to inform you in this sense (my holy Son); all now rests with your judgment and with your salutary care, with God's aid, for both the bishops beneath your jurisdiction.

## 110. Πρὸς τὸν Πισσηνούτων

Ἵμῶν μὲν τὴν βῶσιν ἐκ τε τοῦ γράμματος καὶ τῆς τοῦ κεκοιμή-  
 τος αὐτοῦ γλώσσης ἀναμαθόντες ἠὲ χαριστήσαμεν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῷ δοτῆρι  
 Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν, ὃς εἶη, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ  
 5 σῶμα ἐν πτέρυξι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀγαθότητος διατηρῶν ἕξω πείρας ἀπάσης  
 κακότητος. Ἡμεῖς δὲ συνεσχέθημεν νόσῳ μαστιζούσῃ μὲν διὰ τὰς  
 ἁμαρτίας | ἡμῶν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐδοκίμασεν ὁ ἐπανορθωτὴς τῶν σφαλμάτων C  
 ἡμῶν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐτάξασθαι μάστιγι. Νῦν δὲ ὅτι συνήθως παρακέκληται  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκτιρῶν τέως ἀνῆκεν, εἰ καὶ παραλυπεῖ ἔτι τὰ ἐκ τῆς  
 10 προλαβούσης ἐτάσεως· ἐφ' ὃ δ' ἂν ἀποβαίῃ τέλος τὸ τῆς ταπεινῆς ἡμῶν  
 ζωῆς, εἶη τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 ὡσπερ καὶ ἔστιν εὐλογημένον. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα μεμνήσθαι ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς  
 ὁσίαις εὐχαῖς, εἴτε συμβιοτεύομεν ὑμῖν εἴτε τῆς ἐντεῦθεν σκητῆς  
 ἀναχωρήσομεν, μὴ διαλείψῃς.

## 111

Ἡδὲ τὸ γράμμα τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος, ὅτι ἐκ ψυχῆς γλυκειάς οἱ  
 λόγοι πηγάζουσιν. Τί γὰρ γλυκύτερον ψυχῆς πλουτούσης τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ  
 πνεύματος, ἣν καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα ψυχὴ κεκτημένη τοιούτους ἐξερεύγεται λό- D  
 γους; Πλὴν τοὺς ἐπαίνους καταλιπὼν, μᾶλλον τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπερέχου  
 5 ταπεινότητος. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐρασμιώτερον, καὶ ταύτῃ ἀγαπῶμεν  
 δεξιούμενοι τῇ χάριτι. Ἄλλων γὰρ οἱ ἐπαινοὶ, τῶν ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἀξίων,  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴδὲν ἐπαίνου ἀξίον ἑαυτοῖς συνειδότες, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εὐχῶν  
 ὄντες ἐπιδεεῖς, ταύταις καὶ δεξιούμενοι χαίρομεν.

## 112. Θεοκτίστῳ Κλαυδιουπόλεως

Ὅσης ἐστὶν εἰκὸς ἐγγίνεσθαι χαρᾶς καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως ἀπόλαυσιν  
 πατρὶ ἀκουτιζομένῳ τέκνων ὑγείαν καὶ σωτηρίαν, ταύτης διὰ τοῦ θεοφι-  
 λειστάτου συμπρεσβυτέρου ἡμῶν ἦκοντος ἀπελαύσαμεν, ἀναγγείλαντος  
 5 ἡμῖν οἰκεία γλώσση τὸ σὲ θεῖα χάριτι | ἀνώτερον πάσης λύτης διατελεῖν 329

110: P 212v || 10 τῆς P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup>

111: P 212v-213r || 8 ὄντες Vat.: -ας P

112: P 213r V 18v-19r || 1 tit. P: θ. μητροπολίτ(η) κ. V || 2 ἀπόλαυσιν Jk: ἀπο-  
 λάυσιν PV || 5 λύτης P: λυπούσης V

## 110. To the Metropolitan of Pessinus

On learning from your letter, and verbally from its bearer, of your  
 good state of health, I gave thanks unto Christ our God, the Giver of good  
 gifts: and may He (my holy Son) protect your soul and body from the assault  
 of all harm beneath the wings of His goodness. As for me, I have been afflicted  
 by a sickness which has indeed scourged me for my sins, for such time as the  
 Corrector of our transgressions approved that I should be visited with this  
 scourge, but now that, according to His wont, He has been appeased by His  
 own mercy, it has for the present abated, although I still feel the effects of  
 my past trial; but to whatever end my humble life may come, blessed be  
 (as it is) the name of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ! For the rest,  
 whether I remain with you in life, or whether I shall depart hence from this  
 stage, do not cease to remember me in your holy prayers.

## 111

Your Holiness' letter is delightful, as its words spring from a sweet  
 soul. For what can be more sweet than a soul that is rich in the love of the  
 Spirit, in possession of which your soul gives utterance to such words as  
 these? But leave your compliments, and rather pray for my Humility:  
 for this is more to my taste, and I love to be favored with this grace. Com-  
 pliments are for others who deserve them; but I am conscious of no such  
 deserving, and, being the rather in need of prayers, rejoice in being favored  
 with them.

## 112. To Theoctistus of Claudiopolis

All the joy and gratification which a father must feel on hearing of  
 the health and safety of his children have been conferred on me by the  
 coming of our most pious fellow presbyter, who has reported to me with his  
 own lips that by Divine Grace you continue superior to every assault of

ἐπιθέσεως· καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ θεῷ ἢ ἐπὶ τούτῳ εὐχαριστία ἡμῖν ἀποδέδοται,  
καὶ εὐχόμεθα πάντοτε τοιαύτης περὶ ὑμῶν ἀγγελίας τυγχάνειν ἀγγέλου.  
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αἱ περιστάσεις οὐκ ἐῷσιν ἡμᾶς ἀναπνεῖν καὶ  
ὡς ἐν τοιοῦτοις περιστοιχιζόμενοι δεόμεθα ἄνθρωποι ταπεινοὶ ὄντες καὶ  
10 τῆς ἐκ τῶν συνόντων παρηγορίας (οἶδας δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲν οὕτω παρηγορεῖ ὡς  
ἢ τῶν τέκνων συνομιλία), ἐβουλόμεθα ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ σὺν ἡμῖν εἶναι.  
Εἰ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναγκαιότερα τὰ ἐν τοῖς αὐτόθι πράγματα πρὸς  
τὴν σὴν ἐπίσχεσιν, παραγενοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Εἰ δ' ἔστι τις ἀνάγκη δυνατω-  
τέρα, τέως ἡμῖν ταῖς δόσιαις εὐχαῖς ὅση δύναμις συνίστασο, καὶ ἡ παρου-  
15 σία, ἐπεὶ μὴ νῦν συγχωρεῖται, πάντως ὅταν θεὸς διδῷ γενήσεται. Τὰ δ'  
ἄλλα ἐρῶσθαι σε ἐπευχόμεθα καὶ μεμνησθαι τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος.

## 113. Νικήτα Ἀθηνῶν

B

Καὶ κυβερνήτης ἄριστος τῶν βαπτιζόντων κυμάτων τὴν ἐκκλισιν  
ποιεῖται διὰ προνοίας, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα συνωθεῖται δι' ὧν μέλλει  
πλέον καταβαπτίζεσθαι· καὶ ἰατρός, ὃ γε δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐστὶν ἢ σωτηρία  
5 τοῦ κάμνοντος, σπουδῆν ἀναδέχεται, εἰ μὴ δυνατὸν παντελῶς θεραπεῦσαι,  
ἀλλὰ γε τέως ἐλαττώσαι τὸ διανοχλοῦν ἀρρώστημα φάρμακα συντιθέ-  
μενος. Συνίεις οἶμαι τοῦ προοιμίου τὸ βούλημα, εἰ μὴ ἐκόντες ἑαυτοὺς τῇ  
ἀγνοίᾳ παρέχομεν· ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία ἐν τοσαύτῃ ζάλῃ καὶ τρικυμῖα  
καθέστηκεν, καὶ τοσοῦτος καθ' ἡμῶν διὰ τῶν ἔσωθεν, διὰ τῶν ἔξω-  
10 θεν ἐγείρεται κλύδων ὡς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰπεῖν ὦραν,  
τὴν παντελῆ καταδύσιν ἐλπίζειν· καὶ σὺ ἐπισκόπους τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν C  
ἐλεύσεις τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων χειροτονηθέντας οὐς οὕτω ὑπὸ καθάρσεων  
προφανῆ πεποιήμεθα. Ἡ λέληθεν σε ὡς οὔτε Σάββας ὁ πρὸ σοῦ τὸν  
θρόνον διέπων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν οὔτε τις ἕτερος τῶν ὁμοταγῶν ἐκείνων ὑπὸ  
15 καθάρσεων γέγονεν, πλὴν τῶν φθασάντων τεσσάρων καθηρησθαι, τοῦ τε  
Δημητρίου φημι καὶ Γαβριὴλ καὶ Γρηγορίου καὶ Κοσμᾶ, ὃς εἰ καὶ μὴ  
διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις τρισίν, ἀλλὰ γε διὰ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ  
ψευδολογίας τῇ καθαιρέσει ὑποβέβληται; Πάντα καιρῷ ἰδίῳ διευθύνε-  
ται· τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὸν προσήκοντα καιρὸν γινόμενον ὡσπερ ἀτελές ἐστὶ, τὸ  
20 δὲ ἀτελές ἀνάγκη ἀποστερεῖσθαι καὶ διαμονῆς. Ἐδει οὖν σε τὸν καιρὸν  
κατανοήσαντα καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν μηδὲν διαπράξασθαι D

6 τούτοι V: τοῦτο P || ἡμῖν P: ἡμῶν V || 12 οὖν P: om. V || 15 συγχωρεῖται V: -τε P

113: P 213r-v V 13v-14v || 2 ἐκκλισιν P: ἐκκλη(σίαν) V || 6-7 συντιθέμενος V:  
συντιθέναι P || 13 πεποιήμεθα cum signo interrog. V || 18 ὑποβέβληται P: καθυποβέβληται V

distress. My thanks for this have been rendered to the Holy God, and I pray  
always to meet with a messenger bearing such tidings of you as these! Since  
the crises of affairs allow us no respite, and since in these circumstances I,  
in my humility, require the solace of companions (nothing, as you know, is  
such a comfort as the consort of one's children), I desire you at this time to be  
with me. If then there is nothing of greater urgency in your local affairs to  
hold you back, come to me. But if there be some need that is too imperative,  
then for the present support me so far as you can by your holy prayers; and  
your visit, even if it is not now permitted, shall certainly be made when God  
allows. For the rest, I pray you fare well, and be mindful of my Mediocrity.

## 113. To Nicetas of Athens

The best pilot is careful to steer clear of waves that are swamping him,  
and does not bear up against those which must more completely overwhelm  
him. Similarly, a doctor who cares for his patient's recovery, is concerned to  
compound such medicines as may, even if a complete cure be impossible, at  
least alleviate for the time the afflicting complaint. I imagine you understand  
the application of this exordium. Unless I am deceiving myself, the Church  
of God is in such rough water and tempest, and such a wave is mounting  
against me, both from within and without, that every day, or rather every  
hour, I expect it to be totally submerged; and yet you are dismissing from  
their churches bishops who were ordained by those who have not yet been  
openly deposed by me. You must be aware that neither Sabas, your pre-  
decessor on the throne of Athens, nor any other of his kidney, has been  
deposed, except for the four deposed already; I mean, Demetrius and Gabriel  
and Gregory and Cosmas, the last of whom incurred deposition, not for the  
same cause as the other three, but for the lies he told in Rome. Everything  
at its proper time. What is done unseasonably must be imperfect; and what  
is imperfect cannot endure. You ought then to have recognized the time and  
the unsettled state of affairs, and have taken none of the steps you have taken.

οἷόν σοι διαπέπρακται. Ἐπει δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως εἰς τοῦτο προήχθης, πάντως εἴ τί σοι μέλει περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον χειμάζεσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος τῆς καθόσον ἐγχωρεῖ ἀνέσεως, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ὁ  
25 ἄνθρωπος ἀπολαβέτω, καὶ διαμενέτω ἕως ἂν τὰ δοκοῦντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰς πέρασ ἔλθοι καὶ ἡ περὶ τῶν πταισάντων ἀμφιβολία ἐναργῆ κατὰ κρίσιν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ δέξηται οἰκονομίαν. Ἐρρωσθαί σε καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι ἐπευχόμεθα καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ὑπερέχεσθαι μετριότητος.

#### 114. Βασιλείῳ μητροπολίτῃ Χαλδίας

Ἡ μὲν ὑπόθεσις τοῦ γράμματος ἀναγκαία μὲν τῷ κομίζοντι τὸ γράμμα· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πληροῦντες τὴν δέησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην τοῦ γράφειν ἐσχῆκαμεν. Ἡμῖν δὲ οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν |  
5 ἐδόκει ἀναγκαία ἡ ὑπόθεσις. Οὐ γὰρ κατέστημεν εἰς λογισμὸν ὅτιπερ ἡ 332 σὴ εὐλάβεια ἕλως τινὶ λύπης ἐθελήσει αἴτιος γενέσθαι, οὐχ ὅτι ἀναίτιω, ἀλλὰ καὶ κἂν τις ἢ εὐλογος αἰτία, οἷα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, λύπης πρόξενος ἀναφαινομένη—ἐπειδὴ καὶ τότε τῆς μὲν αἰτίας τὸ ἰάσιμον ἐπιδεχομένης πάντως θεραπευόμενος οὐ λυπηθήσεται ὁ ταύτην παρασχών· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ  
10 ἀνάτον ἤλασε τὸ κακόν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἔσται παρὰ σοῦ τῷ λυπομένῳ ἡ λύπη, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆς κακίας τοῦ πράγματος.

Ἄρκεῖ ταῦτα. Λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα χωρῶμεν περὶ οὗ γράφαι διενοήθημεν. Αελύπηται ὡς φησιν παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος ὁ κομίζων σοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ὅτι μονῆς ἐξηλάθη ἐν ἣ πλεῖστα ἔτη διατελέσας τὴν  
15 ἐπιστάσιαν ἐγκεχέρισται, μηδὲν ἐργασάμενος τοιοῦτον, μηδὲ ἄξιον τῆς | ἐκεῖθεν ἐλάσεως. Τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἀπαγγελθὲν γινῶθι ὅτι λίαν ἤψατο B τῆς ψυχῆς. Εἴ τι οὖν σοι μέλει περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ μὴ λυπεῖσθαι, ἀπόδος τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, μηδὲν δειλιῶν ὅπερ ὑποπτεύεις. Οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρήσεται τις τὸ μοναστήριον τοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν τελεῖν ἐξουσίαν, οὔτε  
20 ἡμεῖς οὔτε ἄλλος, μέχρις ἂν ἐνταῦθα διάγωμεν.

#### 115. Εὐθυμίῳ μητροπολίτῃ Ἀντιοχείας

Ὁδυνηρὰν ἀγγελίαν ἀκούσαντες, ἣν εἶη θεὸς πόρρω τῆς ἀληθείας ποιῶν—ἠρούσαμεν γὰρ βεβληῖσθαι σε νόσῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον

22 οἷον P: οἷων V || 23 μὴ P: om. V || 28 ἐπευχόμεθα P: ἐπεύχομαι V

114: P 214r || 7 ἢ Vat.: ἡ P || 9 παρασχών] πάσχων Jk || 10 ἀνάτον P\*: ἀνάτιον P<sup>1</sup> || 14 μονῆς Mai: μόνης P

115: P 214r-v V 91r-v Q 187v-188r || 1 tit. P: τῷ μ. ἀ. V: om. Q || 3 τοῦτο P Q: τοῦ V

However, since—for whatever reason—you have been induced to act like this, yet if you have any regard at all for allaying the storm which rocks the Church, as well as for any possible peace of mind my Mediocrity may enjoy, then let the man have his bishopric back and stay in it till the Church's decisions have been reached, and till the doubt about those who have erred is settled either by formal condemnation or else by some dispensation in their favor. I pray you fare well in soul and body, and pray for my Mediocrity.

#### 114. To Basil, Metropolitan of Chaldia

The matter I write of is of serious importance to the bearer, and so it is at his request that I have undertaken to write of it: it did not seem at all serious to me, nor does it now. It never occurred to me that your Reverence could willingly hurt anybody at all; certainly not an innocent man, but not even if there appear to be (such are human affairs) some good cause for hurting somebody—in that case, too, if the cause can be remedied, the one who gave such cause will surely not feel hurt by the treatment; or else, if the evil has gone too far for cure, even so the offended party will not have his offense from you, but from the evil nature of the circumstance.

So much for that: and now let me proceed to the affair about which I see fit to write. The bearer states that he has been offended by your Holiness inasmuch as he has been expelled from a monastery in which he has lived very many years and over which he presided, although he has done nothing of a sort to deserve his expulsion thence. I would have you know that his report has greatly distressed me. If you are concerned not to give me offense, restore to the man his rank, and do not worry about what you suspect of him. No one shall remove the monastery from your control, neither I, nor anyone else so long as I continue here.

#### 115. To Euthymius, Metropolitan of Antiochia

I have heard grievous tidings, which God grant may be unfounded! I have heard that you are stricken by disease, and for this reason have so

χρόνον τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπανόδου καθυστερεῖν—ἀπεστείλαμεν ἅμα μὲν  
 5 περὶ ὧν ἀκηκόαμεν ἐκμαθεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ σοὶ καὶ υγιῶς διατελοῦντι, ὅπερ  
 παράσχοι θεὸς ἐγγενέσθαι, παρηγορίαν τινὰ τῇ τοῦ ἀποσταλέντος | πρὸς C  
 σὲ καταλήψει. Οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὡς εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον διοχλοῦν ἤ, ἀλλὰ γε  
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἢ ἐξ ἡμῶν διαχώρησις ἐν χρεῖα σε παρηγορίας καθίστησιν.  
 Παράσχοι δὲ θεὸς πάσης νόσου καὶ πάσης λύπης ἀπηλλαγμένον θᾶττόν  
 10 σε παραγενέσθαι καὶ ὀφθῆναι ἡμῖν.

## 116. Φιλίππῳ Λαρίσσης

Ἔγνωμεν ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος τῆς σῆς καρδίας τὸ ἀλγημα, ἔγνωμεν  
 δὲ καὶ ὡς ὑπόνοιαν φέρεις περὶ τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος, ὅτι ἐξ ἡμῶν σοι  
 προσγέγονε τὸ ἀλγεῖν. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ ὀδύνη τῆς καρδίας σου σφοδρῶς  
 5 ἠνιάθημεν καὶ ἡμεῖς. Οὐ γὰρ μὴ ὅτι γε σοί, τέκνῳ τυγχάνοντι καὶ  
 ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ τῶν μελῶν οἰκειοτάτῳ, ἀλλ' οὐδέ τι ἐτέρῳ τῶν ἐναντίας  
 πρὸς | ἡμᾶς ἐχόντων τὸ διακεῖσθαι ὀδυνηρῶς βούλησίς ἐστιν ἡμῖν. Περὶ D  
 δὲ ὧν ὑπονοούμεθα, λελυπημέθα μὲν ὅτι ὅλως ὀτωδῆποτε τρόπῳ τοιαῦτά  
 σοι παρέσχομεν ὑπονοεῖν· πλὴν οὐ τοσοῦτον ἄπτεται τῆς καρδίας τὸ  
 10 ἄλλῳ δια τὸ συνειδέναί· μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ὅποιον εἰς αἰτίαν φέρεις παρ'  
 ἡμῶν προελθεῖν. Οὕτε γὰρ τῷ ἀτακτήσαντι περὶ τὴν σὴν ἐπαρχίαν τοῦτο  
 ἐνετειλάμεθα οὐδὲ ὅλως ἀναφέρομεν εἰς ἔννοιαν τοιαύτης αὐτῷ ἐγχειρή-  
 σεως, οὔτε τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Θηβῶν ὑπὸ σὲ τελοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπεστεί-  
 λαμεν ἱερῶσαι, ἀλλὰ διδαχθέντες ὡς τοῖς πατριαρχικοῖς προνομίοις εἰ  
 15 τίς ποτέ ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐγκεκαινισμένος ναὸς τελεῖ, τοῦτο διωρισάμεθα,  
 οὐ τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν ῥίπτοντες παρὰ φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ διάστημα  
 μὴ μαθόντες ἀκριβῶς, λογισάμενοι ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ ἢ σοὶ ῥάδιος καὶ 333  
 κουφοτέρα ἡ ὁδοιπορία καὶ τοῦ προστάγματος ἢ ἐκπλήρωσις. Τοῦτο μὲν  
 οὕτω παρηκολούθησεν, καὶ χρῆ σε τὸ ἀληθὲς διδαχθέντα τὴν λύπην  
 20 ἀποθέσθαι. Διὰ τί; Ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ γε τοῦ νῦν, εἰ τῆς σῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐστὶν  
 ὁ ἱερῶθεις ναὸς, πάντως ὑπὸ σοὶ διατελέσει, καὶ οὐ ζημιωθήσῃ τοῦ σοὶ  
 διαφερόντος πράγματος ἐκ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ λόγον προσγεγονότος.

5 σοὶ VQ: σὺ P || καὶ<sup>2</sup> P: om. VQ || διατελοῦντι PV: -εἶται Q || ὅπερ PQ: ὁ V || 7 εἰ VQ:  
 om. P || διοχλοῦν PV: -εἶσθαι V || ἢ Q: εἰ PV || 8 διαχώρησις PV: ἀναχώρησις Q || χρεῖα  
 σε PV: χρεῖας τὲ Q

116: P 214v-215r || 2 ἔγνωμεν <μὲν> ci. Jk (cf. 129.4) || 5 σοὶ P || 20 νῦν, εἰ]  
 νυνὶ Jk

long put off your return here to me. I am sending to learn the truth of this  
 report and at the same time to afford you, even if you are well (as God grant  
 you are!), some consolation by the coming of my messenger to you: for I  
 know that, even if there be nothing else to trouble you, the very fact of your  
 separation from me puts you in need of consolation. God give you release  
 from every sickness and every distress, so that you may come here the sooner  
 and be received by me.

## 116. To Philip of Larissa

I learned from your letter of your distress of mind, and also that you  
 suspect my Mediocrity of being responsible for it. At your distress I too am  
 deeply pained, since I have no desire that any of my opponents should feel  
 such, let alone you, who are a son, an Archpriest, and a member most fam-  
 ily bound to me. But as for your suspicions, I am grieved that I should  
 have given you cause for them in any way whatsoever; though my grief is  
 less severe in that I am not conscious of any such conduct as that which you  
 call in question. The person who has been disturbing order in your diocese  
 was not acting on instructions from me, nor did it occur to me that he might  
 act in such a manner. Nor did I instruct the Archbishop of Thebes to con-  
 secrate a church "under your jurisdiction"; I was told that the church which  
 has been dedicated was undoubtedly covered by the privileges of this  
 Patriarchate, and I therefore issued my instruction, not out of any contempt  
 for your Virtue, but because I was inaccurately informed of the distance to be  
 traversed, and believed that the journey and execution of my order would  
 be easier and less onerous for him to perform than for you. Such was the  
 sequence of events, and, now that you know the truth, you should put away  
 your resentment. And why? Because from now onward the church which  
 has been consecrated belongs to your diocese, and shall certainly continue  
 under your jurisdiction, nor will you suffer any loss by the affair in question  
 through the irregularity of its performance.

Ἄπ' ἀρχῆς τοῦ γράμματος τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς φανεράν σοι ποιῶντες γράφομεν ὅτι μετὰ σφοδρᾶς τῆς λύπης ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν πρὸς σὲ κεινήμεθα. Πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ βαρεῖαν τὴν ἀλγηδὸνα φέρο-  
 5 μεν; ὅποτε λογισμοῖς ἀμείνουν, καὶ πάντα λογιζομένοις δι' ὧν ἡμῖν ἔσται παραψυχή, δι' ὧν | δοξασθήσεται μὲν θεός, κλέος δέ σοι ἀείμνηστον B περιγενηθήσεται καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν ἐφορείαν τῶν βαρυνόντων ἄνεσις καὶ παράκλησις ἢ σὴ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρχιερατικὸν θρόνον τῆς αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίας καταστήσεται προβολή· νῦν δὲ τῶν λογισμῶν ἐκείνων (φεῦ τῆς τοῦ δαίμονος  
 10 ἐπηρείας), ὡς οἱ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμῖν προσιόντες ἀπαγγέλλουσι, κατανοοῦμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότες. Ὅρᾳς ἐξ οἴας συνοχῆς τῆς ἡμῶν ψυχῆς τὸ γράμμα σοι γράφεται; Οὐ γὰρ διαλείπουσι καθ' ἑκάστην νῦν μὲν μονάζοντες, νῦν δὲ τῆς λαϊκῆς τάξεως, νῦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου, τὰς ἐγκλήσεις ποιούμενοι κατὰ σοῦ, ὡς τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδιωκόμενοι, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 15 ῥύεσθαι παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης αὐτοὺς ἐκ χειρὸς ἄλλης στερεωτέρας, τῆς σῆς θεόμενοι παρὰ τῶν δυναμένων ἀντιλαβέσθαι ῥυσθῆναι.

Ἐῶ τὰ λοιπά· ἀλλὰ νῦν ὁ τοῦ Βήματος καθηγούμενος τῆς μονῆς C ἐπέστη πλήρης δακρύων, πλήρης ἀθυμίας καὶ συγχύσεως· καὶ τὸ αἴτιον ὅτι σὺν αὐτοῖς μονάζουσιν παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ἀπελαύνεται προαιρέσεως, οὐκ  
 20 οἶδα πόθεν ἐπὶ τοῦτο κινήθέντος σου ἢ τί δίκαιον προῖσχυμένου τῆς τοσαύτης βιαίας ἐπιθέσεως. Καίτοι εἰ καὶ πᾶς δίκαιος λόγος παρῆν συναγωνιζόμενος, τοῦτο μόνον ἱκανὸν τέως ἦν ἐπισχεῖν, τὸ τελεῖν ὑπὸ τὴν πατριαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν, εἰς τὸ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον μὴ ὅτι πράττειν, ἀλλὰ  
 25 καὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως προβεβλημένης τὸ δέονπραχθῆναι διεγνωστο. Μή, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εἴ τι σοι μέλει περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς πολυωδύνου ζωῆς, μὴ οὕτω καθίστασο τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν ἐπαρχίαν | βαρῦς, μηδὲ ἀγαπῶμεν τὰς D πάντων γλώσσας κινεῖν καθ' ἡμῶν, μηδὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ πρὸς εὐχαριστίαν θεοῦ ἐφ' οἷς τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀπολαύουσιν ὠφελείας διανίστασθαι τοὺς  
 30 ἀνθρώπους πρὸς λαιδωρίας αὐτοὺς ἀνακινῶμεν καὶ τὰς κατὰ τῆς ἐμῆς κεφαλῆς ἀράς. Οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ κακῶς πάσχοντες τῶν ἀρχομένων μετὰ τὸ διαβάλλειν τοὺς κακῶς διατιθέντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀράς ἀπορρίπτουσιν εἰς τὰς τῶν αἰτίων γινομένων κεφαλὰς. Ὅπερ, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, πάσῃ δυνάμει φυλαξόμεθα, μάλιστα τοῦ ἀποστόλου

117: 15: Ps. 34.10.

117: P 215r-216r || 11 debbat ἐκπεπτωκότες || 25 πραχθῆναι Vat.: πα(ρα)χθῆναι P || 34 φυλαξόμεθα P<sup>c</sup>: -όμεθα P<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of my letter I declare my frame of mind to you: it is by acute distress that I am moved to write. That I should be deeply grieved is natural. I had the best hopes from your appointment to the archiepiscopal seat of your church, and augured everything that might redound to my own comfort, to God's glory, to your own imperishable fame, and to the relief and solace from their burdens of those beneath your care. But, as it is—alas for the demon's malice!—I realize that I have been deceived in these hopes, if I may judge from the reports of those who come here day after day. You see in what affliction of spirit I am writing? Day after day comes a continuous stream of monks, laymen, and clergy, accusing you of expelling them from their own, and, so far from being delivered by your Archpriesthood out of sterner hands, they are applying for intervention of the powers that be for deliverance out of your own.

One example will serve: the abbot of the Bema monastery has just arrived, full of tears, full of sorrow and confusion. The reason is that he and his monks are being turned out on your initiative. I do not know how you arrived at this decision, or what justification you put forward for such a violent act of aggression; but, even if you had every justification to support you, the single fact that this monastery is under the jurisdiction of this Patriarchate should in itself have been sufficient to restrain you from any such action, or thought of action, until you had come here, put your case, and had a decision on what was to be done. I beg of you not to be so hard upon your diocese! Let us not deliberately provoke every tongue against us, and, instead of moving men to gratitude to God for the blessings they enjoy at your hand, stir them up to invectives and curses upon my head! For you know that it is common for subjects who are in distress not merely to cry out on the direct authors of their misgovernment, but also to vent their curses on the heads of those responsible for the latter's appointment. This (my holy Son) let us avoid at all costs, more especially as the Apostle telleth



35 λέγοντος ἀπροσκόπους εἶναι οὐ μόνον ὁμοδόξοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Ἑλλησιν.

Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν οὖν ὅτι καὶ τῇ σῆ συνέσει πλεῖστοι ἐπιτίθενται παραλόγως καὶ πονηρευόμενοι ἀγῶνα | ποιοῦνται τοῦ τὴν σὴν ἐκκλησίαν 336 ζημίᾳ περιβαλεῖν. Ἐπίσταμαι ὡς πολλοὶ τοιοῦτοι· καὶ γὰρ διὰ πάντων ὄρῳ κεχυμένην τὴν νόσον τῆς πλεονεξίας, καὶ σπάνιον ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν καὶ 40 ἐν μείζοσι προσώποις καὶ ἐν ἐλάττοσι τὸν μὴ κεκρατημένον τῷ πάθει. Πλὴν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐπειδάν τι τοιοῦτον ἀνακύψῃ, τῇ προσηκούσῃ συνέσει καὶ εὐλαβείᾳ τῇ σῆ ἀρχιερωσύνη προσφέρου τοῖς διατιθεμένοις, καὶ μὴ σεαυτὸν ἐκδικεῖν μηδὲ ὡς ἐξ αὐτονόμου ἐξουσίας σεαυτῷ τι περιποιεῖ- 45 σθαι καὶ ἀποστερεῖν τοὺς κατέχοντας τὸ ζητούμενον· ἀλλ' εἴτε διὰ σεαυτοῦ, εἴτε δι' ἐτέρου τῶν ἐπιτηδείων προσιέναι τοῖς κατὰ τόπον δικάζειν λαχοῦσι καὶ τῷ ψηφίζομένῳ παρὰ τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως ἀγαπητῶς ἐμμένειν, ἵνα οὕτω καὶ οἱ πλεονεκτικῶς τι κατέχοντες ἀφαιρούμενοι τοῦ πλεονεκτῆ|ματος μὴ ἔχοιεν κατὰ σοῦ γογγύζειν καὶ σοὶ τὸ περιγινόμενον B 50 παρὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης μηδεμίαν ἐπιφέρειν μέμψιν μηδ' ὑπὸ τινος καταβόησιν.

Ταῦτά σοι, καὶ πάλιν φημί, λίαν ἐγράψαμεν ὀδυνώμενοι· καὶ εἴ τι περὶ πατρὸς ὀδυνωμένου φροντίζεις, μηκέτι πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἡμᾶς καταστήσης τοιαῦτά σοι γράφειν. Ἐρρωμένον σε ὁ κύριος διαφυλάξει ἐν 55 πᾶσιν εὐαρέστως αὐτῷ διαβιοῦντα καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος ὑπερευχόμενον.

### 118. Πέτρῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἀλανίας

Οὐκ οἶδεν τοὺς πνευματικῶς ἠνωμένους σωματικὴ ἀπόστασις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαχωρίζειν, ἀλλ' εἰ χρὴ τι καὶ παράδοξον ἔρεῖν, ἡ τῶν σωματικῶν 5 διαζευξίς πλεον τὴν ἔνωσιν ἀπεργάζεται, ὅλης ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς σχέσεως εἰς τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν συνάφειαν καθαρῶς περισταμένης καὶ μὴ ἐθελούσης μερίζεσθαι οἷς | ὑποβάλλει τῶν σωμάτων ἡ ἔνωσις. Οὐ C τοίνυν ἀθυμεῖν ἄξιον ὅτι τοῖς σώμασιν διεστήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰδώ,

35-36: 1 Cor. 10.32.

37 ἀγνοῶ μὲν Jk: ἀγνοῶμεν P<sup>1</sup>: ἀγνοοῦμεν P<sup>c</sup> || 41 τὸν μὴ κεκρατημένον P<sup>c</sup>: τῶν . . . -νων P<sup>1</sup> || 50 ἐπιφέρειν P<sup>c</sup>: -ειν P<sup>1</sup> || 53-54 καταστήσης P<sup>c</sup>: -σεις P<sup>1</sup> || 55 διαβιοῦντα P<sup>c</sup>: βιοῦντα P<sup>1</sup> || 55-56 ὑπερευχόμενον P<sup>c</sup>: ὑπερεύχ[. . .] P<sup>1</sup>.

118: P 216r-v Q 187v || 1 tit. P: om. Q || 2 οἶδεν P: οἶδα Q || 3 ἔρεῖν P: εἰπεῖν Q || 4 ὅλης P: ὅμως Q || 7 ἄξιον P: ἀνάξιον Q

us to give no offense not only to our fellow Christians, but to Jews and Greeks besides.

I am well aware that there are very many who attack your Wisdom without reason, and who, out of malice, endeavor to bring damage on your church. I know there are many such: for I see the disease of greed widely diffused among all, and it is rare to find anyone, whether among the great or the small, who is not subject to this passion. But (my Son) when this sort of thing occurs, you should conduct yourself toward the parties with the wisdom and piety suitable to your Archpriesthood, and not avenge yourself, nor lay claim to anything as by an exercise of arbitrary power, by depriving the possessors of the property you wish for; but, either personally or through some qualified agent, you should approach the local judiciary, and patiently accept what is ruled by just judgment, so that those who are deprived of ill-gotten property may have no cause to grumble at you, and so that what is awarded to you by justice may carry no stigma and excite no protest.

I say it again, I am writing this with much distress; and if you care for a father in distress, give him no further occasion to write to you in this strain. God keep you well, living in all ways approved unto Him, and praying for my Mediocrity.

### 118. To Peter, Archbishop of Alania

Bodily separation from another cannot divide those who are one in the spirit: indeed, paradoxical as it may be, bodily severance renders the union more complete, since, one might say, all our regard is devoted singly to the conjuncture of souls, and knows none of that dispersion which bodily union involves. You should therefore not be downcast at our bodily separation, but rather realize (as I say) that we are more completely conjoined

ὅπερ ἔφη, ὅτι πλέον τῷ πνεύματι συναπτόμεθα, ὑψηλότερος γενοῦ μοι  
 τῆς ἐκεῖθεν περισπώσης τὸν λογισμὸν διοχλήσεως, καὶ τῆς ἐγχεχειρι-  
 10 σμένης σοι παρὰ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος ὅλος ὢν ἱερωτάτης ἀγαλλιᾶσεως  
 πλήρης ἀντέχου, πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν ψυχὴν περιστρέφων καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν  
 φουομένην ἡδονὴν τῷ σωτῆρι πάντων Χριστῷ καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ταπεινοῖς καὶ  
 τὴν σοὶ προσγινομένην δόξαν τε καὶ ὠφέλειαν, ὀπίσω ρίψας τὴν ἀθυμίαν  
 καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης ἀηδῆ ἐνοχλήματα. Εἰ γὰρ ἔνεκεν γητίνου κέρδους μακρὰς  
 15 ὁδοιπορίας στελλόμενοι <τινες> καὶ γονέων καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ παιδῶν | οὐ D  
 μόνον οὐκ ἀθυμοῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίροντες ἐνίοτε ἀναδέχονται τὴν διάστα-  
 σιν, τῆς ἐκ τοῦ κέρδους ἐλπίδος τὸ χαίρειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀθυμεῖν χαριζόμε-  
 νης, τί δεῖ φρονεῖν τοὺς οἱ μέλλουσι κερδαίνειν ἃ καὶ ἀγγέλοις εἰς ἐπι-  
 θυμίαν καὶ μόνης καθίσταται παρακύψεως; Ἄλλ' εἰκὸς ἐνθυμούμενον  
 20 τὸ μὴ ἔτι πρὸς θεὸν καταστῆναι ἀλλήλοις, κεντεῖσθαι τὴν καρδίαν ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ θερμοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόθου. Μάλιστα μὲν εἰ καὶ τοῦτο συμφέροι,  
 παρέξει ὁ ἀγαθός, εἰ δὲ ὑποτεμεῖται τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ  
 ταύτης χαριεῖται (πεποίθαμεν τῇ ἐκείνου χρηστότητι) τὴν ἀμείνω, ἣν  
 οὔτε χρόνος διατέμνει, οὐ τόπος, οὐκ ἄλλη τις περιστάσις ἐξωθεν, ἀλλ'  
 25 ἀεὶ παραμένει τοῖς συνοῦσιν ἀμάραντον παρεχομένη τὴν ἡδονὴν. Ὁ δὲ  
 φιλόνητος ἡμῶν πατὴρ καὶ θεὸς αὐτός, τέκνον ἡμῶν, συνὼν ἀδιαστά-  
 τως εἶη καὶ συναντιλαμβανόμενος οἷς διακονεῖς τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ 337  
 καὶ λύων πάσης ἀκηδίας σκυθρωπότητα καὶ τῆς ἀσβέστου <σε> φαιδρό-  
 τητος καταξιῶν.

## 119. Ἀνδρέα Πατρῶν

Ὅση στενοχωρία περιστοιχιζόμεθα, καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ἡμᾶς διδά-  
 σκειν οὐ λογιζόμεθά σε, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἀγνοεῖν. Ἡ γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων  
 διάθεσις οὐκ ἔστιν οἷα λαμβάνειν μὴ ὅτι γε ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλον τινα  
 5 τὸν τυχόντα. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα συνέχουσι κακοῖς καὶ οἱ ἐξ  
 ἑτέρων τόπων καθ' ἑκάστην [καὶ] διοχλοῦντες βαρυτέραν τὴν στενοχω-  
 ρίαν ἡμῖν ἀπεργάζονται. Ἐδὲ οὖν, τέκνον ἐμὸν, ἐν παντὶ τρόπῳ προ-

18-19: 1 Petr. 1.12.

8 ὅπερ P: ὡσπερ Q || 8 ὑψηλότερος — 29 καταξιῶν P: om. Q || 15 στελλόμενοι τινες P<sup>c</sup>:  
 στελλόμενοι P<sup>1</sup> || post παιδῶν] ἀποστερούμενοι ins. P<sup>c</sup> || 16 ἀθυμοῦντες P<sup>1</sup>: -οῦσι P<sup>c</sup> ||  
 18 οἱ Wk: οἶον P || μέλλουσι P<sup>1</sup>: μέλλοντας P<sup>c</sup> || 26-27 ἀδιαστάτως P<sup>c</sup>: ἀδιστάτως P<sup>1</sup> ||  
 28 σε P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup>

119: P 216v-217v || 6 ante καὶ] ἀφικνούμενοι ins. P<sup>c</sup> || καὶ del. Wk

in spirit, and thus, I beg of you, rise superior to the local trouble which  
 distracts your mind, and, being filled full of the most sacred joy which is  
 your gift from the All-holy Spirit, endure it; and in that frame of mind, and  
 in consideration of the pleasure which is born from your trouble unto Christ  
 the Saviour of all and to my own Humility, and the glory and profit re-  
 dounding from it to yourself, put behind you your depression of spirits and  
 the troubles and unpleasantnesses which give rise to it. For if those who  
 undertake long journeys for worldly profit accept, not merely with equanim-  
 ity, but sometimes even with gladness, their separation from parents or  
 wife or children because their hope of gain transmutes their grief to gladness,  
 how ought those to feel who stand to gain those things which even angels  
 long to catch so much as a glimpse of? It is natural, when you reflect that  
 we can no longer see one another, that your heart should be sore, out of your  
 warm affection for me. But, in the first place the Good *God* will certainly  
 grant *our meeting*, if this should be expedient; and if He shall deprive us of this  
 enjoyment, yet He will give us (as we trust in His Goodness) a better enjoy-  
 ment still, which neither time nor place nor any other outward circumstance  
 interrupts, but which abides forever and gives unfading pleasure to those  
 who are visited by it. And may Our Merciful Father and very God be con-  
 tinuously with you (my Son) to help you in your ministrations for His Gospel,  
 to dispense the gloom of all slothfulness, and to make you worthy of the  
 mirth that is unquenched.

## 119. To Andrew of Patras

I believe (my Son) that you do not need me to tell you of the very  
 great difficulty of my circumstances: for the state of affairs is plain enough  
 to the most casual observer, let alone you. When, therefore, on the top of my  
 distresses here, people from other parts worry me daily, they make my  
 difficulties more irksome still. And so (my Son) you should by all means

νοεῖσθαι τῶν αὐτόθεν ἀνερχομένων, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν χεῖρα  
 τελούντων, μὴ ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἡμῖν τὰς διοχλήσεις, ἂν ποτε διὰ πταίσματα  
 10 οἷα φιλεῖ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἀποκίνησιν τινος συμβαίῃ γενέσθαι τῆς ὑπ'  
 αὐτοῦ διοικουμένης διακονίας, ἄλλης τινὸς τυγχάνειν παραμυθίας, ἣτις |  
 τοῦτον ὡσπερ ἐξιλάρυνεῖ καὶ τὸ ἄτακτον πῆδημα τῆς καρδίας συστεῖλαι B  
 παρασκευάσει. Νῦν δέ (πῶς εἶπω;) ὡς μὴ δυνάμενοι ἄλλως τὴν ἐπώ-  
 δυνον ταύτην ἔλκειν ζωὴν, οὕτω κατατεινόμενοι ταῖς ὀδύναϊς καὶ τὴν  
 15 ψυχὴν σπαρασσόμενοι πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα παραγίνονται οἱ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων  
 μετακινούμενοι λειτουργιῶν.

Τούτων ἐστὶν καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ μοναχός, ὃς φησιν ἀποδεδιωχθαι  
 μοναστηρίου ἐν ᾧ ἀπεκείρατο καὶ οὗ προτιμότερος ἦν καταπεπιστευσθαι  
 τὴν διοίκησιν, ὡς ἄλλοις τε τρόποις διαφέρουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ κατὰ  
 20 συγγένειαν τοῦ τὸ μοναστήριον συστησαμένου κληρονομία. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνος  
 μὲν ταῦτα, προστιθεὶς ὅτι ξένος τις καὶ ἀλλότριος καὶ μηδὲν δίκαιον εἰς τὸ  
 ἄρχειν τοῦ μοναστηρίου κεκτημένος, μὴ τρόπον, | μὴ βίον, μὴ συγγενῆ C  
 τίνα πρόφασιν, παρὰ σοῦ προεκρίθη εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιστάσιαν. Ἡμεῖς  
 δὲ τοῦτό σοι γράφομεν, ὡς εἰ μὲν ὁ τὸ γράμμα ἡμῶν ἐπικομιζόμενος  
 25 ἀληθῆ ἐδίδαξεν καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τις αἰτία κωλύουσα τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἄρχειν  
 αὐτόν, μὴ ἀποστερεῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν θεοφιλείας τῆς ἐπιβαλλούσης  
 αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ἡγουμενείας. Εἰ δέ τί ἐστὶν ἐναντίωμα  
 δι' οὗ ἀνάξιος ἀναδείκνυται τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς, τέως τῆς ὀφειλομένης  
 παραμυθίας καὶ τῆς σωματικῆς ἀνέσεως τῆς ὅσον ἐστὶν δυνατὸν ἀστε-  
 30 νοχωρήτου ζωῆς, εἰ τί σοι μέλει, τέκνον ἡμῶν, περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων θλί-  
 ψεων καὶ ὀδυνῶν, παντὶ τρόπῳ τὴν <πρέπουσαν> ὡς ἀρχιερεῖ θεοῦ καὶ  
 ἀπαραιτήτως ὀφείλοντι τὸ φιλόανθρωπον ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καταβαλοῦ περὶ  
 αὐτὸν πρόνοιαν.

### 120. Τρύφωνι μονάζοντι

Καὶ τὸ δῶρον γλυκὺ καὶ οἱ λόγοι οὐ μόνον γλυκεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φέρον- D  
 τες οὐ μετρίαν ἄνεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν συνεχόντων τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ψυχῇ. Προεθυ-  
 μήθηγ οὖν προτρέψασθαι τὴν σὴν, πάτερ, ὁσιότητα πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν

11 αὐτοῦ P<sup>1</sup>: -ῶν P<sup>c</sup> || 12 τοῦτον P<sup>1</sup>: τούτους P<sup>c</sup> || 13 παρασκευάσει P<sup>c</sup>: -ση P<sup>1</sup> || 30 περὶ |  
 punctis del. P || 31 πρέπουσαν Jk: om. P || ἀρχιερεῖ P<sup>1</sup>: -εὺς P<sup>c</sup> || 32 ὀφείλοντι Jk:  
 ὀφειλούση P<sup>1</sup>: ὀφείλων P<sup>c</sup> || ante περὶ] τὴν ins. P<sup>c</sup>

120: P 217v V 91v || 3 συνεχόντων P<sup>1</sup>V: συνεχόντων κακῶν P<sup>c</sup> || τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ψυχῇ  
 P<sup>1</sup>V: τὴν -αν -ῆν P<sup>c</sup> || 4 πάτερ P: ᾧ π(άτ)ερ V

have taken care of those who come here from your area, and especially of  
 those who are under your jurisdiction, so that they do not put their worries  
 on to me; and if, for some human failings, someone has been removed from  
 the ministry he was performing, he should get some other consolation to  
 raise his spirits and allay the inordinate poundings of his heart. But, as it is,  
 when they are removed from their proper ministries, so intense are their  
 agonies and lacerations of spirit, that they seem unable to support this  
 painful existence without resorting here.

One such party is the monk Gregory, who, as he says, has been turned  
 out of the monastery in which he was tonsured and with the administration  
 of which he was most suitable to be entrusted, since it belonged to him for  
 various reasons and especially by inheritance, owing to his kinship with the  
 founder of the monastery. Such is his account; and he adds that a stranger  
 and an alien, who has no qualification either of character in life or pretext  
 of kin to govern the monastery, has been preferred by you to this adminis-  
 tration. I therefore write to *instruct* you that, if the bearer of this letter has  
 spoken the truth, and if there is no cause disabling him from governing the  
 monastery, he is not to be deprived by your Piety of the abbacy which is  
 justly his. If on the other hand there is an objection which makes him  
 unsuitable for this appointment, then (my Son), if you have any regard for  
 my sorrow and distresses, by all means provide for his due consolation in  
 the meantime and for the physical comfort of a life so far as possible free  
 from hardship, a provision which *comes suitably* from an Archpriest of God,  
 who is bound to show mercy.

### 120. To Tryphon the Monk

Your gift was sweet, and your words sweet also, besides bringing me  
 no small measure of relief from my heart's afflictions. Therefore I was disposed  
 (my Father) to exhort your Holiness to the solace *which comes* from holy

5 ἱερῶν εὐχῶν παρηγορίαν καὶ διάλυσιν τῶν θλίψεων ἡμῶν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο  
 ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ὡς οἱ λόγοι ἐκ τῆς γινομένης πράξεως ἐπὶ τῶν θείων ἀνδρῶν  
 λαμβάνουσι τὴν φωνήν, ἐπέσχον τῆς προτροπῆς ἑμαυτόν. Σὺ δέ μοι καὶ  
 χωρὶς τοῦ προτρέπεσθαι ἡμᾶς τὰ τῶν φιλοῦντων καὶ συνοδυνωμένων  
 τοῖς φίλοις καὶ πράττων καὶ γράφων πάντως διατελέσεις, καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν  
 10 ὑπερευχόμενος (πῶς εἶπω;) πάντοθεν ἐπηρεαζομένης, ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν,  
 ἐκ τῶν ἔνδοθεν ἐπισυνισταμένων, ταλαιπώρου ζωῆς.

121. Λέοντι πατρικίῳ καὶ στρατηγῶ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν 340

Ἐδεξάμεθά σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὸ διαπεμφθὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς γράμμα,  
 καὶ ἠύχαριστήσαμεν τῷ διαφυλάττοντί σε Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν, ὃς  
 πεποιθήμεν ὅτι καὶ ἔτι διὰ τὴν προσοῦσάν σοι ἀρετὴν ἐπὶ πλέον διατηρή-  
 5 σει πάσης μὲν ὀρωμένης, πάσης δὲ ἀοράτου ἐναντιότητος ὑψηλότερον.  
 Ἄλλὰ μοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τοῦτο εἰδώς, οἷα δὴ φρόνιμος ὦν καὶ συνετός,  
 ὅτι ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπιβλέπουσι μὲν ἐπὶ πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 εὐθεῖς τὴν καρδίαν, πάσῃ δυνάμει ἀντέχου τῆς εὐθύτητος τῆς δικαιοσύ-  
 νης, ἵνα διὰ παντός τοῦ θείου ὀφθαλμοῦ πρὸς σέ ἀτενίζοντος καὶ μηδέ-  
 10 ποτέ σε καταλιμπάνοντος ἐν παντί καὶ διανοήματι καὶ πάσῃ μελέτῃ καὶ  
 βουλή | καὶ πράξει πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον εἴης καθοδηγούμενος. B

Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἔγραψας ἡμῖν πληρώσομεν τὴν ἐξαιτήσιν· μόνον  
 τοιοῦτος ἔστω ὁ παρὰ τῆς σῆς μαρτυρούμενος ἀρετῆς καὶ κατὰ παιδευσιν  
 καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ κατάστασιν, ἵνα μήτε ἡμεῖς αἰσχυν-  
 15 θῶμεν μήτε αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ μαρτυρίᾳ καὶ παρὰ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις  
 μέμψιν εὐρεθῆς ἀποφερόμενος μήτε ὁ μαρτυρούμενος εἰς κατάκριμα  
 ἴδιον εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην προσληφθῆ διακονίαν. Ἐρωμένον σε διαφυλάξει  
 ὁ κύριος, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὐοδοούμενον βίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τῆς  
 ἔτοιμαζομένης τιμῆς καὶ ἀπολαύσεως τοῖς εὐαρεστοῦσιν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπο-  
 20 πίπτοντα.

121: 7: Ps. 32.18; 33.16; cf. 7.11; 35.11; 72.1.

7 μοι καὶ P: om. V

121: P 217v-218r

prayers and to the dispersal of my sorrows; but, then, as I reflected that,  
 among holy men, words find more perfect expression in current activity, I  
 checked myself from this exhortation. But you, I know, without exhortation  
 of mine, will continue both to do and to write what becomes a friend who  
 shares his friend's sorrows, and to pray for my miserable life, which seems  
 to be assailed on every hand by the malice of those who rise up together  
 against me, from without and within.

121. To Leo, Patrician and Governor of the Anatolic province

I have received (my Son) the letter you sent me, and I rendered thanks  
 for your preservation to Christ our God, Who, I am confident, will the more  
 continue, because of the virtue that is in you, to keep you beyond the reach  
 of every hindrance, whether seen or invisible. But do you (my Son), knowing  
 in your prudence and wisdom that the eyes of the Lord look upon all men,  
 but especially upon those who are upright in heart, cleave with all your might  
 to the uprightness of justice, so that, with the Divine Eye still fixed on you  
 and never deserting you, you may be directed to what is profitable in your  
 every thought and interest and counsel and action.

In the matter about which you wrote to me, I shall fulfill your re-  
 quest; only, let that man for whom your Virtue bears witness be such both  
 in education and in other condition of his life as that I am not put to shame,  
 that you be not found culpable before God and men in the witness you have  
 borne, and that he for whom you witness may not assume this ministry to  
 his own condemnation. The Lord keep you in health, both prosperous in  
 this life, and, in the life to come, not failing of that honor and felicity which  
 are prepared for such as are approved unto Him!

## 122. Ἀμβροσίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ

Ἐπὶ τοῖς συνέχουσι κοινῶς ἡμᾶς ἄλγεσιν καὶ | νῦν ἰδίως ἀλγήματι C  
 τὸ σὸν δεξάμενοι συνεσχέθημεν γράμμα, μεμαθηκότες πάλιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι  
 σοὶ τὰς νόσους, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τὰ πάθη τῶν τέκνων ἴδια γίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι  
 5 καὶ ταῖς ἀνακυπτούσαις χρεῖαις ἡ σὴ χάριτι θεοῦ ἐξυπηρετούμενη σύνε-  
 σις, καθῶς ἐστὶ φίλον τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πρέπον θεοῦ λειτουργοῖς, καὶ  
 διὰ τοῦτο θεραπεύουσα οὐ μικρῶς τὴν πολυώδυνον ἡμῶν ψυχὴν, ἐμπό-  
 διον ἔξει τὴν ἐκ τῶν πόνων ὄχλησιν πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπηρεσίαν· ἐξ οὗ  
 συμβαίνει καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἧς ἀπελαύομεν θεραπείας. "Ὁμως καὶ  
 10 νῦν ὡσπερ ἐν πᾶσι πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν σωτήρῃ καὶ βοηθὸν ἀναφέροντες  
 ἐλπίζομεν τυχεῖν τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπικουρίας· καὶ μὴ τῆς ἐλπίδος εἶη διαπε-  
 σεῖν, ὃ σπλάγγνοις φιλανθρωπίας τὰς ἡμῶν ὑπερβαίων ἀμαρτίας.

Περὶ δὲ | τῶν κοινῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας παθῶν τί γράφω; Στῆναι D  
 πρὸς θεὸν συντονώτερον καὶ σὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος θεῖκλῆς ἐστὶ παρρησίας  
 15 κληρονόμος, καὶ πείσαι αὐτὸν συναντιλαβέσθαι κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστον σύνεσιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εὐρεῖν παραμύθιον  
 οὐδὲ λύσιν τῆς τοσαύτης καὶ ἀνιστορήτου κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπαναστά-  
 σης ἐπηρείας τε καὶ κακώσεως, καὶ αἰεὶ μὲν αὐξομένης διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας  
 ἡμῶν, συστολῆν δὲ μέχρι καὶ σήμερον οὐδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον ἐπιδεικνυούσης.

## 123. Ἀνδρέᾳ Πατρῶν

Τὰ κοινῶς ἐπιτιθέμενα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, κακὰ ταῖς ἀγίαις τοῦ θεοῦ  
 ἐκκλησίαις, ἂν μηδεὶς ὁ γράφων ἢ μηδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δῆλα ταῦτα ποιῶν,  
 οὐ | λανθάνει τὴν ἡμετέραν ταπεινώσειν. Ἴσμεν γὰρ ὅτι λίαν αἰ βαρεῖται 341  
 5 χεῖρες νῦν ἐδράξαντο καιροῦ τοῦ τὴν οἰκείαν βαρύτητα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι.  
 Ἄλλ' ὅσον ἐκεῖναι τὸ βάρος ἔχουσι, τοσοῦτον διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν  
 πρὸς τὸ ἀμύνειν ἡμεῖς ἀποδέομεν, ὅσα γε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. Τί οὖν δεῖ  
 ποιεῖν, ἢ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν θείαν αἰτεῖσθαι βοήθειαν καὶ τοῦ ἐκεῖνον  
 ἄψασθαι τῆς καρδίας τῶν ἐπηρεαστῶν, ὡς ἂν οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλη-  
 10 σιῶν ἢ βλάβη ἀποδιώκοιτο καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖνων σωτηρίας γίνοιτο ἢ ἐπι-  
 στροφή; Ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς χρῆ, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐστὶν δυνατόν, πραότῃτι καὶ  
 ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ λόγοις παραινέσεως προσφέρεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ οἷον κατ-  
 επάδειν τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν, πληροφορίαν διδόντας ὡς οὐ φροντίζομεν  
 ἐπικρατείας ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας | καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ B

122: P 218r-v || 12 Ὡ P<sup>c</sup>: ὡς P<sup>1</sup> || 17-18 ἐπαναστάσης P<sup>c</sup>: -σεις P<sup>1</sup>

123: P 218v-219r || 3 ἐκκλησίαις Vat.: -ας P

## 122. To Bishop Ambrose

In addition to the griefs that afflict us generally, I am now personally afflicted by grief on receiving your letter and learning from it that you are once again assailed by diseases: not merely because the sufferings of one's children are one's own, but also because the service which your Wisdom was rendering, by Divine Grace, in the crisis which has arisen—service which is in accord with justice and suitable to the ministers of God, and hence of no small comfort to my much grieved heart—will, in the vexation of your pains, be impeded, with the result that I am bereft of the comfort which I derived from it. However, now as always, I look up to the common Saviour and Helper, and hope to be granted His succor: and may I not fail of this hope, O Thou who passest over my sins in the tenderness of Thy compassion!

But, concerning the general sufferings of the Church, what shall I write? That you and others who have inherited the divine freedom of intercourse with God must stand more steadfastly toward Him, and implore Him to take our part, according to His mighty and inscrutable Wisdom: inasmuch as from men there is no comfort to be found, nor escape from this so great and unexampled malice and injury which have risen up against the Church, and which are, for my sins, still growing, and, up to the present, show not the slightest sign of abatement.

## 123. To Andrew of Patras

The evils (my Son) which are afflicting the holy churches of God generally, even though none should write or speak of them, do not escape my Humility. I know too well that the oppressive hands have now laid hold on occasion to display their own oppressiveness. However, in proportion to their oppression is our own inability (for our sins) to resist, at any rate humanly speaking. What then must we do? First, implore God's aid, that He will touch the heart of the insolent, and thereby the harm to the holy churches may be averted, and their safety be restored to them. Next, we must, so far as we can, bear ourselves toward them with gentleness and kindness and words of exhortation, and as it were charm their hearts, assuring them that we are not just concerned about control over, but also about the safety of, the churches of God, and about the destruction of those

15 τῆς αὐτῶν ἀπωλείας κηδόμεθα· οἱ ἐν τῷ πορθεῖν τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀγνοοῦσιν ἑαυτοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ποιοῦντες καὶ τοῦ πλούτου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς δόξης ἀλλοτριούμενοι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀλάστορα τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον ὑπαγόμενοι καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῇ αἰωνίῳ καταδίκῃ συναριθμούμενοι.

20 Πλὴν καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἔφησ τῶν μοναστηρίων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κατάλυσιν, ὅσοι τοῖς αὐτόθι πάρεσιν, ἡμέτερα ἐξεπέμφθη γράμματα, τοῦτο μὲν παράκλησιν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐπιτίμησιν ἔχοντα, ἐὰν ἄρα ἀκούσῃσι τῶν γεγραμμένων. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀναδραμόντας ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν σε δεῖ παραγενέσθαι. Τάχα γὰρ οὕτως ἐν ἡμετέρα ὄψει παρ' ὑμῶν γινομένων

25 τῶν λόγων πρὸς τοὺς ἐπηρεάζοντας ὄφελός τι γενήσεται.

Τὸ δὲ μοναστήριον ὅπερ ἤτησας οὕτω θεοῦ πρόνοιαν (σὺν θεῷ φάναι) εἰς ἐπίδοσιν καταστάσεως ἐλθεῖν, ὥστε μήτε ἡμᾶς μεταμεληθῆναι μήτε σὲ πρὸς μέμψιν καταστῆναι ἐπὶ φαυλοτέρῃ τῶν τε πραγμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ διαγόντων μοναχῶν διοικήσει.

#### 124. Γρηγορίῳ Ἐφέσου

C

Οὔτε φιλονείκως ἔχοντες οὔτε ὡς ἄν τις ὑπὲρ ἰδίας αἰσχύνῃς ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἴσως ταῦτά σοι γράφομεν· καὶ τὸ φιλονείκων γὰρ θεοῦ χάριτι οὐ μεμελετήκαμεν καὶ τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώπων αἰσχύνῃς οὐ πεποιήμεθα  
5 λόγον· ἀλλὰ γράφομεν ταῦτα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κινούμενοι τοῦ συνειδότητος ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων τοῦ χειροτονηθέντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν (ὡς ἢ τότε παρ' ὑμῶν γέγονε μαρτυρία, μηδεμιᾶς προκειμένης ἀντιλογίας) καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νῦν πλήθους προσυπαντῶντος καὶ δισχυριζομένου ἢ μὴν ἀληθῆ λέγειν, καὶ εἴ τι ψεῦδος ἀπελέγχωτο, τοῦτο τιμωμένων θανάτου. Ταῦτα  
10 ἐκίνησεν ἡμᾶς γράψαι πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν ἀρχιερατικὴν τελειότητα οἷα γράφομεν· <καὶ> ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς χάριτος τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος, παρ' οὗ D κατέστης ἀρχιερεὺς, ἀσφαλῆ ὄντα ἐπὶ μᾶλλον διασφαλιζόμεθα, καὶ φαμεν μὴ τὴν περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μαρτυρίαν, εἴτε τῶν χειρόνων εἴτε τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἐστίν, παρέργως ἀκούσαι, μηδὲ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐξ ἐπιτολῆς αὐτὸν  
15 γινωσκόντων, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐν ἣ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἔσχεν καὶ ἀνατέθραπται καὶ τῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότητων τὴν ἐκείνου πολιτείαν καὶ βιοτήν. Οἶδας γὰρ οἷα τῶν θνητῶν ἐστι πραγμάτων ἢ φύσις, καὶ οὔτε μέγεθος ἀξιώματος οὔτε σχῆμα νομιζόμενον | εὐλαβείας ἱκανόν 344

16-17: cf. Rom. 9.23 (et al.).

124: P 219r-220r || 9 λέγειν P<sup>c</sup>: -ει P<sup>1</sup> || 11 καὶ P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup>

who, in plundering the churches, are unawares delivering themselves into bondage, and cutting themselves off from the riches and glory of God, and being seduced by the fiend who from the beginning has been the foe and enemy of the human race, and numbering themselves, with him, in the everlasting damnation.

Moreover, to those who you say are dissolving the monasteries, as many as are in your parts, I am writing myself, partly to expostulate, partly to rebuke, if they will pay heed to what I write. For those who have resorted here, you should yourself come and meet them: it is possible that if you address the insolent in my presence, something will come of it.

As for the monastery you asked for, show, under God, such care for the improvement of its condition that I may have no regret, and you no censure, for a worse administration of its property and of the monks there residing.

#### 124. To Gregory of Ephesus

I write to you in no spirit of contention, or as one who might perhaps be contending on behalf of his personal reputation: I have, thank God, no interest in contentiousness, and for my reputation among men I care nothing. But in writing this I am moved both by my own conscience, and by the tears of one who was ordained by me after your assurance at that time that there was no objection to him, and also by the large number of persons whom I now encounter and who swear he is telling the truth, and they, if any lie be proved upon him, profess themselves willing to forfeit their lives. These are my motives in writing to your archiepiscopal Perfection, and I am yet more assured by the very Grace of the All-holy Spirit, by Whom you were made Archbishop, that what I write is certain. I insist that you should not ignore the witness about the man, whether the witnesses be of worse or better degree; nor do I have it from men who are only slightly acquainted with him, but from the actual diocese in which he was born and brought up, and from men with an accurate knowledge of his conduct and life. You know what things are in this world, where neither greatness of rank nor a habit supposed to be

ἔστιν πίστιν ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς λόγοις χωρὶς τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων συνομο-  
 20 λογίας. Εἰ γὰρ ἀπλῶς τὰ ὄτα τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις δια-  
 οἰζομεν, λήσομεν ἑαυτούς, εἰ μὴ τὸ οἰκεῖον προσίσταται συνειδός, μηδὲ  
 ἑαυτούς γινώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀνάγοντες ἑαυ-  
 τοὺς τάξιν, νῦν δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν μισρῶν δαιμονίων καταβιβάζοντες.  
 Τοιαῦτά ἐστι τὰ οἰκτρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων (οἴμοι πῶς εἶπω;) εἴτε ἀκουσίως  
 25 ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ σαρκικοῦ φρονήματος εἶθ' ἔκουσίως καταδουλουμένων  
 καὶ φρονήματος καὶ σπουδάσματος. Ἄλλὰ σὺ γε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ,  
 εἴπερ ἄλλοτε ποτε, νῦν τῷ ἀκριβεῖ κριτηρίῳ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως τὴν περὶ  
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀμφισβήτησιν διαιτήσας, καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ σεαυτὸν ἀπαλλάξαι  
 30 προνοήθητι.

125

B

Οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν ὅσα τὴν ὑμῶν θεοφιλῆ συνέχοντα θλίβει ψυχὴν.  
 Ἄλλὰ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ πράως φέρειν καὶ ὅσον δυνατὸν φρονίμως τοῖς  
 πράγμασιν συναρμόζεσθαι; Ὅταν γὰρ πράγματα χαλεπὰ ὄντα καὶ τὴν  
 τοῦ καιροῦ προσλάβηται χαλεπότητα, ἀμήχανον ἐξ ἐτοίμου κατάστασιν  
 5 αὐτὰ προσλαβεῖν καὶ τοῦτο ἴδοις ἂν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ  
 νῦν ὁδῶ καταβαίνων ἐν ταῖς διοικήσεσι τῶν πραγμάτων γινόμενον. Ὡσ-  
 τε καὶ σὺ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, παιδόμενος τῇ κοινῇ καὶ κοσμικῇ τάξει, πράως  
 καὶ μακροθύμως καρτέρει τὰ συμπύπτοντα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅσα ἢ προλα-  
 βοῦσα τοῦ χρόνου κακία κακῶς διέθηκεν, καὶ σὺν θεῷ κατὰ βραχὺ τὸν  
 10 δυνατὸν ἐπανόρθου τρόπον αὐτά· καὶ μὴ ἀθρόον βουλόμενος τὴν ἐπαν-  
 ὀρθωσιν δοῦναι, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀντικειμένης τῶν τὴν | πονηρίαν φιλοῦντων C  
 σπουδῆς τε καὶ μηχανῆς καὶ σεαυτῷ λύπας προξενῆς καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν  
 ἀντι ὠφελείας ἀφορμὴν παρέχης ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρα προϊέναι. Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα  
 γράφομεν ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς πείρα λαμβανόμεν τὴν σὴν ὑπομιμνήσκοντες  
 15 σύνεσιν, δοίη δὲ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμεινον πάντα μετασκευασθῆναι, καὶ ὡς ἂν  
 ἦ σοί τε ἄλυπον καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου εὐάρεστον κρίμασιν. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα μὴ  
 διαλίποις ἐν ταῖς ὁσίαις εὐχαῖς σου μεμνημένος τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος.

25: Rom. 8.6,7. || 26: 1 Tim. 6.11.

25 φρονήματος] fort. del.

125: P 220r V 83v-84r || 1 nullus tit. P: τῷ αὐτῷ (i.e., Ἰγνατίῳ μαγίστρῳ) V ||  
 2 φρονίμως P: -οι V || 6 καταβαίνων V: -βαῖνον P || γινόμενον P: γενόμενον (ut vid.) V || 7  
 post πράως] φέρε add. V || 10 post ἀθρόον] καὶ ὡς add. V || 12 τε P: om. V || προξενῆς  
 P<sup>c</sup>: -εἰς P<sup>1</sup>: -ήσεις V || 13 παρέχης P<sup>c</sup>: -εις P<sup>1</sup>: παρέξεις V || 16 τὰ δ' ἄλλα - 17 μετριό-  
 τητος V: om. P

indicative of piety can lend credence to what is said unless this is substan-  
 tiated by facts. If we were simply to listen to praise and abuse, without  
 reference to our own conscience, we should soon cease to recognize even  
 ourselves, now exalting ourselves to the rank of angels, and now lowering  
 ourselves to the level of loathsome fiends. Such is the pitiable plight of us  
 men—sad to say—who are enslaved either unwillingly by the pride of the  
 flesh, or else willingly by pride and interest. But do you (O man of God), in  
 this case if ever, weigh the doubt against this man by the strict test of your  
 wisdom, and take care to deliver me and yourself, perhaps from human  
 censure, perhaps even from God's incrimination.

125

I am aware of all the afflictions that pain your pious heart. But what  
 can we do but bear with gentleness, and adapt ourselves to circumstances  
 with what wisdom we may? When events cruel in themselves acquire fresh  
 cruelty from *length of time*, it is impossible that they should obtain any  
 immediate settlement: and this you may see if you trace in order the whole  
 course of administrative history, right from the very beginning down to our  
 own day. And so do you (my Son), conforming to the common order of this  
 world, endure with gentleness and with long-suffering the present events, or  
 rather, those which the evil of past time has evilly disposed; and, by God's  
 aid, rectify them as best you can by little and little, and do not, in seeking a  
 sudden remedy, expose yourself to mortification from the opposing interest  
 and cunning of those who love villainy, and give occasion for matters to get  
 worse rather than better. I write this to counsel your Wisdom out of my own  
 personal experience. God grant us a general change for the better, such as  
 may be without grief to you and acceptable to His Judgments. For the rest,  
 do not cease to remember my Mediority in your holy prayers.



126. Ἰγνατίῳ μαγίστρω γεγονότι, μονάσαντι  
δὲ ἐν τῷ Μεγάλῳ Ἀγρῷ

Καὶ νῦν καὶ πρότερον μεγάλην εὐρηκότες παράκλησιν ἐκ τῶν  
γραμμμάτων τῆς ὑμῶν οὐσιότητος τῶν διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν συνεχόντων  
5 ἡμᾶς, εὐχαριστίαν τῷ δοτῆρι τῶν ἀγαθῶν θεῷ ἀνεπέψαμεν, ὅς τὴν  
ἀληθῶς εἰλικρινῆ καὶ πνευματικὴν ἀγάπην διατετήρηκεν ἡμῖν, σχεδὸν  
πάντων ὅσοι ταύτην ἐπηγγέλλοντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς κεκτῆσθαι τῆς αὐτῶν D  
ἐπιλανθανομένων ἐπαγγελίας. Ἄλλ' ὅπερ ἔφη, σὲ διεφύλαξεν ἡμῖν ὁ  
ἀγαθός, ἅμα μὲν τὴν σὴν τελειοτάτην ἀρετὴν τοῖς μιμεῖσθαι τὰ καλὰ  
10 βουλομένοις παράδειγμα προτιθεῖς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν τοιοῦτῳ καιρῷ  
μέγα παραμύθιον χαρισάμενος τῶν περιστοιχισάντων ὀδυνηρῶν.

Ἄ δὲ περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας καλῶς καὶ φρονίμως καὶ ἀξίως  
τῆς σῆς εὐλαβείας ὑπέμνησας, γίνωσκε ταῦτα ἡμῖν διὰ πολλῆς ἐφέσεως  
ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ σπουδῆς ὑπάρχειν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν καὶ ἐνταῦθα κατὰ πρόσω-  
15 πον ἀνθισταμένῳ μοι τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν διαμαρτάνω τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. Τῶν  
μὲν γὰρ ἡμαρτηκόντων τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀντι τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πταίσματι  
κατανύξεως καὶ τῆς τῶν κακῶν συναισθήσεως ὅσα | τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατέ- 345  
λαβεν διὰ τοῦ προδοῦναι τούτους τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατάστασιν μᾶλλον  
δικαίωσιν <ὡς> νομίζουσι προτεινόντων καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ ταπεινουμένων  
20 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄφρῦν ἐπαιρόντων, τῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας  
δεινὰ πεπονθῶτων καὶ ἄλλως μὲν σκληρυνομένων, μάλιστα δὲ δι' ἣν  
ἔφη αἰτίαν εὐλόγως ἀποκλειόντων αὐτοῖς τὰ σπλάγχχνα τῆς συμπαθείας,  
εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐσχάτην καθέστηκα καὶ μεταξὺ ἐκείνων τε καὶ τούτων  
ὡσπερ ἐν ἀδιεξοδεύτῳ πελάγει χειμάζομαι, πρὸς μόνην ἀφορῶν τὴν  
25 θείαν πρόνοιάν τε καὶ κυβέρνησιν καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀναμένον βοήθειαν ἄτε  
πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης περινοίας εἰς τὸ ἄπορον καθισταμένης. Τὸ γὰρ κατα-  
λιπεῖν τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ μετὰ τῶν τέως ἐναντίων γενέσθαι ἀμήχανον, καὶ  
μετὰ τοῦ | ἀμηχάνου παντελῶς ἀτοπον· τὸ δὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι πάλιν B  
τούτους τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πείθεσθαι λόγῳ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀπειργεῖ καὶ  
30 μὴ βουλομένους ἐνότητος. Τί οὖν δεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ ἐκτενεστερον διὰ τῶν  
ὀσίων ὑμῶν εὐχῶν δυσωπῆσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ-

126: 22: 1 Ioann. 3.17.

126: P 220r-221r V 82r-83v || 1 γεγονότι P: om. V || 2 δὲ P: om. V || 7 ταύτην P:  
-ας V || 9 post ἀγαθός] θεός add. V || 9 τοῖς . . . 10 βουλομένοις P<sup>c</sup>: τῆς . . . -ης P<sup>IV</sup> ||  
11 χαρισάμενος Jk: χαρισισμένης PV || 12 περὶ P: παρά V || 14 ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ σπουδῆς P:  
καὶ σπουδῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς V || ὑπάρχειν P<sup>c</sup>: -ει P<sup>IV</sup> || 15 μοι P: om. V || 16 τῇ . . . ἐκκλησία  
P<sup>IV</sup>: εἰς τὴν . . . ἐκκλησίαν P<sup>c</sup> || 18 τούτους P: -ου V || 19 δικαίωσιν <ὡς> Wk: δικαίως  
P: δίκαιον V || 21 πεπονθῶτων V: -όντων P || 25 ἀναμένον P: -νω V || 29 ἀπειργεῖ P<sup>c</sup>:  
-ειν P<sup>I</sup>(?)V || 30 βουλομένους P: -ου V || 31 ὑμῶν εὐχῶν P: εὐχῶν ὑμῶν V

126. To Ignatius, ex-Magister and now Monk at the Great Farm

Both now and heretofore I have derived from your Holiness' letters great comfort in the evils which—for my sins—afflict me; and I have offered up thanks to God, the Giver of good gifts, Who has preserved for me your truly sincere and spiritual affection, when nearly all who profess it toward me are forgetting that profession. But you, as I say, the Good God has preserved to me, setting up your most perfect virtue as an example to those who would imitate what is fair, and at the same time granting me at this time a great consolation in the distresses which encompass me.

But as regards your memorandum on the Church of God, good, wise, and worthy of your Piety as it is, let me assure you that its suggestions have been from the first the objects of my great desire and zeal. But, it would seem, since here also my sins rise up before me, I fail of my desire. On the one hand, those who sinned against the Church of God, instead of repenting their error and acknowledging the evils which came upon the Church through their treachery to her order, are on the contrary trying to justify their attitude and, so far from being humbled, are displaying arrogance; while, on the other hand, those who suffered dreadfully in the cause of ecclesiastical decency, are in any case exasperated and, especially for the reason I have explained, are with good reason excluding the others from the bowels of their compassion. *This being so*, I am in the extreme of helplessness, and, what with one side, what with the other, I feel as though I were being tossed on an impassable sea, looking only to the Divine Protection and Guidance and awaiting the help that comes from thence, since all human skill is reduced to impotence. To desert my own party and to range myself with those who have hitherto been my opponents is impossible, and would in any case be grossly indecent; on the other hand, the refusal of the latter to be ruled by me renders it impossible for them, whether they wish it or not, to be united with the others. So what can I do? Surely I must, through your holy prayers, yet further enlarge my supplications of Him Who founded His

κλησίαν θεμελιώσαντα, συμβιβάζσαι πάντας τῇ ἀνεξιχνιάστῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 ὑπερσόφῳ συνέσει καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπίσταται τοῦ τοσοῦτου κακοῦ τὴν  
 λύσιν παρασχεῖν; ὡς τὰ γε ἀνθρώπινα πάντα ὄρω ἡττώμενα τῆς αὐτῶν  
 35 φιλονεικίας καὶ προαιρέσεως. Ἐρρωμένον σε διαφυλάξοι θεὸς τῆς ἡμῶν  
 ὑπερευχόμενον ταπεινότητος.

### 127. Λέοντι πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ κριτῇ Παφλαγονίας

Οὐδὲν οὕτω δῶρον ἡδύ τοῖς ἠνωμένοις τῇ κατὰ θεὸν ἀγάπῃ ὁποῖον  
 τὸ τοῦς ἀγαπῶντας ἀναμαθεῖν τῶν ἀγαπωμένων τὴν εὐετηρίαν. Τούτῳ  
 δὴ τῷ καλλίστῳ δώρῳ καὶ ἡδυτάτῳ καὶ ἡδύνθημεν καὶ ἡδυνόμεθα, καὶ  
 5 δεόμεθα τοῦ θεοῦ μηδέποτε τὴν τοιαύτην ἡδονὴν ἐπιλείψειν ἡμᾶς. Ἡδέα  
 δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ἅ πλεονεκτῶν τὰ προβάτια δῶρα ἀπέστειλας, | καὶ ταῦτα C  
 κριτῆς ὦν καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ὀφείλων διώκειν. Ἡ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι πλεο-  
 νεκτεῖν τὸ τοῦς ἄρνους τροφῆς ἀποστερεῖν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον σὺ τρυφᾷς, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τοῖς φίλοις παρέχῃς συντρυφᾶν; Πλὴν ἀλλὰ σοῦ γε ἔνεκεν ἡδέως  
 10 ἐδεξάμεθα· σὺ δὲ ὅρα ὅπως καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων πλεονεξίαν παραμυθῆσθαι καὶ  
 τοῦς φίλους τοῖς τοιοῦτοις δώροις μὴ διαλείπῃς φιλοτιμούμενος.

### 128. Βασιλείῳ Χαλδίας

Καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συμπαθείας, ἣν ὥστε μηδὲ θλίβουσιν ἀπαγ-  
 γελίαν εἰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν ἐλθεῖν ἕθου διὰ προνοίας, ἐν μεγάλῳ μέρει ἀπο-  
 δοχῆς πεποιήμεθα, καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας δὲ ἀλγηδόνας, ἃς οὗτος ὁ πικρὸς  
 5 καιρὸς καὶ πλήρης ὄλωσ τῶν θλίψεων | ὑμῖν ἐπεγείρει, ἐν ὀδύνη καρδίας D  
 μεμαθηκότες ὑπέστημεν· καὶ πολλῇ συσχεθέντες ἀμηχανία, ὡς ἐν ἀπό-  
 ροις πρῶτον μὲν τῷ κηδεμόνι καὶ σωτῆρι τὴν κοινὴν ἀνηνέγκαμεν  
 συνοχὴν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξητησάμεθα, ἢ δοῦναι τῶν συνεχόντων τὴν λύσιν ἢ  
 εἰ μὴ τοῦτο βούλοιτο, οἷς ἐπίσταται δικαιομασίαν, παρασχεῖν ὑπομονὴν

32 θεμελιώσαντα V: -ντι P || 35 ἔρρωμένον — 36 ταπεινότητος V: om. P

127: P 221r V 82r || 1 ἀσπαθ(αρίω) V: σπαθ(αρίω) P || 2 οὕτω P: om. V || 6  
 προβάτια P<sup>c</sup>: -εια P<sup>1</sup>V || 7 ὀφείλων διώκειν P: διώκειν ὀφείλων V || 8 τὸ PV<sup>1</sup>: τῷ V<sup>c</sup> ||  
 τροφῆς P: -εῖν (sic) V || 9 παρέχῃς P<sup>c</sup>V: -εις P<sup>1</sup> || 10 post ἐδεξάμεθα τὸ δῶρον add. V ||  
 ὅπως P: om. V || παραμυθῆσθαι P: -σης V || 11 διαλείπῃς P: διαλείπτεις V || φιλοτιμού-  
 μενος P: παραμυθούμενος V

128: P 221r-222r V 80r-81v || 5 ὄλωσ P: ὄντως V || ὑμῖν V: ἡμῖν P || 6 ὑπέστημεν  
 P: ἀπέστημεν V

Church upon His own Blood, that He will in His inscrutable and infinite  
 Wisdom reconcile all parties, and will, as He knows how, find the solution of  
 this great misfortune, since I find that all human *endeavors* are too weak for  
 their obstinacy and prejudice. God keep you in health, and in prayer for my  
 Humility.

### 127. To Leo, Protospatharius and Judge of Paphlagonia

To those who are at one in the love of God no gift is so delightful as for  
 lovers to learn of the well-being of their loved ones. By this best and most  
 delightful gift I have been, and am, delighted. And I pray God that such  
 delight be with me always. Delightful too are the gifts you send, though you  
 have stolen them from the sheep—you, a judge, who ought to prosecute theft!  
 Or perhaps you don't regard it as theft to rob the lambs of their sustenance,  
 in order not only to enjoy it yourself but to share it which your friends? Well,  
 seeing it is you, I accept with pleasure; but mind you make it up to the sheep  
 for their loss, and continue to favor your friends with presents like this.

### 128. To Basil of Chaldia

Your goodwill toward me, of which you have been so careful as not to  
 let so much as a painful message reach me, is deeply appreciated; and more-  
 over I am heartily distressed to learn of your own afflictions, which this hour  
 of bitterness, altogether full of sorrows as it is, brings upon you. I am quite  
 helpless; and, as is natural in such straits, I have first of all referred our  
 common affliction to our Guardian and Saviour, praying Him either to give  
 us relief from our afflictions, or if, in His inscrutable Judgment, He will not,

10 φέρειν εὐχαρίστως, ὥστε μὴ μετὰ τοῦ πάσχειν οἶα πάσχαμεν καὶ τῶν τῆς ὑπομονῆς ἐκπείσειν ἀντιδόσεων. Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τὸν φιλόνητον δεσπότην· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὅσον ἡμῖν δυνατὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ βοήθειας ἄνεσιν ἐπινοήσασθαι ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ αὕτη ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἀπέριπται, ἀλλ' ἠτησάμεθα τῷ στρατηγῷ γραφῆναι τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ  
15 ἐκκλησίαις ἀναστῆλθαι τῆς ἐπιθέσεως.

Αἱ δὲ τῶν ὡς ἔφησ ἀιρετικῶν γλωσσοσαλγίαι ἀνθρωπὸν σε ὄντα 348  
θεοῦ καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐσπουδακότα τοῖς ἐκείνου ἀγεσθαι νόμοις μηδὲν ἀλγυνέτωσαν. Διὰ τί; Ὅτι τὸ γλωσσοσαλεῖν ἐκείνους οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ζημιῶσι, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον μᾶλλον εἰ βουλοίμεθα καὶ μεγάλης ὠφελείας ἐν ἀπο-  
20 λαύσει γινόμεθα. Ὅταν γὰρ ὁ μὲν λοιδορῇ, ἡμεῖς δὲ εὐλογοῦμεν, ὅταν ὁ μὲν ὑβρίζῃ, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑπερευχόμεθα, πράως καὶ φιλοσόφως ἀνεχόμενοι τῶν κακογλώσσων τῆς ὕβρεως, οὐ δεόμεθα μαθεῖν ὅσον ἡμῖν ἐκ τούτου περιγίνεται κερδαίνειν. Πῶς οὖν ἄξιον δυσχεραίνειν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ ὧν κερ-  
25 ἔχου· ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν ἕα ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἀσχημοσύνῃ ἐγκαλλωπίζε-  
σθαι, σὺ δὲ πρὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς τιμῆς ἀποβλέπων τοῦ λοιδορηθέντος, B  
τοῦ ἐμπτυσθέντος, τοῦ βραπισθέντος Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἵνα σιγήσω τὸν ἐπονείδιστον θάνατον, χάριν ἔχε καὶ εὐχαρίσται, ὅτι σοι ἐτοιμάζεται διὰ τῆς μικρᾶς τῶν λόγων φλυαρίας ἡ μεγάλη τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δόξης  
30 ἀπόλαυσις.

Οἱ δὲ τυφθέντες ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ἱερεῖς, ὅσον μὲν δυνατὸν καὶ συνέρ-  
χεται ὁ καιρὸς, πάντως ἐπιτεύζονται καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων βοήθειας, ὑπόμνησιν ἡμῶν ποιουμένων οἷς δέδοται τὸ βοηθεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τῆς σῆς ἐστὶν ἱερᾶς συνέσεως μὴ μόνον σεαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ ἀκείνους παρακαλεῖν καὶ  
35 μακροθύμως φέρειν, ἐπεὶ περ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν εἰς τοῦτο παρα-  
δεδόμεθα· οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων χαλεπότητα διὰ τῆς ἐπιεικειᾶς καὶ τῆς τῶν τρόπων ἀγαθότητος, θεοῦ πρὸς τοῦτο | συν- C  
αἶροντος, ἐξομαλίζειν πειρᾶσθαι, καὶ μὴ διὰ τοῦ τραχύνεσθαι ἡμᾶς τραχυτέραν τὴν ἐκείνων παρασκευάζειν προαίρεσιν.

40 Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὰ πάθη τῶν ἁγίων καὶ μακαρίων πατέρων ἡμῶν αἰεὶ φέροντες ἐπὶ μνήμης αὐτοὶ τε τῆς βαρύτητος ἀνακουφιζόμεθα τῶν δεινῶν καὶ τοὺς ταῖς ὁμοίαις συμφοραῖς ἐξεταζομένους ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν σὺν θεῷ ἀναφέρωμεν· καὶ μὴ τῇ ἀθυμίᾳ καταβαπτιζόμεθα, ἐκεῖνο γινώσκοντες ὅτι καθ' ὅσον τοῖς φιλοκόσμοις τὸ διαχεῖσθαι καὶ τρυφᾶν

then to grant us patience to endure with gratefulness, so that, along with all we suffer, we fail not of the rewards which patience brings. This, then, as regards Our merciful Lord; but, next, what comfort I could devise for you from earthly aid has not been neglected either: and I have asked that a letter be sent to the governor to tell him to put a stop to the aggression of those who are assailing the churches of God.

The invectives of those whom you term "heretics" should give you no distress, since you are a man of God and have from the first chosen to be guided by His laws. I mean this: their invectives do us no harm; on the contrary, if we are willing, we may derive great profit therefrom. For when one curses and we bless, when one insults and we pray for him, meekly and equably enduring the insolence of our abusers, it is needless to inquire how much profit we gain from this. Why then should we repine at what is profitable to us? Therefore (my holy Son) do not be cast down or afflicted by griefs; but leave those men to wanton in their disorder, and do you, in hope to share the honor of Christ our God, Who was abused, and spat upon, and buffeted (not to mention His shameful death), rejoice and be thankful that through the feeble folly of words is prepared for you the mighty reward of Christ's glory.

The bishops and priests who have been beaten shall, as far as possible and as the time affords, certainly be granted the help that is from men, for I have written a memorial to those to whom the power to help has been given. For the rest, it is for your holy Wisdom to comfort, not yourself only, but them also, and to endure with long-suffering, since it is for our sins that we have come to this pass. Moreover as regards the cruelty of the nobles, we must try—with God's aid—to calm it through our own gentleness and kindly manners, and not make their disposition still more rough through our own asperity.

Let us in all things keep in memory the sufferings of our holy and blessed Fathers; and thus lighten our own burden of sorrows and, with God's aid, uphold those brethren who are being tried by similar misfortunes; and let us not be overwhelmed by despair, knowing as we do that whereas profusion and luxury are proper to worldlings, it is the badge of those who love

14 ἐπιτιθεμένους P: ἐπιθεμένους V || 16 σε P: om. V || 20-21 εὐλογοῦμεν ... ὑπερευχώ-  
μεθα Vat. || 25 ἀσχημοσύνη P: αἰσχύνῃ V || 26 σὺ δὲ P: οὐδὲ V || 32 πάντως P: -ων V ||  
33 ἡμῶν P: om. V || 35 φέρειν V: ἐπιφέρειν P || 41 ἀνακουφιζόμεθα Jk: -όμεθα PV ||  
43 ἀναφέρωμεν Jk: -ομεν PV

45 οἰκτεῖον, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς φιλοθέοις τὸ θλίψεσι καὶ τῇ τῶν ταλαιπωριῶν  
 συνοχῇ τὸν βίον διεξανύειν. Τίς δέ μοι δοίη καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμὲ νυκτὸς  
 καὶ ἡμέρας διατηρόντων χαλεπῶν τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆς μελλούσης  
 βασάνου προοίμιον ὑπάρχειν τὰ νῦν βασανίζοντα; Ἐρρωμένον σε δια-  
 φυλάξει ὁ κύριος, τῆς ἡμῶν ὑπερευχόμενον μετριότητος.

## 129. Λέοντι Συλαίου

Ἄ μὲν πρότερον ἐγράφη τῇ ἀρετῇ σου, ἐγράφη | μαθόντων ἡμῶν D  
 ὁποῖά σοι τὸ γράμμα ἀπήγγειλεν· νυνὶ δὲ τὸ σὸν ἐπελθόντες γράμμα καὶ  
 δι' αὐτοῦ γνόντες τὰ περὶ τοῦ ταλαιπώρου ἐκείνου, κατεστενάξαμεν μὲν  
 5 καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης περιπτώσεως, κατεστενάξαμεν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου  
 ψυχοφθόρου βλάβης, εἴ γε οὕτως ἀθλίως διέθρηκεν ἑαυτόν. Σὲ δὲ παραι-  
 νοῦμεν μὴ ἀσχάλλειν, ἐπειδὴν τινῶν καταψευδομένων τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς  
 ἀνάγκην ἔχωμεν δι' ἐκείνους λυπηρότερα γράφειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον χαίρειν  
 ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ἐλέγχου τῆς ψευδολογίας αὐτῶν ἡ σὴ λαμπρότερα διαδεικνυ-  
 10 ται σύνεσις. Ἐβουλόμεθα οὖν, ἵνα μηδὲν αὐτῷ καταλειφθῆ ἀντιλογίας  
 ἀφορμῆ, σοὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ὥστε πάλιν ἀκριβέστερον μετὰ τινῶν ἐτέρων  
 προσώπων ἐξερευνησαὶ τὸ ὀλέθριον ἐκεῖνο πταῖσμα. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ  
 συνείδομεν ὡς δόξει πάλιν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι συστάσεώς τινος τῷ λέγειν  
 ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτόν ἔχειν σε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρ|αιτεῖσθαι ἄπερ ἂν 349  
 15 αὐτὸς διαιτήσης, τούτου χάριν ἐτέροις προσώποις τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπίσκε-  
 ψιν παρεπέψαμεν, ἵνα μηδ' ὅλως αὐτῷ ὑπολίποιο πρόφασις ἀντιλογίας  
 καὶ δικαιοσύνης. Σὺ δέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἂν τε γράφωμεν ἂν τε μὴ γράφω-  
 μεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐν τῇ μυστικῇ παστάδι φωστῆρ ἑναπετέθης ἐπέχων λόγον  
 ζωῆς, οὕτω καὶ φρόνει καὶ πράττε ὅπως τῶν ἔργων σου τῷ φωτὶ ὅσοις  
 20 περιγίνηται βλέπειν δοξάζωσι τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς πατέρα ἡμῶν καὶ σὲ διὰ  
 τῶν ὀφειλομένων δικαίων φέρωσιν ἐπαίνων, εὐχαριστοῦντες ἐφ' οἷς  
 τοιοῦτου ἀπολαύουσιν ἀρχιερέως. Ἐρρωμένους διαφυλαχθεῖς.

129: 19-20: Matth. 5.14-16.

47 χαλεπῶν P: -όν V || 48 ὑπάρχειν P: -ει V || 48 ἔρρωμένον — 49 μετριότητος V: om. P  
 129: P 222r-v V 12v-13v || 1 tit. P: λέοντι συλέου νικόλαος πατριάρχ(ης) V || 2-3  
 <μη> μαθόντων ἡμῶν ὁποῖά σου ci. Jk || 4 μὲν P: om. V || 8 ἔχωμεν V: -ομεν P || 10  
 μηδὲν] leg. μηδεμία? sed cf. 135.86 || 15 αὐτὸς P: αὐτῷ V || διαιτήσης V: -σεις P ||  
 17 δικαιοσύνης P: -εων V || ἡμῶν P: om. V || 18 ἑναπετέθης V: ἑναπετέχθης P || ἐπέχων  
 λόγον P: λόγον ἐπέχων V || 20 περιγίνηται P: -εται V || 21 ἐπαίνων P: ἐπὶ νοῦν V ||  
 22 ἔρρωμένους διαφυλαχθεῖς V: om. P

God to pass their lives in sorrows and in the affliction of distresses. But  
 who will give me hope to speak so of the cruel sufferings that waste me day  
 and night, and my present tortures not to be a foretaste of torment to ensue?  
 The Lord preserve you in health, praying for my Mediocrity.

## 129. To Leo of Sylaeum

My previous letter to your Virtue was written when I had learned  
 what that letter announced. But now that your letter has reached me and  
 I have got to know from it the facts about that unfortunate man, I lament  
 our human condition and lament also the fatal damage done to his soul, if  
 in fact he has so miserably conducted himself. But I beg you not to resent  
 it if, when persons bore false witness against your Virtue, I was compelled  
 on their account to write in a somewhat wounding strain; but rather, to  
 rejoice that your Wisdom shines more brightly by the conviction of their  
 falsehood. I had intended, in order to deprive him of all chance of dispute, to  
 instruct you to act with others on a second, more minute inquiry into this  
 disastrous crime. But since I realize that he will, in that case, decide to start  
 another conflict by claiming that you are his enemy, and will therefore appeal  
 against any decision arrived at by you, for this reason I am referring the  
 inquiry to other parties, so that absolutely no grounds may remain to him  
 for dispute and justification. But you (my Son) whether I write it or no, are  
 aware that you are set as a lamp in the mystical Bridal Chamber, bearing the  
 word of life, and must so determine and act that all those to whom it is given  
 to see by the light of your deeds may glorify our Father Who is in Heaven,  
 and may extol you with the just praises that are due to you, giving thanks  
 that they enjoy the advantage of an Archpriest such as you. God keep you  
 well.

## 130. Ἴγνατίῳ Κυζίκου

Εἰ καὶ ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις, ὅμως τὰ σὰ δεξάμενοι | γράμματα καὶ δι' B  
 αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ σοῦ μαθόντες ἄνεσιν τινα τῶν συνεχόντων περὶ σοῦ  
 φροντίδων ἐσχῆκαμεν. Χρόνου γὰρ τοσοῦτου παρφηγικότος καὶ μηδε-  
 5 μιᾶς, μὴ διὰ λόγου, μὴ διὰ γράμματος, μὴ διὰ ψιλῆς φήμης ἀγγελίας  
 τινὸς καταλαμβάνουσης, ἐν πολλῇ συνοχῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς συνεχόμεθα διὰ  
 τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν διετελοῦμεν· μάλιστα ὑπόσχεσιν ἡμῖν παρασχομένης  
 τῆς σῆς ὁσιότητος ὡς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ παναγίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ ὑψωσιν  
 αὐτίκα τὰ ἐνταῦθα καταλήψῃ. Πλὴν τῷ ἁγίῳ θεῷ χάρις τῷ τέως ἐν τῷ  
 10 παρόντι δεδωκότι τὰ περὶ τῆς ὑμῶν ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀναμαθεῖν. Τί με  
 δεῖ πλέον γράφειν; Ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἐπισημαινόμεθα· ταχέως ἦκε, τὰς  
 ἀναβολὰς καὶ υπερθέσεις καταλιπών. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν τοιαῦτα τὰ πράγματα  
 οἷα τῆς ἔξω ὑμῶν διατριβῆς ἐθέλειν ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἰ καὶ  
 παρόντων ὑμῶν ὁμαλότητός τινος ἐπιτεύξεται. Ἐρωμένον σε διαφυ-  
 15 λάξει ὁ κύριος, ὑπερευχόμενον τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος.

## 131. Τρύφωνι μονάζοντι

Μεγάλην παράκλησιν ἐπὶ τῷ γράμματι τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος  
 εὐρηκότες χάριν ἀνηνέγκαμεν τῷ θεῷ τῷ κηδεμόνι τῆς πολυωδύνου  
 ζωῆς ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐκίνησεν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ γράψαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι τὴν ἡμε-  
 5 τέραν ταπεινώσιν. Ἄλλ' ὥσπερ τοῖς λόγοις, οὕτω καὶ τῇ σῇ παρουσίᾳ  
 μὴ βραδύνης καὶ συγγενέσθαι ἡμῖν καὶ κοινωνήσων τοῦτο μὲν τῶν  
 συνεχόντων, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ λόγων ὁμιλίας, τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος, οἰκεία  
 γλώσση τὴν παράκλησιν προσφέρων ἡμῖν. Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἤξιοῦ, ὅσον ἡ  
 τῶν πραγμάτων συνεχώρει διοίκησις (ἐπόμεθα γὰρ, κἂν βουλώμεθα  
 10 κἂν μὴ βουλώμεθα, τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκῃ), τοσοῦτον καὶ διωκη-  
 σάμεθα. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐρῶσθαι σε ἐπευχόμεθα καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν μεμνησθαι  
 μετριότητος.

130: P 222v-223r V 19r-v || 7 ἡμῖν παρασχομένης P: παρασχομένης ἡμῖν V || 9  
 καταλήψῃ Wk: καταλήψειν V: καταλείψειν P || πλὴν P: om. V || post θεῷ] πάλιν add. V || 11  
 πλέον P: πλείω V || 13 ἔξω P: ἔξ V || 14 ἐρωμένον - 15 μετριότητος V: om. P ||  
 14-15 διαφυλάξει Jk: δὲ φυλάξει V

131: P 223r V 19v-20r || 4 ἐπὶ τὸ P: om. V || 6 fort. κοινωνῆσαι (-ῆσαι Mai) ||  
 τοῦτο μὲν] post ἡμῖν repon. Jk || 7 λόγων V: -ον P || 8 ἤξιου PV

## 130. To Ignatios of Cyzicus

Though lately and after some difficulty, I have yet received your letter; it told me your news, and has somewhat relieved my anxiety about you. Such a long time has passed since I had heard anything about you, either by word of mouth, or by letter, or by mere rumor, that I remained much afflicted at this, in addition to all the other afflictions which my sins have brought upon me: more especially since your Holiness had promised to come here immediately after the Elevation of the All-holy and Life-giving Cross. However, thanks be to our Holy God, Who has meantime at this present granted me to have news of your Archpriesthood. I have nothing to add but this injunction: come here soon, without delays or postponements: the state of affairs is not such as to permit of your remaining away; and if it can be stabilized by your presence, so much the better. The Lord keep you in health, and in prayer for my Mediocrity.

## 131. To the Monk Tryphon

I found much consolation in your Holiness' letter, and offered up thanks to God, the Guardian of my most painful life, Who moved you to write and console my Humility. But, as you are now with me in your words, so hasten to be with me also in person, that you may share my afflictions and, God granting us speech with one another, may bring me your consolation by word of mouth. As regards your request, so far as the ordering of events permits (for, whether I like it or not, I must obey their constraint), thus far I have disposed. For the rest, I pray you fare well and be mindful of my Mediocrity.

132. Γρηγορίῳ Ἐφέσου καὶ Φωτίῳ Ἡρακλείας |  
οὔσιν ἐν ὑπερορίᾳ

132

D

Οὔτε ὑμᾶς, τέκνα ἐμά, τὸ πικρὸν ἀλγῆμα τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινῆς δια-  
λανθάνει καρδίας οὔτε τῶν ὑμετέρων σπαραγμάτων καὶ ὀδυνῶν ἐν  
5 ἀγνοίᾳ ἡμεῖς καθεστήκαμεν. Ἡ γὰρ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος ἐνότης ἡ  
πρὸς ἐν φρόνημα καὶ μιᾶς κίνημα καρδίας ἡμᾶς διαθεμένη, αὐτὴ ὥσπερ  
εἰς τὸ συμπάσχειν συνῆψεν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τὰ ἀλλήλων  
πάθη παρασκευάζει. Τί οὖν ἢ κοινῇ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν φέρειν δεῖ τῷ θεῷ  
ἐφ' οἷς διωκόμεθα μὲν, οὐ καταβαλλόμεθα δὲ θεοῦ χάριτι, καὶ οἷς ὅσον  
10 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπηρεασταῖς ἀποθνήσκομεν, ζῶμεν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος  
θεοῦ συντηρούμενοι; Ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν ἰδεῖν θείων καὶ παραδόξων  
γένεσιν πραγμάτων, | καὶ στομάτων θηρίων θεοῦ ῥυομένους θεράποντας 352  
καὶ καμίνου πυρὸς ἀβλαβεῖς τηρουμένους τοὺς τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν τῇ  
ὑψίστῳ ἀναθεμένους προνοίᾳ.

15 Ταῦτά μοι ἐπιόντα εἰς νοῦν μεγάλη παράκλησις καὶ τῆς ἀθυμίας  
ἀνάκτησις γίνεται· ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς, τέκνα ἐμά, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς λογιζόμε-  
νοι, εἰ καὶ βαρεῖς οἱ ἐπικείμενοι πειρασμοί, μετὰ τῆς ἀμείνων ἐλπίδος  
ὑψηλότερον τὸ φρόνημα καὶ πρέπον τῇ ὑμῶν ἀρχιερατικῇ τελειότητι  
πάσης στενοχωρίας φέροντες διατελεῖτε. Πλείστας ἔχομεν πληροφορίας  
20 τῆς θεϊκῆς ἀντιλήψεως, καὶ πέποιθα ὡς παρόψεται μὲν τὰς ἐμάς ἁμαρ-  
τίας, διαρκέσει δὲ μέχρι τέλους ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀντιλαμβανόμενος καὶ οὐ διατε-  
μεῖ τὴν βοήθειαν. Εἰ δ' ἄρα δυσχεράνας ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἁμαρτίαις μικρὸν  
ὑπενδώσει, τυχὸν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἐκποδῶν οἰκονομήσει γενέσθαι, ὑμῶν δὲ B  
πάντως ἀντιλήψεται συνήθως, καὶ δείξει τοὺς ἐπὶ κακουρίᾳ ὠφρωμέ-  
25 νους πολλῶ πλέον ἢ ὅσον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔδοξαν ἡσθῆναι καὶ λυπούμενους καὶ  
σκυθρωπάζοντας. Ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ ὡς παρῶν ἤδη τῷ  
πνεύματι περιφύομαι καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν δυσωπῶ ὑπερεύχεσθαι ταπεινότητος.

132: 6: Ephes. 4.3. || 9: 2 Cor. 4.9. || 26: Rom. 16.22.

132: P 223r-v V 20r-v || 2 ὑπερορία P: ἐξορία V || 3 τέκνα ἐμά] post ἀλγῆμα  
V || 3-4 ταπεινῆς διαλανθάνει P: διαλανθάνει ταπεινῆς V || 6 φρόνημα ... κίνημα P: κίνημα  
... φρόνημα V || 8 ἢ κοινῇ V: ἡ κοινῇ P || 12 γένεσιν P: om. V || 14 ὑψίστῳ] τοῦ ὑψίστου  
ci. Jk || 21-22 οὐ διατεμεῖ P: οὐδὲ τεμεῖ V || 23 ad ἐκποδῶν] ἀφανῆ mg. al. m. V

132

132. To Gregory of Ephesus and Photius of  
Heraclea, in exile

Neither are you (my Sons) ignorant of the bitter grief of my humble heart, nor I of your own lacerations and pains: for union in the All-holy Spirit which has made in us one mind and the motion of one heart, even as it has joined us in our suffering together, so also it has made accurately known to us the sufferings one of another. What else then but to offer up our common thankfulness to God inasmuch as we are persecuted indeed, but, by His Grace, not cast down, and inasmuch as, though to our persecutors we seem to die, yet do we live by the preservation of the life-giving God? Even now we may surely discern the coming to pass of divine and unlooked-for events: God's servants delivered out of the mouths of savage beasts, and those who have committed their salvation to the Providence of the Most High preserved unharmed from the fiery furnace.

To think on these things is great solace for my sadness, and recovery of strength. And these things you too (my Sons) should reflect upon in your own minds, and, heavy as are the trials that beset you, continue, in hope of better things, to keep up a spirit superior to every distress and suitable to your archpriestly Perfection. We have very many assurances of God's aid, and I am convinced that He will overlook my sins and in His goodness, continue to support me unto the end, and not cut off His succor. For even though in His anger at my sins He may yield a little, yet perhaps His dispensation shall remove me from here, while to you He will surely lend His accustomed aid, and will bring upon those who boasted in their villainy a grief and sullenness far greater than their apparent rejoicing over it. I embrace you in the Lord and, as though present already, I clasp you in the spirit, and implore you to pray for my Humility.

## 133. Πέτρῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἀλανίας

Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ γράμματος, δι' ὧν τοὺς σοὺς ἀνεμάνθανομεν  
 πόνους καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων περίστασιν, λύπην μὲν τοῖς ὧσιν ἡμῶν  
 ἐνεποίει προσπίπτοντα, πλὴν οὐχ οὕτω δριμύειαν οὐδὲ παρακλήσεως ἀπο-  
 5 ρούσαν, διότι πάσης καὶ δυσχερείας καὶ θλίψεως ἐλπίς προλαβοῦσα καὶ  
 οἶον ἐγγυμνάσασα τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ ἑαυτῆς ὁμιλίᾳ προαφαιρεῖται τὸ πολὺ |  
 τῆς βαρύτητος, ἐπειδὴν καταλάβη τὰ δυσχερῆ. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν προειδότες C  
 τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων κατάστασιν ἐφ' ἣν ὑπὸ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος  
 προεχειρίσθης, ὡς οὐκ εὐκόλος οὐδὲ πόνων ἀπηλλαγμένη, νῦν τοῦ σοῦ  
 10 γράμματος ἀναγγέλλοντος τὰ ὑμῖν συναντῶντα, ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲ πρὶν ἠγνοοῦ-  
 μεν, εἰ καὶ ἀνιώμεθα, πλὴν τὸ πάθος φορητὸν <ἠγούμεθα> μάλιστα καὶ  
 πρὸς τὰς ἀντιδόσεις τῷ λογισμῷ ὑπερκύπτοντες καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπό-  
 λαυσιν, οὐδ' ὅσον εἰπεῖν τοὺς παρόντας ἀποκρυπτούσας πόνους. Ἐκεῖνο  
 δὲ ἀφόρητον ἐδόκει καὶ τὴν πληγὴν καιρίαν ἔδωκεν, τὸ τοιαῦτα ὑπολαμ-  
 15 βάνειν, καὶ μὴ μόνον ὑπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φανεράν τὴν ὑπόληψιν κατα-  
 στήσαι, δι' ὧν ἔγραψας ὡς ἐκβέβλησαι τῆς ἡμῶν καρδίας καὶ ἡ σὴ  
 ἀπόλωλε μνήμη. Τοῦτό γε | οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων ἀκοῦσαι ἠλπίσα- D  
 μεν, μὴ ὅτι γε τῶν τέκνων ἢ τῶν ἄλλως φιλοῦντων. Πῶς γάρ, εἰ μὴ  
 πρότερον θεοῦ μνήμης ἔρημοι καὶ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας οὐ σὺ ὄδηγός  
 20 ἀπεστάλης καὶ σωτὴρ μετὰ γε τὸν πρῶτον ἡμῶν σωτῆρα καὶ θεόν,  
 τοῦτο παθεῖν εἰκὸς τὸν ὑπονοοῦντα, ὅστις δὲν ἦ ὁ ὑπολαμβάνων; Πῶς  
 ἡμᾶς οὐκ εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀπάγει κατηγορίαν καὶ ἥς οὐκ ἂν τις εὐροι βαρυ-  
 τέραν; Τί γὰρ βαρύτερον τοῦ ἀμνημονεῖν θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐπι-  
 στροφῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου τυραννικῆς χειρὸς ἀνακλή-  
 25 σεως;

Ὅραξ, τέκνον, οἷα κεκακωμένους ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς διὰ τὰς  
 ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν συνέχουσι τὸ σὸν διέθηκε γράμμα; Καίτοι πρὸς τὴν  
 πορείαν στελλόμενος ἐν οἷς κατέλιπες ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔστιν διανοηθῆναι ὡς  
 ἐπιτέλησαι. Εἴτα καταλιπὼν ὅσα γε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα παροικούντας ἐν τῷ  
 30 ἄδη, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ παροικούντων χαλεπώτερον διακειμένους—  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔτι κατ' αὐτῶν οὐ φθόνος, οὐ πόλεμος, οὐκ ἐπιβουλή τις συνίστα- 353  
 ται, ἡμᾶς δὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀδιαλείπτως ταῦτα περιστοιχίζει—οὕτως  
 οὖν ἔχοντας αἰτιᾶ ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαλείψαντας; Καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις σὲ  
 μᾶλλον αἰτιάσεται δικαιότερον καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐγκαλέσει ἢ τὸ οὖς ὑποσχεῖν

133: 29-30: Ps. 93.17.

133: P 224r-225r V 88r-90r || 10 γράμματος P: πράγματος V || ὑμῖν P: ἡμῖν V ||  
 οὐδὲ P: οὐ τὰ V || 11 ἠγούμεθα Wk: om. PV || 17 γε P: γὰρ V || λεγόντων ἀκοῦσαι P:  
 ἀκοῦσαι λεγόντων V || 22-23 βαρυτέραν. τί γὰρ P: om. V || ante θεοῦ] καὶ add. V || 31  
 ἔτι P: ἔστιν V || 34 ἐγκαλέσει P: -σειεν V

## 133. To Peter, Archbishop of Alania

Those parts of your letter which apprised me of your troubles and of  
 your perilous situation grieved me at hearing of them, but with a grief not  
 so sharp or inconsolable, inasmuch as expectation that anticipates every  
 difficulty and distress and, as it were, trains the spirit by converse with itself,  
 relieves such difficulties, when they do occur, of much of their weight. And  
 so I, who knew in advance that the state of affairs to which you had been  
 called by the All-holy Spirit would be neither easy nor free of trouble, now  
 that your letter tells me of what you are encountering, am naturally grieved,  
 but, out of my foreknowledge, find this suffering perfectly tolerable, when  
 with the mind's eye I look beyond it to the rewards and felicity it will bring  
 you, which completely conceal from sight the troubles of the moment. But  
 what I did find intolerable, what mortally wounded me, was that you should  
 suppose, nay, more than suppose, that you should declare in writing your  
 manifest supposition that you were cast out of my heart and that memory  
 of you had perished! I never thought to hear this, even from my enemies,  
 let alone from my sons or other friends. How could anyone—let him be one  
 who he may—suppose this of me, unless he first deprives me of memory of  
 God and of the salvation of that people to which you have been sent as  
 guide and savior, under our first Saviour and God? Surely this brings against  
 me the severest, the heaviest possible accusation? For what can be heavier  
 than a charge of unmindfulness of God and of man's turning toward Him,  
 and of his deliverance from the devil's oppression?

You see (my Son) how I am maligned by your letter, in addition to  
 all other distresses which for my sins afflict me. Yet I cannot suppose you  
 have forgotten the circumstances in which you left me when you were  
 dispatched on your journey. You left me dwelling, so far as human aid is  
 concerned, in hell, or indeed in yet more cruel case than those who dwell  
 there: for against them there is no more envy nor warfare nor conspiracy,  
 but I am even now encompassed by these things unceasingly. And, when  
 such is my situation, you accuse me of expunging you from my heart! One  
 might more justly accuse you and retort the charge, than stoop to listen to



35 ἀξιώσειεν ἐγκαλοῦντι; Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπολαμβάνειν  
 ἐχρῆν, ἢ καταστάνατα εἰς ὑπόληψιν ἐπιστῆσαι ὀρθῶς διανοίας κριτηρίῳ καὶ  
 ὡς ψευδομένην ἀπελάσαι τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μέχρις ἡμῶν διὰ τῶν  
 γραμμάτων δοῦναι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ ἀνθ' ἧς ἐμέλλομεν ἀπολαύειν ἡδονῆς  
 40 ἀνιαθῆναι. Ὅπερ γὰρ εἶπον, ἐν τῷ σῶ προσώπῳ συνεισερχομένης καὶ  
 ἄλλης βαρυτέρας κατηγορίας, ἀμήχανον μὴ οὐχὶ λίαν ἡμᾶς ἀνιάσθαι·  
 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο | μηκέτι μὴδ' ὑπολάμβανε μήτε γράφε. Τὴν γὰρ περὶ σοῦ B  
 μνήμην εἶπερ τινὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξωθήσομεν, καὶ εἰ μὴ δι'  
 ἕτερον, διὰ γε τὴν τοῦ νεοκλήτου πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἔθρους <σωτηρίαν>  
 45 καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου συνέχουσαν μέριμναν καὶ τὴν εἰς τελειώσιν ἐξιέναι  
 τὸ σὸν ἔργον ἐπιθυμίαν ἰδεῖν, τῆς θεϊκῆς συνεπιλαμβανομένης εὐδοκίας  
 καὶ συμπράξεως. Εἰ δ' ὅτι μὴ γράμματα ἔχει πρὸς σέ παρ' ἡμῶν  
 τοιοῦτος λογισμὸς ἐπιεσέρχεται, πρῶτον ἐκεῖνό σε διανοεῖσθαι δέον,  
 ὅτι τῶν κομιζόντων οὐκ εὐποροῦμεν ἐν τοιαύτῃ γὰρ ἔσμεν καταστάσει  
 50 ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους καὶ δεδιέναι ἡμῖν συναντᾶν. Ἐπειτα προσενθυμοῦ  
 καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' ἡμῖν ἀδέες τὸ γράφειν, μήποτε διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν οἱ συ-  
 σκευάζειν ἀγωνιζόμενοι προσλήψωνται, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς οἰηθῶμεν,  
 ἀντεῦθεν εἰς τό τι κατεργάσασθαι βροπήν.

Ἄρκει ταῦτα, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον προστίθῃμι· τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ  
 55 θεῖαν ὑπηρεσίαν εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐκλήθης ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος, ταύτην δυναμού- C  
 μενος ὑπὸ θεοῦ, τέκνον μου ἱερόν, ἀγωνίζου πληροφορησά· καὶ περὶ  
 ἡμῶν, ἂν τε ἔχει γράμματα ἂν τε καὶ μὴ, μηδὲν ὑποπεύσης, ἀλλ' ἔσο  
 τοῦ φρονεῖν οὕτως ἀμετάπτωτος, ὅτι πλέον τῶν ὀρωμένων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς  
 ἡμῶν καὶ μεριμνῶμεν περὶ σοῦ καὶ εὐχόμεθα μὴ ἐπιλείπειν σε τὴν ἀγα-  
 60 θοδότιν εὐμένειαν μηδὲ τὴν σὴν βιοτήν καὶ τὰ πράγματα.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀθέσμου γάμου, εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε παραινέσει καὶ διδασκα-  
 λία λῦσαι τὴν συζυγίαν, πᾶσα θεῶ χάρις. Εἰ δ' ἀντιβαίνει τοῦ πράγμα-  
 τος ἡ δύναμις, τέως μηκέτι προκόπτειν τὸ κακὸν μηδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν  
 ἐπιτρέψειν τοιούτοις γάμοις καταμολύνεσθαι τὸ γένος. Τοῦτο δὲ πράξεις  
 65 συνήθως τῷ τε ἡγεμόνι τοῦ ἔθνους ὑποτιθέμενος καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ᾧ συγχω-  
 ρεῖται τὸ συνοικεῖν διὰ τὴν ἤδη φθάσασαν σύναψιν. Ἐρρωσα ἐν κυρίῳ,  
 τῆς ἡμῶν μεμνημένος μετριότητος.

54-56: I Tim. 6.12.

37 ψευδομένην P: -ου V || τῶν λογισμῶν P: τὸν -ὸν V || 44 σωτηρίαν Jk: om. PV || 45 fort.  
 <τοῦ> εἰς || 48 ἐπιεσέρχεται P: ὑπεισέρχεται V || 50 προσενθυμοῦ P: προσενθυμοῦμεν V ||  
 51 τὸ] οὐ sser. V (= τοῦτο?) || 57 ἔχει P: ἔρη V || καὶ P: om. V || 58 ἀμετάπτωτος P:  
 ἀμεταπτῶτος V || 59 ἐπιλείπειν P: ἐπιλείπειν V || σε P: om. V || 64 fort. ἐπιτρέψης ||  
 τοιούτοις γάμοις P: τὸ τοιαῦτοι γάμοι V || τοῦτο V: τούτοι P || 65 ἡγεμόνι τοῦ ἔθνους P:  
 τοῦ ἔθνους ἡγεμόνι V || 66 ἤδη φθάσασαν P: φθάσασαν ἤδη V

your accusation. No: you should never have entertained it, should have  
 submitted it to the candid tribunal of your intelligence and dismissed it as  
 false; you should not have allowed it to reach me in your letter, thus robbing  
 me of the pleasure I hoped for in reading it and giving me pain instead. For,  
 as I said, since the charge, coming from you, implies a yet graver charge, it  
 is impossible that I should not be deeply pained. But this accusation you  
 must not conceive or write of again. Memory of you, especially, I could not  
 expel from my heart, if for no other reason than because of the *salvation* of  
 the nation newly called to piety, and of the anxiety that afflicts me concerning  
 it, and of my desire to see your work accomplished, if the Divine approval  
 and collaboration assist thereto. If such a thought has entered your head  
 because no letters have arrived from me, you must first consider I am badly  
 off for bearers. I am in such a plight that most people are even afraid to  
 meet me. Secondly, you must also bear in mind that I myself cannot write  
 without some danger lest those who, for my sins, are eager to conspire against  
 me may, even from my letters, obtain, in some unexpected way, a lever for  
 action against me.

Enough of this. I have only one thing to add: that noble strife and  
 godly service to which you have been called by Grace, and strengthened  
 therefore by God, strive (my holy Son) to fulfill; and whether letters from  
 me reach you or no, have no suspicion, but be unshakably convinced that,  
 more than for those who are before my eyes, I am anxious for you, and pray  
 that the Beneficent Favor may not desert you, or your life, or your affairs.

As regards the lawless marriage, if you can by advice and instruction  
 dissolve the union, all thanks to God! But if the case is too strong to be  
 opposed, then see at least that the evil goes no further, and in future do not  
 permit the tribe to be polluted by such marriages. This you may do by  
 continual advice to the chief of the nation and to the man whose union is  
 condoned because of its previous consummation. Farewell in the Lord and  
 be mindful of my Mediocrity.

Ἡ σωματικὴ διάστασις τῶν ἠνωμένων κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐδὲν ὑποτέμνεται τὴν ἐγγύτητα. Ἐπει οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, τέκνον ἡμῶν, μηδὲν ἀνιῶ διότι μὴ τοῖς σωματικοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν πατέρα ὄρας, ἀλλ' εἰδῶς  
 5 μηδενὶ μέσῳ διατειχιζομένην τὴν ἔνωσιν τῶν ἠνωμένων τῷ κατὰ Χριστὸν φρονήματι, τὸ μὲν ἀθυμεῖν ἀπόθου, τῆς δὲ σῆς εὐθυμότερον μετὰ τῆς τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος συνεργίας ἀντέχου διακονίας, δι' ἧς καὶ σεαυτῷ καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ταπεινοῖς μεγάλην ἐμποιήσεις τὴν ἡδονήν, καὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν συμπαρόντων ἑλαττον ἔχων ἀναφανήση, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶν  
 10 πλέον ψυχαγωγῶν | ἡμᾶς καὶ χαριζόμενος καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ οἱ συνομιλοῦντες ἐνούμενος. 356

## 135. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐπὶ τοῖς περισταμένοις σε λυπηροῖς καὶ τῇ συνοχῇ τῶν ἀνιαρῶν, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, οὐχὶ γράμμασιν ἔδει παρακαλεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰ πως οἶδον τε ἦν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρεῖναι καὶ τὴν ἐξ οἰκείας γλώσσης ὅσον παρεῖχε  
 5 Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν προσάγειν παράκλησιν. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἀμήχανον, ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἤκομεν καὶ τῷ γράμματί σοι προσομιλοῦμεν. Πολλοί, γράφεις, αἱ θλίψεις καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἡ συνοχή, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀπειροί ξενιτείας ἡμεῖς, λανθάνει τὴν ἡμετέραν εἰδησιν. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἔφησ, εἰ καὶ τὸ γράμμα τρανῶς | ὑπεστείλατο. Ἡμεῖς δέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εἰ καὶ κρίμα-  
 10 σιν οἷς οἶδεν ὁ πάνσοφος τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν οἰκονόμος τὰ τῶν ξενιτευόντων ἰδίᾳ οὐκ ἐδιδάχθημεν ξενιτεία, ὅμως οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἐν γωνίᾳ καθεύδοντες, ἀλλὰ ταχθέντες οἷς ἐτάχθημεν, εἰ καὶ πάντων ἡμεῖς τυχὸν ἀφυέστατοι πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν τὰ τῶν ξενιτευόντων, ἀλλ' ἡ τάξις ἣν ἐλάχομεν παρέσχε τὴν γῶσιν τῆς ξενιτείας, μυρίων καθ' ἑκάστην προσομιλούντων, ὅσους  
 15 ἡ ἐκ ταύτης συνέχει ταλαιπωρία.

Τούτου πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν, ἵνα τοὺς λόγους ἀπορρίψης ὡς ἀγνοοῦμεν τὰς περιστοιχιζούσας σε θλίψεις. Δεύτερον δὲ τοῦτο σοι γρά-

135: 11: cf. Act. 26.26.

134: P 225r-v V 87v || 1 tit. P: τῷ αὐτῷ (= Κωνσταντίνῳ παρακοιμωμένῳ) V || 2 τῶν ἠνωμένων Pvc: τοῖς ἠνωμένοις V<sup>1</sup> || 6 ἀπόθου V: om. P || 7 τοῦ V: om. P || 9 οὐ μόνον] cf. 27.26 || 11 ἐνούμενος P: -οι V

135: P 225v-228r || 9 fort. τρανῶς <λέγειν>

Physical distance by no means interrupts the close communion of those who are united in spirit. This being so (my Son) do not repine that you cannot behold your father with the eyes of the body; but, in the knowledge that the union of those who are of one mind according to Christ is not divided by any wall between, put off your sadness and, with the aid of the All-holy Spirit, lay hold with greater cheerfulness upon your ministry, which shall be a source of great joy both to yourself and to my Humility; and you will find yourself not merely at *no* disadvantage compared with my present companions, but on the contrary far more charming and delightful to me, and more closely united to me, than those who converse with me here.

## 135. To the Same

In your painful circumstances and the affliction of distresses (my holy Son) I ought not to be offering written consolation but should rather (if only it were possible) be with you myself and bring to you by word of mouth such consolation as Christ our God might suggest. But since this is impracticable, I must do the next best thing and communicate with you in writing. You write that your sorrows are many, and *great* is the affliction of your evils; but that, since I have had no experience of exile, I do not appreciate these. This is what you say in effect, though your letter obviously understates your meaning. However (my Son), even though by the inscrutable Judgments of the All-wise Dispenser of my life I have not through personal exile learned of an exile's lot, nonetheless I do not lie asleep in a corner: placed as I am in my present position (though very likely I may be the least apt of men to learn what exiles go through), still, the post I occupy has in fact brought to my knowledge the exile of myriads who come in contact with me daily and who suffer hardship from this misfortune.

I remind you of this to start with, so that you may rid yourself of the argument that I am unfamiliar with your grievous circumstances. Next I

φομεν, ὅτι περ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἠγγύουν ὡς οὐκ εἰς ἄνεσιν οὐδ' εἰς τρυφὴν  
καὶ κοσμικὴν τινα δόξαν τε καὶ τιμὴν ἢ σὴ στέλλεται | σύνεσις, ἀλλ' C  
20 εἰς πόρους καὶ καμάτους καὶ στενοχωρίας. Καὶ ταῦτά σοι καὶ πρὸ τῆς  
ἐπιθέσεως τῆς ταπεινῆς ἡμῶν χειρὸς οὐμενοῦν οὐκ ἐπιλέγησαι ὡς  
προέφημεν, οὐδ' ὅτι σου πᾶσαν σὺν τῇ ἄνωθεν εὐμενείᾳ σαρκικὴν  
ἐναντίωσιν καὶ πάντα κίνδυνον παρ' οὐδὲν τίθεσθαι ἀνομολογοῦντος,  
οὕτω τὴν ἀμαρτωλὸν ἐπιτεθείκαμεν χεῖρα, καὶ φωστῆρα λόγον ἐπέχοντα  
25 ζωῆς ἐν τῇ μυστικῇ παστάδι τῇ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος προβεβλήμεθα  
συνεργία. Καὶ ταῦτά φαμεν οὐ καταγινώσκοντες οὐδ' ὡς μὴ συναλοῦντες  
ἐφ' οἷς ἀλγεῖς, ἀλλ' εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρόθυμος ἐγένου εἰς τοὺς  
ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κινδύνους καὶ νῦν οὐδὲν ἔλαττον  
σῶζεις τὸ πρόθυμον, εἰ καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐλέγχεται ἡ ἀσθένεια. Καὶ θαυ-  
30 μαστὸν οὐδέν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ κύριος | ἡμῶν, ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς δύναμις, D  
εἰδὼς ἦν ἔπλασε φύσιν ἔλεγε τοῖς μαθηταῖς «Τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον,  
ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής.» Οὐκ εἴρηται οὖν τὰ προειρημένα, μὴ γένοιτο, εἰς  
κατάγνωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἔχῃς εἰδέναι ὡς οὔτε τοῦ ἡμετέρου σκοποῦ οὔτε  
τῆς σῆς ἐπιλελήσμεθα προαιρέσεως. Πονοῦσι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ πῆ-  
35 γνυνται πολλάκις τῷ κυρμῷ οἱ τὰ σπέρματα τῇ γῆ καταβάλλοντες, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τὸν πόνον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κυρμοῦ πῆξιν ἢ προσδοκία τῆς συγκομιδῆς  
ὑπανίησι τῶν καρπῶν. Παραβάλλονται πρὸς θανάτους καὶ τότε χαλε-  
πωτάτους οἱ διαπλέοντες τὰ πελάγη, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐλπίδι τοῦ κέρδους ὀπίσω  
ρίπτουσι μνήμης τοὺς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης κινδύνους.  
40 Οὐκ ἦν εἰκὸς ταῦτα γράφειν ἡμᾶς· θεία γὰρ χάριτι διδάσκειν κατα- 357  
σταθεῖς ἑτέρους, καὶ μάλιστα παιδόμεν τοιούτοις διδάγμασιν ἐντετραμ-  
μένους, οὐκ ἐν χρεῖα τούτων καθέστηκας ἑτέρωθεν ἐπακούειν. Ἄλλ'  
ἵνα μὴ δόξωμεν ὡσπερ ἀκίνητοι πρὸς τὰ γραφέντα, καὶ ταῦτα γέγραπται  
καὶ ὀλίγα ἔτι προστεθήσεται. Ἀπόβλεψον πρὸς τοὺς μακαρίους τοῦ  
45 εὐαγγελίου κήρυκας, ὧν σὺ κατηξιώθης τῷ καταλόγῳ συναριθμηθῆναι,  
καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πάθη καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν θανάτους καὶ τὴν χαρὰν ἦν  
ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔχαιρον, καὶ κατάλιπε τὸ θρηνεῖν καὶ τὸ ἀθυμεῖν διότι μὴ  
τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα κατὰ ῥοῦν ἡμῖν φέρεται. Ἐνθυμήθητι, μάλ-  
λον δὲ αἰ τοῦτο φέρων ἐνθύμιον, ὡς χάρις ἐστὶν καὶ φιλοτιμία ἄνωθεν τὸ  
50 πάσχειν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, σεμνύνου μετὰ τοῦ εἰπόντος θεοῦ | ἀποστόλου B  
«Καὶ τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσθη ἀπὸ θεοῦ, τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πάσχειν.» Πολλοὶ

30: 1 Cor. 1.24. || 31-32: Matth. 26.41; Marc. 14.38. || 46: 1 Cor. 15.31. || 50-51: Phil. 1.29.

26 συναλοῦντες Vat.: συναλγ. P || 31 ἦν Vat.: ἦν P || 33 ἔχῃς Vat.: -εις P || 49 φέρων Wk: -ον P (φέρου Jk) || 51 ἡμῖν] ὑμῖν N.T.

must tell you this: I was aware from the beginning that your Wisdom was not being sent out for your comfort or luxury or worldly honor and glory, but to labors and toils and distresses. You cannot have forgotten that I warned you of this even before I laid my humble hand on you in consecration; and that only after you had professed that you cared nothing for any physical obstacles and perils if you found favor from Above, did I lay on you my sinful hand and appoint you to be, with the aid of the All-holy Spirit, a beacon in the mystical Bridal Chamber, holding forth the word of life. I say this, not in reproach or out of any lack of sympathy for what you are suffering, but because I know that, as you were at the beginning ready to face dangers for the sake of religion and the Gospels, so you are now not less ready to do so even when tried by the weakness of the flesh—as you may well be: for our Lord Himself, Who is the power of God the Father, knowing the nature of His creation, said to His disciples: “The Spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.” And so I speak as I do, not in reproach—God forbid!—but that you may know that I am not unmindful either of my object or of your resolution. My Son, they suffer who cast their seed upon the land and oft times are frozen stiff with cold; but their toil and frostbite are alleviated by their expectation of the harvesting of their fruits. Those who sail the seas expose themselves to death in its cruelest forms, but in the hope of gain they forget the perils of the deep.

It is strange that I should be writing thus: for, set up as you are by Divine Grace to instruct others, and nurtured from childhood in these very doctrines, you are in no need of hearing them from others. But I write them in order not to seem unmoved by your letters; and I will add something more as well. Consider the blessed heralds of the Gospel, in whose number you have been found worthy to be enrolled—their sufferings, their deaths day by day, and the joy which they had from these; and cease to lament and to be dismayed because human affairs do not run as we would have them! Reflect—or rather, have it continually in mind—that to suffer for Christ's sake is a grace and boon given from Above. Be elated with the pride of the divine Apostle, who said, “This grace hath been granted unto us by God, to suffer

τῶν σῶν παθῶν πόθον ἔχουσι κοινωνοὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τῆς κακώσεως καὶ τῆς στενοχωρίας, ἀλλὰ σοὶ τοῦτο ἐχαρίσθη εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ πάντα καὶ πρὸ γνώσεως ἀφορίσαντος. Πρὸς τὴν χάριν ἀφόρα, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐπήρειαν  
 55 τῶν τῇ χάριτι διαφθορουμένων, εἴτε δαίμονες εἴεν εἴτε ἄνθρωποι δαιμόνων πρόσωπον ἐνδύμενοι καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων κακίας τυγχάνοντες μιμηταί. Τί γὰρ εἴ τις παρὰ βασιλέως στρατηγὸς προβεβλημένος, εἴτα διαφθορούμενοί τινες αὐτῷ ἐπανίστανται <καὶ> λύπας αὐτῷ προσάγειν διανενόηται, διὰ τοῦτο τῆς τιμῆς ὡσπερ ἐπιλήσεται ἢς ἠξιώθη, καὶ πρὸς  
 60 μόνους τοὺς ἐπηρεαστάς ἀποβλέπων ἀθυμῶν ἔσται καὶ ὀδυνώμενος; | Ἡ μᾶλλον φρόνημα φέρων εὐγενὲς τῶν μὲν ἀντ' οὐδενὸς ἠγγήσεται τὴν ἐπήρειαν, τὴν δὲ τάξιν ἐννοούμενος εἰς ἣν ἀνηνέχθη παρὰ τοῦ τάξαντος, παντὶ τρόπῳ σπουδῆν ἐπιδείξεται τῆς τῶν ἀντικειμένων ὀρθῶσαι ὑψηλότερος ἐπήρειας;

65 Ἄλλὰ τῶν μὲν τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων ἔλις. Ὁρᾷς οἷα καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν στεφάνων καὶ τῆς θεϊκῆς ἀντιδόσεως τὰ ἐνταῦθά σοι ἀπαντᾷ, ὁ παρὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ἔπαινος, ἢ παρὰ τῶν οὐκ εἰδόντων ἀλλὰ μόνῃ ἀκοῇ τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν θαυμαζόντων εὐφημία, καὶ συνελόντως εἰπεῖν, ὁ παρὰ πάντων μακαρισμὸς ἔνεκεν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ δρόμου καὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος καὶ τῆς ἰσοτίμου ἐκείνοις λήξεως. Ἄλλὰ <τὰ> μὲν ἐνταῦθα τοιαῦτα,  
 70 λογιζοῦ δέ μοι καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖθεν, ὅποτε ἀγαλλίασις ἀδιάλυτος ἀντὶ τῶν νῦν σε περιστήσεται θλίψεων, ἀντὶ τῆς στενοχωρίας εὐρυτάτη ἀνάπαυσις, ἀντὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἀντὶ τῆς γυμνότητος, | ἀντὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπορίας  
 75 πλοῦτος οὐ προσιέμενος λόγον εἰς ἔκφρασιν· καὶ τί ταῦτα λέγω;—ὅποτε μετὰ τῶν φωστήρων τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ θείου φωτὸς ἐμπιπλῶμενος σταίης, καὶ ἅτε δὴ τοῖς ἐκείνων συμμεμορφωμένος παθήμασιν τῇ θεῖᾳ δοξῇ ἀπαστρέπτων ὀφθείης. Τί λέγεις; Πενθήσομεν ἔτι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀθυμούντων πεισόμεθα; Ἡ ῥίψομεν πᾶσαν ἀθυμίαν καὶ σὺν τῇ ἄνωθεν εὐμενεῖᾳ πάντων ὑπεράνω τῶν λυπούντων καταστησόμεθα; Καὶ πῶς ἄλλως ἐμὲ  
 80 δέον ἐλπίζειν, εἰ μὴ λῆρον ἠγήσῃ, ὑπερ ἀνάξιον τῆς σῆς συνέσεως, τὰ μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἡμῶν εἰρημένα;

Διὰ τοῦτο λοιπὸν ἤδη παύομαι τοῦ πλέον τι λέγειν τοῦ σε τῆς κατεχούσης ἀκηδίας ἀναλαβεῖν· ἐπ' ἄλλην δὲ τρέπομεν τὸν λόγον ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ παραινούντες καὶ προτρεπόμενοι τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προσοῦσης σοὶ  
 85 πρᾶότητος καὶ ἐπεικειᾶς καὶ τῆς διὰ Χριστὸν ταπεινώσεως νῦν ἐπὶ πλέον ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, ὥστε μηδὲν μεταξὺ τῆς ὑμῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου υἱοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀδελφοῦ σου τοῦ κυροῦ Εὐθυμίου δυνηθῆναι τὸν

76: cf. Phil. 3.10. || 87-88: Matth. 13.25.

58 καὶ P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup> || 70 τὰ P<sup>x</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup> || 74 ὅποτε Wk: ὁ P || 77 πενήσομεν Wk: -σωμεν P || 79 καταστησόμεθα Wk: -σόμεθα P

for Christ's sake." Many are desirous to share in your sufferings and hard usage and trouble, but to you this grace has been granted by the consent of Him by Whom all things were ordained before our knowledge. Look to the grace, and not to the malice of those who envy the grace, whether they be demons or men who wear the mask of demons and imitate their viciousness. If a man be made a governor by the emperor, and if others, out of envy, rise against him and resolve to bring him to grief, will he therefore be unmindful of the honor to which he is preferred and, in gloom and anguish, think only of those who use him despitefully? Or will he not rather put on a bold front and make light of their malice, and, remembering the rank to which he has been elevated by him who put him there, do his best to show himself in all ways superior to the malice of his adversaries?

But enough of such examples. You see what rewards this life offers you, even before you come to your heavenly crowns and your divine recompense: the praise of those who know you, the favor of those who know you not but admire your virtue by the simple report of it, and, in a word, universal benediction for your apostolic career and message, and for your portion of honor equal to the Apostles' own. So much for this life. But pray contemplate what lies beyond it! When, for your present distresses, eternal felicity shall surround you, when, for your vexation, there shall be widest repose, for your hunger and your nakedness and other impoverishment you shall receive riches indescribable and—why speak of these?—when, filled full of the divine fire, you will stand among the beacons of the world, and, having been made conformable to them by sufferings such as theirs, be seen in the blinding radiance of divine glory! What say you? Shall we still mourn, and despair as those do who have lost heart? Or shall we not rather cast off all sadness, and with the Divine Favor rise superior to all our distresses? Surely I must expect the latter, unless you regard what I have just said as nonsense, which would be unworthy of your wisdom.

So then, I abstain from saying any more to reclaim you from your prevailing indifference. I now speak of another matter. I exhort and urge you now more than ever to make use of your invariable and characteristic mildness and generosity and your humility for Christ, to see to it that the evil one can sow no tares between your Virtue and my most pious Son, your brother, Master Euthymius, nor may (as is his wont, for he is resourceful in

πονηρὸν ἐπισπεῖραι ζιζάνια, μηδὲ οἷα φιλεῖ πολυμήχανος ὢν εἰς κακίαν  
 καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μεταξὺ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ πλάσματος τὴν ἐχθρὰν ἐμβεβληκῶς  
 90 λάθη τι παρεισενεγκὼν τῆς ἐν κυρίῳ ἐνότητος καὶ ἀγάπης ὑμῶν ἐναντιώ-  
 μα· ἀλλ' οἷα θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς καὶ εἰδὼς πάντας κερδαίνειν, οὕτω  
 περὶ πλείστου γνώμην ἀναλαβοῦ ὥστε κάκεινον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κερδα-  
 ναι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐν μηδενὶ πρόφασιν παρεμπεσεῖν διαφορᾶς καὶ διαστά-  
 σεως. Καὶ ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐργάτης, καὶ δεῖ  
 95 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν πάσῃ αἰδοῖ καὶ τιμῇ ἄγειν αὐτόν· | μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι καὶ B  
 πρὸ ὑμῶν κῆρυξ τῆς εὐσεβείας τῷ ἔθνει γέγονεν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν σπόρον  
 κατεβάλετο τῆς διδασκαλίας, καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐστείλατο πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦ  
 συνεργάτης γενέσθαι καὶ σὺν θεῷ φάναι τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς πνευματικῆς  
 ἐργασίας ἐπελαφρῦναί σοι τὸ βάρος τῶν πόνων. Χαίρειν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ  
 100 χάριν ὁμολογεῖν δεόν θεῷ, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀνιαθῆναι οὐδὲ παθεῖν τι ἀνάξιον  
 ἀγάπης, μάλιστα τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος.

Γράφω ταῦτα οὐχ οὕτως ἐλπίζων συμβῆσθαι τὰ περὶ σέ, ἀλλὰ  
 τὴν πολύτροπον ὑφορώμενος τοῦ πονηροῦ δυσμένειαν, καὶ οἷος ἐκεῖνος  
 οὐκ ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἡρεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ παντὸς ἀγῶνα ποιούμενος  
 105 τοῦ λυμῆνασθαι αὐτοῖς· μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, ὅποτε τοσοῦτον  
 κατόρθωμα γινόμενον καθορᾶ καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ πλάσματος ὑπερ ἐκεῖ-  
 νος | εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἔσχε κόρον ἀνωθῶν οὐδὲ C  
 πάσαις τέχναις καὶ περινοίαις τὸν μισάνθρωπον τοῦτον δρόμον τιθέμενος.  
 Τούτου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὰ τεχνάσματα ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ δι' ὧν ἐγράψαμεν  
 110 ὥσπερ ὑπομιμνήσκοντες καὶ δι' ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπιγινώσκεις, τῇ θεϊκῇ συναντι-  
 λήψει δυναμούμενος τὸν μὲν ὀφλῆσαι γέλωτα παρασκευάσον, σεαυτὸν δὲ  
 τιμῆς ἄξιον καὶ δόξης παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις κατορθώμασιν  
 ὀφειλομένων ἐπαίνων καὶ τῆς ἀνακηρύξεως παρὰ τῶν ἐπαινεῖν εἰδόντων  
 τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀνακηρύττειν τὴν ταύτης λαμπρότητα.

### 136. Στεφάνῳ, Μιχαήλ καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἀδελφοῖς

Ἄνθρώπων σύνεσιν τιμῶντι, καὶ μάλιστα θεῖαν, εὐσταθῆς τρόπος  
 δίδωσι τὸ πιστεῦσθαι, οὐχ ἢ τῶν ὅρκων παράληψις. Πολλοὺς γὰρ ἤλεγ-  
 ξεν ἢ πεῖρα | μετὰ τῶν ὅρκων χεῖρους ὀφθέντας, δι' ὧν ἔσχον κατὰ τῶν D

91: 1 Cor. 9.19-22.

99 τούτῳ Wk: τοῦτο P || 112 τῶν Vat.: τὸν P  
 136: P 228r-v

malice and has from the beginning introduced enmity between God and His  
 creation) devise some hidden obstacle to your unity and love in the Lord;  
 but, as truly a man of God, who knows how to win over all men, pray make  
 it a resolve of the first importance to conciliate *Euthymius* and his compan-  
 ions, so that no excuse for quarreling or division shall occur anywhere. The  
 man is in any case pious and a worker of virtue, and for this reason should be  
 treated with all respect and honor; but especially so because he was your  
 predecessor as herald of piety to that nation, and himself sowed the seed of  
 doctrine, and has undertaken the journey to you to be your collaborator  
 and—God willing—to lighten the burden of your labors by participating in  
 your spiritual endeavor. This is a matter for rejoicing and for offering thanks  
 to God; not for resentment or for any feeling unworthy of the love that is  
 most especially of the Spirit.

I write this, not in any expectation that your conduct will be such, but  
 because I suspect the resourceful enmity of the evil one, who can never leave  
 good alone but must always be striving to injure it: especially so in the  
 present case, when he sees the performance of this great achievement and  
 the salvation of the creature which he has never, from the beginning until  
 now, been satiated with pushing into perdition, or with pursuing the career  
 of his hostility to mankind by every art and device. So (my Son), being aware  
 of his arts, both from what I write by way of reminder, and from what you  
 yourself know, see to it by the power of the Divine Assistance that he wins  
 contempt and that you yourself are found worthy of God's honor and glory,  
 and of the praises and commendation due to such achievements as yours  
 from those who know how to praise virtue and to extol its splendor.

### 136. To Stephen, Michael, and Constantine, Brothers

To anyone who respects wisdom—especially the Divine Wisdom—a  
 stable character inspires more confidence than the taking of oaths. Ex-  
 perience has proved that many who swear are made the worse by it, in that

5 πιστευσάντων πλέον εἰς κακίαν ἐπιδείξασθαι ἢ εἰ μὴ πεπιστευκότες ὄφθησαν. Ἡμεῖς οὖν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εἰ μὴ ἐξηπατήμεθα (οὐκ ἂν δὲ φαίην) τῶν εὐσταθεῖα τρόπου σεμννομένων εἰδότες ὑμᾶς, ὅτε τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐγινώσκομεν, ἐκείνη μᾶλλον τιθέμεθα τῇ περὶ ὑμῶν ὑπολήψει ἢ τῇ ἐκ τῶν ὄρκων προβαλλομένῃ πληροφορίᾳ. Καὶ εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἀπατώμεθα, τῷ θεῷ  
10 χάρις· εἰ δ' ἄλλως ἔχει (ἀλλ' ἐρρίφθω τοῦτο εἰς τρίβους ἀβάτους), καὶ οὕτως οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τὴν αἰτίαν ἔξει, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς ἐμὰς ἀνοισθήσεται ἀμαρτίας.

Ἐπει δὲ εἰρήνης ἐμνήσθης, ἐκείνῳ φημι, οὐ σὲ πείθων οὐδ' ἄλλον τὸν εἰ τις δοκεῖ ὀνομάζειν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνον φανερὰ λέγω ὅτι  
15 πάντα | τὰ τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν πεφανέρωται, ὡς τοσαύτη μοι ἔφρασε τοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰρηνεῦσαι ἰδεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς εἰ τοῦτο ἠκολούθει, μηδὲ τὴν εἰς γέενναν τοῦ πυρὸς παραιτήσασθαι ῥίψιν. Νῦν δὲ ἦν οἱ ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπιζητοῦσιν εἰρήνην οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ πρόσληψις τῶν μὴ συνόντων καὶ ἀποβολὴ τῶν συνόντων. Τοῦτο δ' ἂν τις εἴποι ἕνωσιν καὶ εὐφροσύνην  
20 τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλ' οὐ ῥῆξιν πολλῶ ἀλγεινότεραν καὶ σκυθρωπότητα οὐκ οἶδα ποίας ἐσχατιᾶς οὐκ οὔσαν ἐσχατωτέραν; Χρῆ δὲ φρονίμους ὄντας ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον τὸ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς ὄραν φαινόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα τοῖς φαινομένοις ἐξακολουθεῖ.

### 137. Ἰγνατίῳ μητροπολίτῃ Κυζίκου

Ἐπιστάμεθα τὴν ὑμέτεράν τελειοτάτην σύνεσιν καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἡμετέρας προτροπῆς οἰκοθεν κινουμένην συμπαθῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν Β κατασχόντα τὴν ἐν Κυζίκῳ ἐκκλησίαν πρὸ τῆς σῆς ὀσιότητος. Ὅμως  
5 δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀξιῶσαι ὁ ἄνθρωπος διανοήθη ἕνεκεν τοῦ γράψαι πρὸς σὲ ὥστε ἀνεπηρέαστον αὐτῷ τὴν ζωὴν εἶναι ἐκ τῶν φιλοῦντων ἐπεμβαίνειν ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις θλίψεσι (φεῦ τῆς καταδυναστευσάσης ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει κακίας), τὸ παρὸν σοι διεπέμψαμεν γράμμα, ἐκεῖνα δι' αὐτοῦ προτροπόμενοι (ὃ προλαβόντες εἶπομεν) <ἀ> καὶ φρονεῖς καὶ ποιεῖς τῇ  
10 σῇ φιλανθρώπῳ κινούμενος διαθέσει. Ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἀξιώσις ἣν ἠξιώμεθα, τοῦ καθίσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ οὗ ἦν ὅτε τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀπεκε-

136: 15: 2 Cor. 5.11. || 17: Matth. 18.9.

7 σεμννομένων Vat.: -ους P || 9 ἀπατώμεθα Jk: ἀπατῶμεν P || 11 ἄλλος Pk: -ως P<sup>1</sup> || ἀνοισθήσεται Jk: ἀνοισθήσεται P || 17 οἱ] del. ?

137: P 228v-229r || 9 & Wk: om. P

they have had better opportunities of working mischief on those who have trusted them than if the latter had not trusted them at all. And so I (my Son), if I was not mistaken in recognizing in you (as think I was not) men who pride themselves on stability of character, now that I have got to know your dispositions, put more trust in that estimate of you than in your proposed confirmation on oath. If I am not deceived in this, thanks be to God! If I am (but let it be cast aside upon untrodden ways!), even so, no other shall bear the blame, but it shall be ascribed to my sins.

Since you have mentioned peace, I say this, not by way of convincing you or anyone else who sees fit to mention the subject, but declaring it to Him unto Whom all the thoughts of our hearts are manifest: I am so desirous to see peace reign in the Church of God that, to purchase it, I would willingly be hurled into the Gehenna of fire! But, as it is, the "peace" which these casual *observers* demand is simply the adoption of our opponents and the rejection of our friends. Who can call this the "unity" and "cheerfulness" of the Church of God? Is it not a breach much more painful than the other, a sullenness beyond any describable limit? You, as sensible men, should look not only at what appears on the surface, but also at what lies behind appearances.

### 137. To Ignatius, Metropolitan of Cyzicus

I know that your most perfect Wisdom, even without encouragement from me, will of itself be inclined to deal kindly with your Holiness' predecessor in the Church of Cyzicus. However, since the man himself has seen fit to ask me to write to you, to the end that he may live unmolested by those who love to exploit other people's troubles (alas for the malice prevalent among the human race!), I am sending you this letter, herewith requesting (as I said above) your favor and action, as already dictated by your merciful disposition. My request is, that you should settle him in the monastery where he was resident after he had been removed from the metropolis, and that

κίνητο καθεζόμενος, και εἶναι αὐτῷ και τοὺς ἐκεῖ προσεδρεύοντας τῇ  
ἐκείνου ἀνακειμένους θεραπείᾳ και κατὰ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ θλίψεως ἢ  
στενοχωρίας ἀφορμὴν | παρεχομένους, μάλιστα ἐπαγγελλομένου αὐτοῦ, C  
15 ὕπερ και πεπεισμεθα τὸ ἐπιεικὲς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπιγινώσκοντες, ὡς οὐδὲν  
οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐπαχθὲς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαντήσῃ οὔτε τοῖς ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ  
τὸ διάγειν λαχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς περιγενήσεται πλεον ἢ ὅσον  
νῦν ἀπολαύουσιν ψυχικῆς και σωματικῆς ὠφελείας ἢ περιποιήσις.

## 138. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἄννηχθη τῷ ἀγίῳ θεῷ εὐχαριστία ἡμῖν ὡσπερ ἔθος ἐπὶ τῇ ὑμῶν  
σωτηρίᾳ και συντηρήσει, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, και εὐχόμεθα και ἔτι σε δια-  
τηρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ ταῖς θείαις πτέρυξι φυλαττόμενον κακοῦ παντός ἀπαθῆ.  
5 Τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα τί ἂν εἴπω; Πλὴν τοῦτό σοι γνωρίζω· πρὸς μόνην τὴν  
ἄνω ἀποσαλεύομεν ἀγαθότητα, κρύπτειν δυναμένην τὰ πλήθη τῶν  
ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ἐξ ὧν και ἡμῖν και παντὶ τῷ κοινῷ ἐπεχύθη | ὁ τοσοῦτος D  
ζόφος τῶν θλίψεων· πρὸς ὃν ἀπαγορεύσαντες ζῶμεν οὐ ζῶντες και  
βαρυνόμεθα τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ὀρῶντες ἀκτίνας και μετὰ τῶν ἐν τάφοις  
10 ἀγαπῶμεν μᾶλλον συντάττεσθαι ἢ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ ἡλίῳ διαγόντων. Τὰ μὲν  
ἡμέτερα τοιαῦτα. Σὲ δέ, ὃ και φθάσας εἶπον, εἶη πάσης κακώσεως τῇ  
θείᾳ φρουρούμενον εὐμενείᾳ ὑπεράνω διατελεῖν.

## 139. Τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν ἀρχόντων

Οὐδὲν εὐσεβείας περισπουδαστότερον οὐδὲ τῷ παντὶ βίῳ τῶν ἀν-  
θρώπων σωτηριωδέστερον. Ταύτης γὰρ ἐμπολιτευομένης οὐκ ἄδηλον ὡς  
θεραπεύεται θεός· θεοῦ δὲ θεραπεία πάντα μὲν χορηγεῖ τὰ καλὰ και  
364  
5 συμφέροντα, πάντων δὲ τῶν ἀσυμφόρων ἀπελαύνει τὴν παρουσίαν. Οὕτως  
και ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος μακαρίως βιώσεται, και οἶκος και πόλις, και δὴ και  
ἔθνος μακαρίαν ἔξει τὴν διαγωγὴν και τὴν κατάστασιν. Τούτου δὲ οὕτως  
ἔχοντος ἀντιποιοῦνται μὲν πλεῖστοι τῆς οἰκείας δόξης ὡς εὐσεβοῦς, και  
μάλιστα ὅταν ὧσιν προλήψει κεκρατημένοι· δεινὸν γὰρ ἢ πρόληψις κατέ-  
10 χεῖν τὸ παρατεθὲν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ δόγμα, κἂν ἢ τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων και τῶν εἰς

those who are settled there along with him shall be available to attend on  
him, and shall not upon any account give him cause for grief or distress:  
this more especially since he promises me—and I, knowing his good temper,  
believe him—that he will be no trouble at all either to you or to the residents  
of the monastery; on the contrary, care for their spiritual and bodily welfare  
will be increased above what they now enjoy.

## 138. To the Same

I have offered thanks, as usual, to the Holy God for your salvation  
and preservation (my holy Son), and pray that you may continue to be  
preserved free of every harm beneath the shelter of the Divine Wings. But  
of my own affairs, what can I say? This at least I can assure you of, that I  
ride simply and solely upon the anchor of the Divine Goodness, Who is able  
to cover the multitude of my sins, out of which has arisen this huge black  
cloud of distresses upon me and all the community. In face of it I have given  
up in despair, and endure a living death, and am weary of the sunlight, and  
would rather be numbered among those who are in their graves than among  
those who live under the sun. Such is my case. But may you, as I have said  
above, continue to be preserved by Divine Favor beyond the reach of all  
annoynance.

## 139. To the Prince of Princes

Nothing is more worthy of pursuit than piety, or more salutary in all  
the range of human life: for where piety is cultivated, God is of course served.  
And God's service brings all that is good and profitable, and expels all that  
is unprofitable. By it will every private individual find happiness, and every  
household and city and even nation will be happily ordered and settled. In  
view of this, most men maintain their own opinion as pious, and especially  
those who are possessed by prejudice: for it is the nature of prejudice to  
hold fast to a belief when it has once taken root in the mind, even though it

138: P 229r || 11 ἡμέτερα Mai: ὑμέτερα P

139: P 229r-231r || 10 ἢ Vat.: ἢ P



ἀπόλειαν ἀπαγόντων. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν, ὅσα βαφῆς εἰσι δεκτικά, ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν εἰς βάρθος διαδύντων χρωμάτων ἀνέκπλυτα διαδείκνυνται καὶ πρότερον διαρρήγνυνται μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν βαφὴν ἀποτίθενται, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν φύσεως ὡς πολλοὶ δόξαν  
 15 πονηρὰν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παραδεξάμενοι φθάσαντες, οὐκ ἐθέλουσι ταύτην ἀποβαλεῖν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀμείνονος γενέσθαι φρονήματος, ἀλλὰ | μᾶλλον B προαιροῦνται σὺν ἐκείνῃ τὴν ζωὴν καταλύειν. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν θείας ἀμοιρούντων συνέσεως καὶ μὴ βουλομένων δοκιμάζειν τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ ἐκλογὴν, ἀλλ' ἢ φιλονεικούντων τῇ ἰδίᾳ προλήψει ἐμμένειν ἢ παντελῶς  
 20 μὴ γινωσκόντων ἃ δοξάζειν ἐγνώκασιν. Ὅσοι δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ θεοῦ δόξαν ἔχειν, οὗτοι καὶ ὧσιν προκατειλημμένοι οὐ πρόσκεινται τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κακοδοξίᾳ, οὐδ' ἀγαπῶσιν ὑπερμάχεσθαι τῆς ἀπάτης, ἀλλ' εὐθέως καθάπερ φωτὸς αὐγῇ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς εὐσεβείας καταυγασθέντες τὰς ψυχὰς ἠγάπησαν τὴν ἐκείθεν ὁδηγίαν καὶ τῆς τέως  
 25 ἐπισκοπιζούσης αὐτοὺς ἀπεπήδησαν ἀχλύος.

Ταῦτά σοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, προοιμιαζόμενον λέγει τὸ γράμμα διὰ τὴν τῶν σῶν ἀποκρισιαιρίων ἀπαγγελίαν· φασὶ γὰρ ὡς τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκδημήσαντος καθολικοῦ τῆς ζωῆς διανοεῖσθε, οἷα δὴ τοῦ μεγάλου | καὶ C θεοστεφοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως γνήσιοι καὶ ὁμόψυχοι φίλοι καὶ ὁμοφρονεῖν αὐτῷ ἐν πᾶσι σπουδάζοντες, τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐκκλησίας τὸν εἰς ἀρχιερέα ἡμῶν καταστήσεσθαι μέλλοντα λαβεῖν τὴν προχείρισιν καὶ θεοῦ εὐδοκίᾳ ἕνα τοῦτον γινώσκεισθαι τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν τὸ ἅγιον κυκλοῦντων θυσιαστήριον. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τοῦτο σοι μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης δεδομένης παρὰ θεοῦ φιλοτιμίας καὶ χάριτος παρεσχέθη (οἷδας γὰρ συνετὸς ὢν ὅσης ἀπήλαυσας τῆς παρὰ  
 35 θεοῦ εὐεργεσίας, ἧς καὶ τοῦτο τυγχάνει, τὸ λογισμὸν τοιοῦτον ἀναλαβεῖν ὥστε κατὰ πάντα ἡνωμένον γενέσθαι τῷ θεοφρουρητῷ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ), ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν ὑπόλοιπον, τὸ στεῖλαι πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα τὸν θεοῦ κατανεύσει μέλλοντα εἰς ἀρχιερέα ἡμῶν καταστήναι, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δόγμα τῆς εὐσεβείας παραλαβεῖν ἀκριβέστερον καὶ | διὰ τῆς σὺν ἡμῖν ὅσης δεήσει δια- D τριβῆς τὰ τε πρὸς εὐσέβειαν συντείνοντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἐκπαιδευθῆναι κατάστασιν, καὶ οὕτω τῆς χειροθεσίας τυχόντα πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπανελθεῖν λαμπροτάτην εὐγένειαν καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐξουσίας. Ὡσπερ γὰρ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῆς φιλίας προσωκειωμένος ὑπάρχεις τῷ τε φιλοχρίστῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἁγιωτάτῃ  
 45 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὕτω δέον ἐστὶν συνουκειούμενον εἶναι καὶ τῇ τῆς

11: Matth. 7.13. || 32: Ps. 25.6.

12 ὅτ(ι) P<sup>c</sup>: P<sup>1</sup> || 13-14 ἀποτίθενται Vat.: -εται P || 19 ἡ<sup>1</sup> Jk: εἰ P || 21 προκατειλημμένοι Vat.: προκατειλήμνοι P || 30 τῆς P<sup>1</sup>: ἐκ τῆς P<sup>c</sup> || 32 τοῦτον P<sup>c</sup>: τοῦτων P<sup>1</sup> || κυκλοῦντων P<sup>c</sup>: -οῦντες P<sup>1</sup>

be of the most outrageous and pernicious character. For just as we may see elsewhere, in the case of materials that are dyed, how often the colors that penetrate into the fabric of the material cannot be washed out again, and the cloths will be torn to shreds rather than give up their tincture, so we can see in human nature, how many men, when once they have contracted a pernicious opinion in their minds, are unwilling to discard it and take to a better, but choose rather to lose their lives along with it. Such is the conduct of those who are destitute of divine wisdom, and refuse to test their choice of the good, but either are obstinate in clinging to their own prejudice, or else are totally ignorant of what they have chosen to believe. But those who think it important to have the correct belief about God, though prepossessed, do not insist on their old false belief, or choose to defend error, but, as soon as their souls are illuminated by the word of piety as by a sudden ray of light, abide in its guidance, and recoil from the gloom which has till then benighted them.

I preface my letter to you in this way (my Son) because of the announcement made by your envoys: for they say that, now your Catholicus has departed this life, you intend, as you are the true and sincere friend of our great and God-crowned Emperor and seek to agree with him at all points, that he who is to be your Archpriest shall receive the appointment of the Church here, and shall be, with God's approval, recognized as one of those who with me compass the Holy Sanctuary. Since then this *policy* has been granted to you by God along with His other gifts and grace (for you are aware, in your wisdom, of how many benefits you have been granted by God, one of which is taking the resolve to remain in all things united to our God-guarded Emperor), it remains for you to send here the man who, by God's consent, is to be your Archpriest, in order that he may receive the doctrine of piety more accurately and, by sojourning as long as is needful with us, may be instructed in those things which tend to piety and ecclesiastical order, and afterward may be ordained and return to your most splendid Nobility and to the flock of your dominion. For just as you are by the confession of friendship attached to our Christ-loving Emperor and to our most holy Church of

πίστεως ὁμολογίᾳ καὶ τῷ φρονήματι τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθάπερ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως τοῦ τοιοῦτου κακοῦ παρεμπεισόντος, τῇ | μὲν φιλίᾳ δοκεῖν συνάπτεσθαι, τῇ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πίστιν κοινωνίᾳ 365  
 50 δίστασθαι. Περὶ οὗ καὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πατρὶ, φαμέν δὲ Φωτίῳ τῷ ἁγιωτά-  
 τῳ πατριάρχῃ, οὐ μικρὸς ἀγὼν καταβέβληται, τοῦτο μὲν λόγοις, τοῦτο  
 δὲ καὶ ἀποστολῇ ἀνδρῶν, εἰ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αἱ περιπέτεια ἐπὶ τὸ  
 τέλος ἐλθεῖν τὴν σπουδὴν ἀπεκάλυψαν ἢ τάχα, ὅπερ καὶ προλαβὼν  
 ἄνωθεν εἶπον, τούτου κρίμασιν οἷς οἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς σαῖς ἡμέραις τε-  
 τηρημένου, ἵνα δειχθῆς καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ δωρεᾷ θεόθεν φιλοτιμούμενος.  
 55 Διὰ ταῦτα, καθὼς πρὸ βραχέος εἴρηται, τέκνον ἡμῶν ποθεινότα-  
 τον, εἰς τοιαύτην ἐννοιαν ὑπὸ θεοῦ καταστάς μὴ ἀναβάλλῃ τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς  
 σῆς τιμιότητος καὶ τῶν τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐκκλησίας προκρίτων εἰς τὴν  
 τοιαύτην ἀρχιερωσύνην μαρτυρούμενον προβεβλήσθαι τοῦ ἀποστεῖλαι, B  
 ἵνα καὶ αὐτῷ ὑπάρξῃ προσλαβεῖν ὧν οὐ θέμις ἐνδεῆ γινώσκεισθαι καὶ  
 60 ὑμῖν σὺν θεῷ φάναι διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχιερατικῆς ἐπιστασίας καὶ ἡ πρὸς  
 θεὸν οἰκειότης ἐγγίνηται (οὐδὲν γὰρ εὐσεβείας πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐγγύτερον)  
 καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ μέγαν ἡμῶν βασιλέα κατὰ πάντα ἐνότης καὶ  
 συνάφεια, ἀσφαλιζομένη, ὡσπερ τῇ ὑποταγῇ καὶ τῇ σχέσει, οὕτω καὶ  
 τῇ τῶν εὐσεβῶν δογμάτων συμφωνίᾳ. Πάντως δὲ οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλεις ὡς  
 65 ἡ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρμενίων περὶ τῆς πίστεως διαφωνία πρὸς  
 τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἁγίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἀλλοτρία καθέστηκεν τοῦ ὀρθο-  
 δόξου κηρύγματος καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καὶ θείας διδασκαλίας. Ἐἴ τι οὖν  
 μέλει τῇ σῇ συνέσει καὶ περὶ σεαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ | τοῦ οἰκείου λαοῦ τῆς C  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνώσεως καὶ κατὰ πάντα συμφωνίας, μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσης μηδὲ  
 70 βραδύνης πρὸς τὴν ἀποστολὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος χρηματίσειν ὑμῶν ἀρχιε-  
 ρέως ψήφῳ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος καὶ τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν  
 κατακοσμήσειν. Ἐρρωσθαί σε ἐν κυρίῳ ἐπευχόμεθα, φρουρούμενον καὶ  
 ὑπερκείμενον πάσης ἐπηρείας καὶ ἐναντιότητος, ὅση τε ὀρωμένων καὶ  
 ὅση ἐξ ἀοράτων ἐχθρῶν ἐπιτίθεται.

#### 140. Μιχαήλ πατρικίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ Θεσσαλονίκης

Περὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἣτις γράφειν ἡμᾶς πρὸς σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν  
 ἡγαπημένον, προετρέψατο, πεπεισμέθα ἐκεῖνα παρὰ τῆς σῆς μαθεῖν  
 φιλοθέου ψυχῆς ὅσα μήτε θεοῦ ἀγανάκτησιν κινεῖ μήτε τὴν ἡμῶν λυπεῖ

God, so also you should be attached by the confession of faith and in the spirit of the correct doctrines; and not, as heretofore—how the evil arose I cannot say—be apparently attached to us in friendship but be divided from us in communion according to the faith. On this matter my Father—I mean Photius, the most holy Patriarch—spent much pains, partly by letters, partly by dispatch of envoys, although circumstances denied his efforts a successful issue: or perhaps, as I said above, this has been reserved for your own days by the inscrutable Judgments of God, so that you may be seen to be honored by Him with this gift also.

Therefore (my tenderly loved Son), as I have just said, let God put this in your heart, and do not delay sending him who is attested by your Honor and the leaders of your Church for appointment to this Archpriesthood: so that he may have a chance to acquire those things without which it is unlawful that he should be acknowledged, and you may accord with God through his Archpriestly supervision, and familiarity toward God be engendered (for nothing is closer to God than piety), and entire unity and concord with our high and mighty Emperor assured both by submission and regard and also by agreement in the doctrines of piety. You cannot doubt, I am sure, that the disagreement on faith which has hitherto subsisted between the Armenian and our Holy Church of God is counter to the Orthodox message and to the teaching of God and his Apostles. If then your Wisdom has any regard for the union and full agreement of yourself and of your own people with us, pray do as I say, and do not delay the dispatch of him who is, by election of the All-holy Spirit, to be your Archpriest and to adorn your holy Church. I pray that you fare well in the Lord, protected from and overcoming all malice and annoyance that impends from seen and unseen foes alike.

#### 140. To Michael, Patrician and Governor of Thessalonica

As regards the matter on which I am moved to write to you (my beloved Son) I have no doubt I shall receive from a man of your piety such a report as will neither offend God nor grieve my Mediocrity nor place an

66 ἀλλοτρία Px: -αν P<sup>1</sup> || 68 μέλλει P || 73 fort. ὀρωμένη  
 140: P 231r-v || 3 λυπεῖ Pc: -ῆ P<sup>1</sup>

5 μετριότητα μήτε τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ οὗ γράφομεν ἀδίκως ὑπὸ κατάκριμα  
 τίθησιν. Γινώσκωμεν γάρ σου | χάριτι θεοῦ τελειοτάτην ἐν πᾶσιν οὖσαν D  
 <τὴν σύνεσιν>, δι' ἣν καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι περιδοξὸς ὄφθης βίῳ καὶ σὺν  
 ταύτῃ ἐπιτεύξη, ὅπερ εὐχόμεθα, καὶ τῆς οὐ μόνον προσκαίρως ἐπιμειδι-  
 ώσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς αἰωνίως εὐφρανοῦσης σε δόξης. Μάνθανε οὖν τὴν  
 10 ὑπόθεσιν καὶ δήλου ἡμῖν, δεσμὸν ἔχων ἐκ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου  
 πνεύματος, ὅσα συνεπιμαρτυροῦσαν τὴν σὴν ἀληθῆ γνῶσιν περὶ τοῦ ἀν-  
 δρός ἐξεπίστασαι, καὶ μηδὲν μήτε πρὸς χάριν μήτε πρὸς ἐναντίωσιν ἔχον-  
 τα. Διαθρυλοῦσί τινες περὶ Παύλου τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου μοναχοῦ καὶ  
 πρεσβυτέρου ὡς παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀκηκόασι γλώσσης ὅτιπερ μετὰ τὸ ἐπαν-  
 15 ελεσθαι <τὴν> μοναδικὴν πολιτείαν τῇ ποτὲ γενομένη συμβίῳ πεφώ-  
 ραται συνενούμενος καὶ μὴ φυλάξας τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς γινομένην διάστασιν  
 καθ' ἂν μηδὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν διασωσάμενος πρὸς θεὸν ἀψευδῆ καὶ ἀνό- 368  
 θευτον. Ταῦτα, ὡς εἴρηται, πρὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀκοὰς ἐλθόντα οἶα εἰκὸς  
 ἐλύπησέ τε καὶ συνετάραξεν, ὅτι τε ὁ ἄνθρωπος παρ' ἐτέρων προσώπων  
 20 τὴν μαρτυρίαν παρασχόμενος πρεσβυτερίου ἠξιώθη καὶ τῶν λειτουρ-  
 γούντων τῷ ἁγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ εἰς χρηματίζει καὶ πρὸς μείζονα ἔτι  
 ἀφορᾷ λειτουργίαν. Ἐχεις μὲν παρ' ἡμῶν δεδηλωμένην τὴν περὶ τοῦ  
 ἀνθρώπου φήμην· σὺ δ' ἐκεῖνα γράψον ἡμῖν ἃ καὶ τῷ φρικτῷ βήματι τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ, ὅτε πάντες αὐτῷ γυμνοὶ παραστησόμεθα, μέλλεις κατενώπιον  
 25 πάσης τῆς ἀγγελικῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης παραστάσεως ἀποκρί-  
 νασθαι. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐρωμένον σε φυλάξει ὁ κύριος πάσης ἐπηρείας  
 ἀοράτου τε καὶ ὁρωμένης ἀνώτερον.

#### 141. Τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τῶν Ἑλλιοῦ Βωμῶν

Εἰ καὶ προλαβοῦσα ἡ πονηρὰ φήμη τῆς περὶ σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν ὅσιον, B  
 τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος ἐπηρείας τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων ἀγγελίαν ἐπληξε τὴν  
 ψυχὴν ἡμῶν οὐ μετρίως, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐλπίσι χρηστοτέραις ὥσπερ ἀποπεμ-  
 5 πόμενοι τὴν φήμην πρὸς τὴν χώραν τοῦ ψεύδους εἴχαμεν παραμύθιον  
 τῆς ὀδύνης, αἰεὶ προσδοκῶντες τὴν ὑμῶν ὑγίαν ἐνωτισθῆναι. Νῦν δὲ τί;  
 Ἦκεν τὰ γράμματα τὸ ἄλγος ἐπαύξοντα, ἐκεῖνα φανερώς ἀναδιδάσκοντα  
 ὅσα τέως καὶ δι' ἐλπίδων καὶ δι' εὐχῆς εἴχομεν τῆς ἀληθείας μακρύνεσθαι.

140: 20-21: Ioel 1.9,13. || 23-24: cf. Rom. 14.10. || 25: cf. Matth. 16.27; 25.31-46;  
 Luc. 12.8-9.

7 τὴν σύνεσιν P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup> (τὴν ἀρετὴν prop. Jk) || 8 post ταύτην] τῇ τιμῇ ins. P<sup>c</sup> ||  
 15 τὴν P<sup>x</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup>

141: P 231v-232v || 1 Ἑλλιοῦ Jk: ἡλίου P || 3 ἀγγελίαν P<sup>1</sup>: ἀπαγγελίαν P<sup>c</sup>

unjust imputation on the person I am writing about. I am aware that your  
 wisdom is, by God's Grace, in all ways most perfect, through which you win  
 fame in this present life, and, together with it, will also (I pray) attain to the  
 glory whose smile is not transient, and whose joys are eternal. Learn then of  
 the business and, being bound in the Father and Son and Holy Spirit,  
 declare to me what you know of the man, on the evidence of your true knowl-  
 edge of him, and without bias either for or against him. Some people are  
 putting it about that they have heard you say of Paul, the most pious monk  
 and presbyter, that, since his adoption of the monastic life, he has been found  
 to be cohabiting with his former wife, and has not preserved intact his  
 separation from her, nor kept in faith and purity the profession which he has  
 made to God. This, I say, is what I have heard; and naturally I was much  
 grieved and shocked, because the man, who presented testimonials from  
 other parties, has been ordained presbyter, is one of the ministers of the  
 Holy Sanctuary, and is looking for higher preferment still. This then I  
 declare to be what is rumored about the man; and do you write me such a  
 report as you will answer for at the terrible Tribunal of Christ, at which we  
 shall all stand naked, before the whole angelic throng and in the presence of  
 mankind. For the rest, God keep you well, and above the reach of all harm,  
 unseen or visible.

#### 141. To the Abbot of the Altars of Elijah

The evil rumor, which went before the account contained in your  
 letter, concerning the malice of the evil one against you (my holy Son)  
 shocked me deeply, but yet, with better hopes, I dismissed that rumor to  
 the domain of fiction, and took comfort in my distress from the continual  
 expectation of a report that you were in good health. I cannot do so now.  
 Your letter has arrived to increase my suffering by plain confirmation of  
 what I had hitherto hoped and prayed was untrue. My state of mind on

“Ὅπως μὲν οὖν διετέθημεν ἀναλεξάμενοι τὸ γράμμα καὶ οἶον βέλος διὰ  
 10 μέσων ἐδεξάμεθα τῶν σπλάγγων, παραστῆσαι μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἱκανὸς ὁ  
 λόγος· ὁ δὲ τὰς καρδίας καὶ πλάσας καὶ γινώσκων, ἐκεῖνος ὄρα καὶ τὸ  
 τραῦμα καὶ τὸ ἄλγημα τῆς καρδίας, ἐφ’ ᾧ παραμύθιον οὐδὲν ἕτερον C  
 ἐξευρίσκομεν πλὴν ἐκείνου μόνου, ὡς ἀντὶ τῆς τοσαύτης τοῦ δαίμονος  
 ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς ὑμῶν ὀσιότητος εὐχαρίστως τὸ συνενεχθὲν φερούσης πολλῆ  
 15 ἀντὶ τῶν παρόντων πόνων καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἀνίας ἢ ἐκεῖθεν ἀποκείσεται  
 ἄνεσις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις.

Ἄει μὲν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ γένους ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπηρεαστῆς ταῖς κατὰ τῶν θε-  
 ραπόντων τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιβουλαῖς ἐνσκευάζεται. Καὶ καθ’ ὧν μὲν συνερ-  
 γοὺς προσλαμβάνεται οὐς ἂν εὐροὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ κακία συντρέχοντας, καὶ διὰ  
 20 τούτων νῦν μὲν διωγμούς, νῦν δὲ κακώσεις ἄλλας ἐπιφέρων τοῖς εὐαρέ-  
 στως θεῷ διαβιοῦσιν ἀγῶνα ποιεῖται τῇ μακαρίᾳ ζωῇ τούτων ἐμποδίζειν  
 νῦν δὲ καὶ χωρὶς προσλήψεως ἀνθρώπων συγκακουροῦντων αὐτῷ διὰ  
 τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἐπιθέσεως, τοῦτο μὲν ἀφανῶς, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ προφανεῖ,  
 τὸν | πόλεμον ἐπιδείκνυται· ὁ καὶ νῦν πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν κατ- D  
 25 εἰργάσατο. Ἄλλ’ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐπήνεγκε τραῦμα ὁ πάντως ἢ βουλομένου  
 θεοῦ τέλει ἀποθεραπευθήσεται ἢ κρίμασιν οἷς ἐπίσταται ἐπὶ κέρδει καὶ  
 ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ τὸ τραῦμα φέροντος διαμένον, μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ἀπαλλαγῆσεται,  
 τοῦ φθαρτοῦ σώματος ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν δικαίων τὴν θεοειδῆ ἀφθαρ-  
 σίαν ἀπολαμβάνοντος. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπομονῆς, ἐν ᾗ πάντες  
 30 οἱ ἀγαπῶντες τὸν κύριον ἐλαμπρύνθησαν, τραυματισθήσεται εἰς τὸν  
 αἰῶνα πάντα φέρων τὰς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἀλγηδόνας καὶ μηδεμίαν εὐρεῖν δυ-  
 νάμενος θεραπείαν τοῦ ἄλγους. Ἀποβλέψωμεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἐν γῆ στρατευομένους, ὡς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων πληγὰς ἐν τῷ σώματι φέρον-  
 35 τες καὶ τῶν μελῶν πηρώσεις, οἳ γε ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ | εὐγενεῖς οὐ μόνον οὐκ  
 ἀθυμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνύονται καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπιδείκνυνται ὡς  
 ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπέστησαν. Σὺ δὲ εἰς τὴν οὐράνιον στρατιάν  
 παραγγέλλων, εἶτα πληγείς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου, πόσω μᾶλλον ὀφείλεις  
 σεμνύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ καταπίπτειν τὸ φρόνημα μηδὲ ἀκηδιᾶν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 πληγῇ. Γράφομεν ταῦτα οὐχ ἵνα σε ἀθυμοῦντα διεγείρωμεν, ἀλλ’ εἰδού-  
 40 τες σε θεῖα χάριτι γενναίως τὸ συνενεχθὲν φέροντα, καὶ ὡς περ μετὰ  
 σοῦ τὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ δοκοῦσαν ἐπήρειαν διασύροντες. Παράσχοι δὲ ὁ  
 ἅγιος θεὸς καὶ νῦν μὲν τὴν πονηρὰν αὐτοῦ ἐνέργειαν κατασχυνθῆναι καὶ  
 εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα τῇ θεῖᾳ δυνάμει κατησχυμένον καὶ θρηνοῦντα τὴν ἰδίαν  
 κατῆφειαν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς ὑμῶν ἀπεληλαμένον εἶναι ζωῆς.

11: Ps. 32.15; 43.21.

27 διαμένον (ut vid.) P<sup>1</sup>: διαμείνειν ἀλλὰ πάντως P<sup>c</sup> || 31 φέρων τὰς P<sup>c</sup>: φέροντα (?) P<sup>1</sup> || 36  
 στρατιάν Wk: -εἰαν P || 37 παραγγέλλων P<sup>1</sup>: στρατευόμενος P<sup>c</sup>

reading your letter, and the bitterness of the wound inflicted in my very  
 heart, no words can describe: He that molded and searcheth our hearts sees  
 into the heart's wound and grief, for which I find no other consolation save  
 this alone, that if, in answer to such great and diabolical malice, your Holiness  
 will support the misfortune with gratefulness, great shall be the store of  
 comfort and ease laid up for you on High in recompense for present pains  
 and temporal affliction.

He who from the beginning has been the author of malice against our  
 race still practices his plotting against the servants of God. And against  
 some he recruits allies whom he can find to further his wickedness, and  
 through them he brings persecutions or other maltreatment upon those who  
 live approved of God, and strives to hinder their life of blessedness. But at  
 other times he attacks without the help of human accomplices, partly in  
 secret and partly also in the full light of day, as in this instance he has  
 practiced against your Virtue. He it is who has inflicted the wound, which  
 will certainly either, God willing, be entirely healed, or else if, by His in-  
 scrutable Judgments, it remain to give profit and advantage to the victim,  
 will soon be effaced, when the corruptible body shall put on the divine  
 incorruptibility at the resurrection of the just. But your *assailant*, by your  
 patience, in which all men who love the Lord have taken pride, shall be  
 wounded everlastingly, enduring the agonies inflicted on him, and unable to  
 find any remedy for his pain. Let us consider (my Son) those who are soldiers  
 in the armies of this world—how, when they receive wounds in the body, or  
 amputations of limbs, at the enemy's hands, those of them who are coura-  
 geous and spirited not merely do not lose heart, but are actually proud of it,  
 and make a show to the public that their wounds were made by the enemy.  
 And you, who serve in the heavenly army, and have been wounded by the  
 foe, should take pride in your suffering rather than droop your spirits and  
 fall into despair at the wound. I write this, not as inspiriting one who has  
 lost heart, but, in the knowledge that by the Divine Grace you are bearing  
 your misfortune courageously, to join with you in disparaging—as it were—  
 the apparent malice of the enemy. And may our Holy God grant that for the  
 present his evil action may be put to shame, and that hereafter he may by  
 the Divine Power go in shame and lamentation for his own reproach, an  
 exile from all contact with your life!

## 142. Ἀντωνίῳ μητροπολίτῃ Σάρδεων

Ἀλγοῦντες οὐ μικρῶς καὶ σπαρασσόμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς κα- B  
ταλαμβανούσαις ὡς ἡμᾶς φήμας περὶ τῆς ὑμῶν ἀγιωσύνης — καταλάμ-  
βανον γὰρ ἀλλεπάλληλοι μὴνύουσαι χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ ἀρρωστίας συνέχεσθαι.  
5 —ἀλγοῦντες οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις λίαν, ἠὲ χαριστήσαμεν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ  
ἡμῶν τέκνου τοῦ Σάβα καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς νόσου ἀναμαθόντες καὶ τὸ  
χάριτι θεοῦ ἐν ὑγείᾳ σε τελειοτάτῃ διατελεῖν. Ἦν καὶ ἔτι παράσχοι ὁ  
ἀγαθὸς ἀμιγῆ πάσης λυτηρᾶς διαθέσεως προσεῖναι τῇ σῆ ἀρχιερωσύνῃ,  
εἰς ὄφελος μὲν τῶν ὑπὸ σοὶ ποιμαίνεσθαι λαχόντων, εἰς εὐφροσύνην δὲ  
10 ἡμετέραν, καὶ εἰς θεῖαν δόξαν οἷς διὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶς καὶ θεοφιλῶς πολι-  
τεύεσθαι παιδευομένων διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος δοξάζεται ὁ θεός.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως. Ἐν δὲ | λοιπὸν ἔτι προσθήσω μὴ βραδύ- C  
νης, εἰ δυνατόν, πρὸς τὴν ἐπανέλευσιν, ὥστε ὀφθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις καὶ  
ἀπολαῦσαι καὶ συνουσίας καὶ ὁμιλίας πρὸ τοῦ τὴν ἡμῶν ταλαίπωρον  
15 ζῶν ὑπὸ τῶν συνεχόντων θλίψεων τε καὶ κακώσεων ἀπαγορεῦσαι.

## 143. Ἰγνατίῳ μαγίστρῳ μονάσαντι ἐν τῷ Μεγάλῳ Ἀγρῷ

Οἶδαμεν τὴν ὑμῶν ἔνθεον ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ θεῖα φρονούσαν καὶ  
ἀνθρώπων κακουργίαν βδελυσομένην καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἷς ἔγραψας περὶ  
τῆς τοῦ ἐξάρχου πλημμελείας χάριν τὴν μεγίστην ὁμολογοῦμεν. Πλὴν  
5 κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτὸν ἐνεγκόντες καὶ ὡσπερ ἀναιδευόμενον ἰδόντες  
(μεγάλῃ γὰρ συνειδήσεως τοῦ οἰκείου πταίσματος τὴν ὁμολογίαν δοῦ-  
ναι) | ἐκρίναμεν καὶ ἔτι βεβαιωτέrais ἀποδείξεσιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐνστάσιν D  
ὅτι μὴδὲν σὺνοιδεν τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ λεγομένων κατασχυνθῆναι. Διὰ  
τοῦτο εἰ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς πεπληρορήμεθα λόγοις—πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν πλη-  
10 ροφορηθεῖημεν ἀνδρὸς θεοῦ χάριτι καὶ ἐν τῇ κοσμικῇ διαγωγῇ διαπρέ-  
ψαντος ἐν τῇ ἀνωτάτῳ τιμῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν μοναχῶν πολιτείᾳ μαρτύριον  
ἀποφερομένου τῆς εὐλαβείας ὁποῖον προσῆκεν θεοῦ θεράποντας ἀπο-  
φέρεσθαι;—πλὴν ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ δόξη, ὡσπερ ἐφημεν, ἀντιλογίας ἔτι  
κεκτῆσθαι χώραν, τὰ νῦν ἀνεβαλόμεθα τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ καταδίκην, ἐρευ-  
15 νῶντες (πάντως δὲ οὐκ ἂν λάθοι πονηρία) καὶ ἐξετάζοντες ἐπιμελέστε-  
ρον, ἵνα πανταχόθεν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ τῆς οἰκειᾶς παρισταμένης ἀ-  
μαρτίας δέξηται τὴν κατάκρισιν, πρὸς ἣν, κἂν βούληται, κἂν μὴ βούληται,  
καὶ αὐτὸς ὀφθεῖη συμψηφίζόμενος.

142: P 232v || 15 συνεχόντων P<sup>1</sup>: συνεχουσῶν P<sup>c</sup>

143: P 233r

## 142. To Antony, Metropolitan of Sardis

I was much grieved and lacerated at heart by the rumors reaching me about your Holiness (for they came one after another, announcing that you were cruelly afflicted by sickness); I was, I say, deeply grieved at this, but have now offered thanks to God on hearing from our common son Sabas of your recovery from disease and of your being now in the most perfect health; which health, unmixed with any painful indisposition, may the good God still provide for your Archpriesthood's portion, to the profit of your flock, to my own gratification, and to the Divine Glory—inasmuch as God is glorified through those who are instructed by your Holiness to live a godly and pious life.

So much for that. I will only add this: do not delay your return here longer than you can help, so that we can see one another and enjoy our company and conversation before my miserable existence abandons the struggle against the distresses and ill-usage that afflict it.

## 143. To Ignatius Magister, become a Monk at the Great Farm

I know that your Virtue, as it is from Heaven, thinks the thoughts of God and abominates the evildoing of men: I am therefore very grateful indeed for what you write about the misdeed of the exarch. However, when I had him before me and saw that he brazened it out (for it needs great conscientiousness to acknowledge one's own transgression), I thought it best to adduce yet surer proofs to confute his insistence that "he knows nothing about the things said of him." And so, although I quite believe what you tell me—indeed, how should I not believe one who by God's Grace has both shone in the highest rank of worldly honor and now, in the monastic life, enjoys such a reputation for piety as is proper for the servants of God to win?—however, as I say, in order that he may not appear to have any ground of objection, I have postponed sentence upon him for the present, until I have searched and examined more diligently (and I feel sure his villainy will come to light); so that, when his own sin stares him in the face, he may be convicted on every hand, and appear, willy-nilly, as a witness against himself.

Εὐχαριστήσαντες τῷ θεῷ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ δεδομένῃ σοι κατὰ  
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ δυνάμει, πλέον εὐχαριστοῦμεν ὅτι οὐ κατη-  
 σχύνηθησαν αἱ ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν ἐλπίδες. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶν νῦν  
 5 ἔργων ὡσπερ τὰ σὰ προθεωροῦντες ἀνδραγαθήματα, [καί] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
 ἐξεβιασάμεθα, καὶ ἀκοντά σε καὶ ἀνανεύοντα πρὸς τὴν ἄθλιον πρώην  
 μὲν οὖσαν χώραν, νῦν δὲ χάριτι θεοῦ εὐδαίμονα ἀπεστείλαμεν, ἐνθυμού-  
 μενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνταμείψασθαι τὰ σὰ ἀνδραγαθήματα, ἃ οὐχὶ διστάζοντες  
 ἀλλὰ μετὰ βεβαιώσεως εἴχομεν, καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς ὅσαις ὁ θεὸς  
 10 οἶδεν καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ ταπεινὴ ψυχὴ διανοεῖτο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κρίμασιν ἀδήλοις ἀπ-  
 ἠντησεν ἄλλως τὰ πράγματα, τί ἄλλο ἢ τῇ τεταπεινωμένῃ | δεξιούμεθα B  
 ἡμῶν εὐχῆ; Καὶ ἐπευχόμεθά σοι μήτε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν ἐπιλι-  
 πεῖν μήτε πᾶσαν φαιδρότητα ὅση τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον οἶδε φαιδρύνειν τὸ  
 σὸν ὄνομα καὶ τὸ σὸν γένος καταλιπεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου  
 15 φαιδρότητος καὶ ἀσβέστου τυχεῖν.

145. Τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ περιβλέπτῳ πνευματικῷ τέκνῳ τῷ  
 ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἄρχοντι Ἀμάλφης

Τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνθεον ἔρωτα τῆς σῆς εὐγενείας καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 καταπιστευθείσης ἡμῖν εἰ καὶ ἀναξίους ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας σπουδαίαν  
 5 προαίρεσιν καὶ πρὶν μὲν προανήγγειλεν ἡ φήμη προφθάσασα, νῦν δὲ τε-  
 λεώτερον ἀνεδιδάχθημεν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπηυξάμεθα ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ  
 κενώσαντος τὸ | πανάχραντον αἷμα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ C  
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἀντιδοθῆναι ὑπὲρ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀγαθῆς σου προαιρέσεως  
 τὴν παρὰ τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ κατευόδωσιν ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέ-  
 10 ροις πράγμασι καὶ μὴ ἐπιλιπεῖν ὑμᾶς τὴν ἀνωθεν χάριν συγκατορθοῦσαν  
 τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ σπουδαζόμενα. Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰ τι δυνατὸν  
 παρ' ἑαυτῶν συμπράττειν ἐν ταῖς χρείαις τῶν ὑμετέρων πραγμάτων, ὡς  
 ἔστιν ὀφειλόμενον ὑπὲρ τέκνων εὐνοούντων πατράσι συναγωνίζεσθαι, οὐ  
 διαλείψομεν τὸν ἀγῶνα δεικνύντες. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἰ καὶ  
 15 μὴ ὀλόκληρον πέρας ἡ αἴτησις ὑμῶν ἔλαβεν περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἀλλ'  
 ὅμως ἐφ' ὅσον ἐπέθηκε τὰ πράγματα σπουδῆν ἐποιησάμεθα περὶ τῆς ὑμῶν  
 ἐξαιτήσεως καὶ θεραπείας καὶ γέγονεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ πᾶν μηδ' ὅσον ἡβου- D

144: P 233r-v || 5 προθεωροῦντες P<sup>1</sup>: προσθεωροῦμεν P<sup>c</sup> || καί<sup>1</sup> del. Wk || 7 οὖσαν  
 Jk: αὐτὸν P<sup>1</sup>: αὐτῶν P<sup>c</sup> || 11 τί ἄλλο P<sup>1</sup>: τίνα ἄλλω P<sup>c</sup>  
 145: P 233v-234r

I thank God (my Son) for the power of His Glory that has been vouch-  
 safed to you against the enemy, and yet more that the expectations of my  
 Humility have not been belied. For indeed, even before these deeds, I as it  
 were prognosticated your exploits, and that was why I forced on you, despite  
 your disinclination and refusal, the mission to *the* country at that time  
 miserable, but now, by God's Grace, prosperous; and I myself had in mind  
 to reward your exploits—about which I had no doubts, but confidently  
 anticipated them—with such honors and gifts as were known to God and  
 planned in my humble soul. But now that, by His inscrutable Judgments,  
 things have turned out otherwise, how else may I reward you than with my  
 humble prayer? And this is my prayer: that God's helping arm may never  
 fail you; that yourself and your family may still enjoy all happiness that can  
 smile on mortal life; and finally that you may attain the happiness that is  
 eternal and never fades away.

145. To my beloved, renowned spiritual Son, the most glorious  
 Prince of Amalfi

Your Highness' godly affection toward me, and your zealous dispo-  
 sition toward the Church entrusted by God (unworthy as I am) to my care,  
 had been already made known by antecedent report, and are now more  
 perfectly demonstrated to me. And first I pray for you that Christ our God,  
 Who shed His most pure Blood for His Church, may reward this virtuous  
 disposition of yours by continually prospering you, out of His Goodness,  
 in your affairs, and that you may never want that Heavenly Grace which  
 helps to further those things by which we profit and for which we strive.  
 Next, if there is anything that I can do myself to help the exigencies of your  
 affairs, as it is the duty of fathers to try to help loyal children, I shall not  
 cease my efforts. For this reason, in the present business, although your  
 request about the prisoners has not been fully granted, yet nonetheless, as  
 far as circumstances permitted, I have made interest in favor of your request  
 and its satisfaction: and I have obtained, if not the whole or as much as I

λόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅσον τέως τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων ταῖς ἡμετέραις βουλαῖς  
 τε καὶ εἰσηγήσεσιν ἐξεγένετο πεισθῆναι. Ἀπεστείλαμεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς  
 20 ἀνάρρουσιν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων χρυσίου λίτραν μίαν, ἐπευχόμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν  
 ἐλευθερίαν παρὰ τῆς πάντα δυνατῆς θείας χειρὸς, ἣν οἶδα καὶ πέπεισμαι  
 ὅτι συνεπικουρήσει καὶ τῆς ἀθέου τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν τυραννίδος τοὺς δε-  
 σμίους ἀπολυτρώσεται καὶ κοινῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑπόθεσιν παρέξει σοὶ τε  
 καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀποκαταστάσει πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία, εὐχα-  
 25 ριστοῦντων καὶ δοξαζόντων ἡμῶν τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ ἐλευθερωτὴν, καὶ οὐκ  
 ἑάσει ἐπὶ πολὺ τῇ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τυραννίδι κακουχεῖσθαι καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖ-  
 σθαι τοὺς τῷ παναγίῳ αἵματι σεσημειωμένους οὐδὲ τῆς μετὰ τῶν συγ-  
 γενῶν καὶ φίλων ζωῆς τε καὶ συνδιαγωγῆς μακρύνεσθαι. Ἐρρωμένον σε  
 διαφυλάξει ὁ κύριος, ἐν πάσιν εὐοδῶν, πάντα τὰ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα  
 30 συγκατορθῶν, καὶ διατηρῶν σέ τε καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ χειρᾶ λαὸν ἐκ πάσης  
 ὀρωμένης τε καὶ ἀοράτου τῶν κακῶν συνοχῆς.

#### 146. Κωνσταντίνῳ πρωτοασηκρήτῃ

Ἀπλᾶ γράφω πρὸς ἄνθρωπον συνιδεῖν καὶ ἐν | ἰδιωτεῖα λόγων 373  
 ψυχῆς ἄλγημα σφοδρόν. Ἀκοὴν ἠκούσαμεν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξ  
 ἡμῶν ἀναχώρησιν, ὡς ἀρχιεπίσκοπον παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν χειροτονηθέντα  
 5 ταπεινότητος (οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Νεαπόλεως) ἐκδιώκετε, καὶ πέμπετε  
 ἄλλον ὃν ἐσφράγισεν καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐκεῖ ὁ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν τῶν  
 ταπεινῶν καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτωλοτέρων, ὅμως δὲ οἷοις οἶδε  
 κρίμασιν ὁ συναρμόσας ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ Χριστὸς μου, καθὼς αὐτοῖ ἐπίστασθε,  
 εἰσηγήσας. Βλέπετε τί ποιεῖτε—ὄραξ πῶς ἀπλᾶ γράφω;—ἀθῶός εἰμι  
 10 τῆς αἰωνίου καταδίκης ὑμῶν. Αἰωνίῳ γὰρ κατακρίματι τὸν τοῦτο ποιοῦντα  
 ὑποβαλῶ, εἰ καὶ ἀμαρτωλός εἰμι, ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλη-  
 σίας καὶ συναρμοσθεὶς αὐτῇ οὐ βία, οὐ περιδρομαῖς ἐμαῖς, οὐ σπουδῇ  
 ἀνθρωπίνῃ, ἀλλὰ | λόγους οἷς οἶδεν ὁ τὸ ἅγιον αἷμα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κενώσας· B  
 καὶ τῷ ἀλύτῳ ἐκεῖνῳ δεσμῷ ᾧ ἂν ὑποβαλοῦμεν τοὺς τοῦτο ἐπιχειροῦντας  
 15 παραστήσονται τῷ φοβερῷ βήματι, καὶ ἐγὼ σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τότε γνω-  
 σόμεθα ἐνώπιον πάσης σαρκὸς καὶ τὸν ἴδιον ζῆλον καὶ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν  
 ἐντρέχειαν καὶ τὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὰς πολλὰς περινοίας, ὅταν πᾶν στόμα  
 ἐμφράσσεται καὶ ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰ οἰκεία ἔργα λήψεται τὴν ἀνταπόδο-  
 σιν.

146: 3: cf. Iob 42.5; Abdias 1. || 15: Rom. 14.10. || 17-18: Rom. 3.19. || 18-19:  
 Rom. 2.6; Ps. 61.13; Prov. 24.12.

146: P 234r-v || 1 ἀσηκρή(τ) P

should have liked, yet as much as could, for the present, be granted, in a  
 case of this kind, to my advice and proposals. And I am sending on my own  
 account one pound of gold for ransoming the prisoners, praying for their  
 liberation by God's Almighty Hand, Which, I know and believe, will assist  
 us in redeeming those who are bound by the godless tyranny of the sons of  
 Hagar, and will give you and me a common subject for gratitude over the  
 restoration of the prisoners to their homes, thanking and glorifying our  
 Saviour and Liberator; nor will He long allow those who are marked with  
 His All-holy Blood to be maltreated and tormented by the tyranny of the  
 infidels, nor to be alienated from life and consort with their relatives and  
 friends. The Lord keep you in health, prospering you in all ways, fulfilling  
 all that is for your good and profit, and preserving you and your subjects  
 from every evil affliction, seen or unseen.

#### 146. To Constantine, Protoasecretis

I write plain language to a man *intelligent enough* to discern, even in  
 simple words, a violent grief of heart. I have heard a report, since the Em-  
 peror's departure from us, that you are expelling an archbishop ordained by  
 my Humility—I mean, him of Neapolis—and sending another who had been  
 consecrated and dispatched thither by him who, as you know yourselves,  
 usurped the *throne* to which I, though humble and the most sinful of men,  
 was nonetheless wedded by the inscrutable Judgments of my Christ Who  
 confirmed me in it. Take care what you do! You see, don't you, how plainly  
 I write? I am innocent of your eternal damnation: for I shall commit to  
 eternal damnation him who does this—I who, though sinful, am yet Archpriest  
 of the Church of Christ, being confirmed in it, not by violence, nor by my  
 own canvassings, nor by the favor of men, but for reasons known to Him  
 Who for that Church poured out His Blood. And by that indissoluble bond  
 in which I shall commit those who attempt this, they will stand at the fearful  
 Tribunal, and I with them, and then we shall know, in the presence of all  
 flesh, their private emulation and arrogance and intrigue and friendship and  
 their many clever devices, when every mouth shall be stopped, and each  
 shall receive his reward according to his own works!



Καὶ χωρὶς τῆς προσπεσούσης ὑποθέσεως ἢ περὶ τῆς ὑμῶν οὐσι-  
 τήτος φήμη ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἡμῶν φθάσασα οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπιθυμητὴν ἐποίη-  
 σὴν σὴν ὁμιλίαν, ἀνθρώπε τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς παρουσίας |  
 ὑποθέσεως συνῆλθεν, καὶ διὰ ταύτην ὡς ἀναγκαίαν οὖσαν καὶ τὸ μέρος C  
 5 χαριζόμενοι τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, ὅτι μὴ ἔξεστιν ἐτέρως, ἰδοὺ σοὶ προσομιλοῦ-  
 μεν διὰ τοῦ γράμματος. Καλὸν μὲν καὶ θεῶ ἀρέσκον ἔργον καὶ διανοήθη  
 καὶ διεπράξατο ὁ θεοφιλὴς οὗτος ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἤκει φέρων σοὶ τὸ γράμ-  
 μα, τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀράμενος καὶ πάντα λιπὼν τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ,  
 καὶ ἄξιον ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρετῆς. Καλὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁδηγὸς αὐτῶ  
 10 γέγονας καὶ τῆς πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὁδοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, ὡς καὶ  
 αὐτὸς εὐχαριστεῖ καθηγούμενος καὶ δεικνύς διὰ τοῦ ὅλως ἐξηρηθῆσαι  
 τῆς σῆς ὁσιότητος καὶ μηδὲν ἀνέχεσθαι πράττειν σοῦ μὴ κελεύοντος, ὡς  
 τοιοῦτῳ περιέτυχεν ἀλείπτῃ πρὸς τοὺς πνευματικοὺς ἀγῶνας οἷω πάντως  
 ἐντυχεῖν ἠῦχετο. Καὶ ἦν μὲν σωτήριον | μηδὲν ἀπαντῆσαι παρὰ τοῦ φθόνου D  
 15 ἀεὶ κατὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν μαινομένου δαίμονος ἐναντίον μηδὲ τραχὺ  
 μηδὲ προσκόπτειν τὰ ἐκείνου διαβήματα πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἀσκήσεως δρόμον  
 ἐμποιοῦν· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρι  
 καρτερῶν διετέλει ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατήνησε τόπῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων  
 ἐγγύθεν τὸν μαθητὴν ἀεὶ τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα ἐξεπαίδευε. Ἐπεὶ δέ, ὡς γε  
 20 ἡμῖν ἐγνώσθη, ἀντὶ γαλήνης, ἀντὶ λιμένος εὐδίου, τρικυμῖαι καὶ κλύδω-  
 νες αὐτῷ ἐπανίστανται, καὶ ἄνθρωποι εἴτε παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἠρεμεῖν οὐκ εἰδό-  
 τες εἴτε παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος κεινημένοι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τούτῳ βλάβης  
 πρόξενοι γίνονται, τί δεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ πάντως αὐτόθεν | ἀπαναστῆσαι; Οὐκ 376  
 ἐμός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κυρίου· «Ἐὰν διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
 25 ταύτης, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην.» Διώκεται καὶ οὗτος παρὰ τῶν μὴ ἀγα-  
 πῶντων εἰρήνην, ὡς φησιν, καὶ διωκόμενος ἀνάγκην ἔχει καὶ μὴ βούληται  
 πρὸς ἄλλον τόπον μεθίστασθαι. Δὸς οὖν αὐτῷ ἐφόδιον τὰς σὰς εὐχὰς,  
 καὶ εὐλογήσας ἀπόστειλον, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διατελῶν ἐνταῦθα  
 εὐαρέστως τῷ θεῷ διαζῆσῃ (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εὐρηται τόπος οὗ τὴν ἐπιζη-  
 30 τουμένην αὐτῷ εἰρήνην ἔξει) καὶ οἱ διώκοντες αὐτὸν ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ  
 δοκοῦντος ἐπαχθοῦς μηκέτι πρόφασιν ἔχωσι τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀταξίας τὴν  
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιβαρῆ ὡς νομίζουσι σὺν αὐτοῖς διατριβὴν καὶ κατοίκησιν.

147: 8: Matth. 16.24; Marc. 8.34; Luc. 9.23. || 24-25: Matth. 10.23.

147: P 234v-235v || 19 ἐξεπαίδευε P<sup>c</sup>: ἐξεπαίδευσε (ut vid.) P<sup>1</sup> || 29 ἐπειδὴ] ἤδη  
 ci. Jk

Quite apart from the affair which occasions my writing, the report of  
 your Holiness had reached my ears and naturally made me wish for communi-  
 cation with you, O man of God. But now that the present occasion has  
 arisen, both because of its urgency and to satisfy my own inclination, you see,  
 I am communicating with you in writing, since I cannot do so otherwise. The  
 pious man who brings you this letter has, in taking up the Cross of Christ and  
 abandoning all the things of this world, resolved upon and performed a work  
 that is fair and pleasing to God, and one that is in truth worthy of his  
 virtue. You yourself have been, from the beginning until now, his fair con-  
 ductor upon the road to Salvation, as he is the first to admit with gratitude;  
 and he shows, by his entire dependence on your Holiness and his refusal to  
 take any action without your permission, that he has found in you just such  
 a trainer in his spiritual exercises as he would by all means have prayed to  
 meet with. It would have been salutary if he had met with no hindrance from  
 the demon who, out of envy, still rages against our salvation, no hardship,  
 no cause of stumbling in his progress along the path of his training: for so  
 he would have continued steadfast, and in gratitude to our God and Saviour,  
 in that place where he was first established, and you, with your pupil at  
 hand, could have continued still to instruct him in such matters as arose.  
 However, since, as I have been informed, instead of calm and a haven of  
 peace, storms and high waves are rising against him, and men who are  
 either troublemakers by nature or else set on by the demon are bringing  
 harm both on themselves and on him, what can he do except remove alto-  
 gether from that place? It is not I, but the Lord That saith: "If they drive  
 you out of this city, flee to the next." He too is driven away by those who love  
 not peace, as he says, and, being driven, must perforce, though unwilling,  
 remove elsewhere. So give him your prayers to go with him, and dismiss him  
 with your blessing, so that he for his part may remain here in quietness and  
 live approved unto God (a place has *already* been found where he can enjoy  
 the peace he seeks), and his persecutors may be free of what seems burden-  
 some and may no longer find an excuse for their disorder in the man's  
 sojourn and dwelling among them, which they regard as irksome.

## 148. Εὐθυμίῳ μονάζοντι.

Ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀγάπη οὐκ οἶδεν διάστασιν, ἀλλ' οἱ τῇ ἐνώσει  
 ταύτης συναφθέντες, εἰ καὶ τόπος αὐτοῦς διάστησιν, μένουσιν ἡνωμένοι  
 καὶ τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης ἐνώσεως ἀπολαύοντες. Καὶ ἡμεῖς τοίνυν τῇ B  
 5 ὁσιότητί σου ἀφ' οὐπερ τῇ ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι συνήφθημεν ἀγάπη τὸ  
 συνεῖναι πνευματικῶς οὐκ ἀφῆρέθημεν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοσοῦτον συναπτό-  
 μεθα πλέον ὅσον ἡ σωματικῇ μεσιτεύει διάστασις. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ σωματικῇ  
 σχέσις ἐκ τῶν ὁρωμένων χαρακτήρων ἔχει τὴν συνοχὴν, τούτων δὲ μὴ  
 παρόντων κατὰ βραχὺ λανθάνει διαλυομένη· ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ἕτερον  
 10 τρόπον τῇ τῶν σωματικῶν ὑπομνήσεων ἀναχωρήσει ἐπὶ πλέον συσφιγ-  
 γεται. Πλὴν εὐχόμεθα τῷ ἀγίῳ θεῷ καὶ συγγενέσθαι ἀλλήλοις καὶ  
 θεῶς καὶ ὁμιλίας κοινῆς ἀπολαῦσαι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον δισταμένων ἡμῶν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ συνόντων δοξάζηται παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ συνάψας ἡμᾶς θεὸς τῷ  
 συνδέσμῳ τοῦ πνεύματος. Εἴης ἡμῖν ἐρωμένος (ἡ δ' εὐχὴ περὶ τοῦ |  
 15 σαρκίου) καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ὑπερευχόμενος μετριότητος. C

## 149. Στρατηγῷ τῶν Θρακησίων

Ἄ γράφομεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οἶδαμεν ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἡμετέρας  
 ποιεῖς ὑπομνήσεως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπήρειαν οὐδὲ χεῖρα βαρεῖαν τῶν ἐπιτι-  
 θεμένων τοῖς ταπεινότεροις ἢ σὴ φιλοθεῖα συγχωρεῖ, γινώσκουσα ὡς εἰς  
 5 τοῦτο παρὰ θεοῦ προήχθης καὶ ἄρχειν ἄλλων ἐτάχθης, ἵνα καὶ τοὺς ἀδι-  
 κεῖν βουλομένους ἀναστέλλης καὶ τοὺς εἰς τὸ καταπονεῖσθαι διὰ πενίαν  
 ἐτοίμους διὰ τῆς σῆς βοηθείας τῆς ἐκείνων βιαιότητος λελυτρωμένους  
 ἀποφαίνης. Ταῦτα οἶδαμεν ὅτι καὶ μελετᾷς καὶ τὴν μελέτην εἰς ἔργον  
 προάγεις, κἂν μηδεὶς ἐστὶν ὁ γράφων ἢ παραίνεσιν ποιούμενος· ὅμως  
 10 ἐπεὶ ὁ τὸ γράμμα κομίζων, εἷς ὢν τῶν ἡμῖν | γνωριζομένων, πολλαῖς D  
 ἐξεβιάσατο παρακλήσεσιν πρὸς τὸ γράμμασιν ἡμετέροις ὥσπερ συστή-  
 ναι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν σὴν μεγαλόδοξον ὑπεροχὴν, πληροῦντες τὴν ἐξαίτησιν  
 αὐτοῦ τὸ γράμμα παρέσχομεν· ὁμοῦ τε διὰ τοῦ γράμματος τοῦτον  
 συνιστῶντες καὶ δεῖξαι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν σὴν κηδεμονίαν παρακαλοῦντες,  
 15 ἧς ἀπολαύουσι πάντες οἱ ταῖς σαῖς περιθαλπόμενοι πτέρυξιν καὶ ἀνεπ-  
 ηρέαστοι διασωζόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ποιουμένων ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τρυφήν

148: P 235v Q 186v-187r || 1 tit. P: om. Q || 9-10 ἕτερον τρόπον P: ἐτέρω τρόπω  
 Q || 14 ἢ δ' - 15 μετριότητος P: καὶ ἡμῶν ὑπερευχόμενος Q

149: P 236r Q 187r-v || 1 tit. P: om. Q || 2 γράφομεν P: γράφομέν σοι Q || 4 τα-  
 πεινότεροις P: ταπεινοῖς Q || 9 προάγεις P: προσάγεις Q || 15 ἧς ἀπολαύουσι πάντες P: om. Q

## 148. To the Monk Euthymius

The love that is of the Spirit knows no severance: for those who are  
 bound in its union, even though place divides them, remain united and in  
 the enjoyment of that blessed union. And so I, since I became bound to  
 your Holiness by love in the Holy Spirit, am not deprived of spiritual consort  
 with you, but am bound even more closely to you in proportion as physical  
 distance lies between us. Physical regard is kept in being by visible tokens,  
 and, when these are withdrawn, by little and little it slips away and dissolves;  
 but spiritual regard, on the other hand, grows closer as physical reminders  
 are withdrawn. However, I pray to our Holy God that we may meet and  
 enjoy one another's sight and conversation so that, not only when we are  
 divided, but also when we are together, God may by us be glorified, Who has  
 joined us in the bond of the Spirit. Fare you well (I pray for your bodily  
 health), and pray for my Mediocrity.

## 149. To the Governor of the Thrakesian province

I am aware (my Son) that even without this memorial you are acting  
 in the sense of my letter: your love of God allows no license to the malice  
 and cruelty of those who assault the humble, for you know that God has  
 advanced you and set you to rule over others so that you may repress potential  
 wrongdoers and, by your aid, deliver from their violence those whose poverty  
 exposes them to oppression. I know that this is your principle and practice,  
 even though none should write to encourage you in them. However, since the  
 bearer, who is one of my acquaintance, has importuned me with many re-  
 quests to write and recommend him to the notice of your renowned Ex-  
 cellency, I have granted his request and furnished him with the letter, which  
 both commends him to you and requests you to grant him the protection  
 enjoyed by all who shelter beneath your wings and are kept unharmed from

ιδίαν τὰς τῶν ἐπηρεαζομένων ταλαιπωρίας. Ἐρρωμένον σε διαφυλάξει ὁ κύριος, εὐδοούμενον ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν καὶ ὁμαλῶς τὸν βίον διαπορευόμενον καὶ τοῦ φθόνου τῶν κέντρων ἄτρωτον διαμένοντα.

## 150. Φιλοθέῳ πατρικίῳ

Κληρικοί τῆς ἐν Νικαία μητροπόλεως κατέλαβον πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν μετριότητα, καὶ χωρὶς τῶν λόγων | ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὄψεως, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὴν 377 σύγχυσιν καὶ τὴν ὀδύνην τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς ἐμφανίζοντες. Ἐπει δὲ λέγειν 5 ἀπῆρξαντο, τοσοῦτον καὶ ἡ τῶν λόγων διάθεσις ἐτύγγαθεν παθητικῆ ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν σύγχυσιν καὶ τὴν ὀδύνην κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ πλέον λέγω, τῆς συνοχῆς. Καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐμελλον, τέκνον ἐμόν, τοιαῦτα πάσχειν, ὅτε λειτουργοὶ τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου, πρεσβύτεροί φημι καὶ διάκονοι, ὅποιοι δὴν καὶ ὤμεν καὶ οἰαίς 10 ἁμαρτίαις ἐνεχόμεθα, πρὸς στρατείαν κοσμικὴν καταλέγονται; Φεῖσαι, κύριε, τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου σου, καὶ μὴ οὕτω διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐξουδενώσης ἡμᾶς. Ἐγὼ, τέκνον ἐμόν, ὅτε τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὡσὶν προσῆλθον οἱ λόγοι, οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐπάγην καὶ οὕτως ὄλος ἐγενόμην τῆς ἐκπλήξεως, ὥστε εἰς ἀμηχανίαν | μὲν καταστήναι τοῦ γράφειν, μηδὲν B 15 δὲ ἄλλο ποιεῖν ἢ ταλανίζειν μὲν τὴν οἰκείαν ζώην, θρηνεῖν δὲ καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν, ὃς τοιαύτην περιπέτειαν ἤνεγκε τῶν πραγμάτων. Ἄλλ' ἐπει τῶν κληρικῶν αἱ ὀλοφύρσεις ἀνακοπήν οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ὁπὲ καὶ μόλις ὡσπερ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐγενόμην καὶ πρέπον ἡγησάμην γράμμα πρὸς τὴν σὴν μεγαλόνοιαν διαχαράξαι, δι' οὗ παρεγγυῶμαι, εἰ δυνατόν, 20 φείσασθαι τοῦ ἱερατείου, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς θείας δοξολογίας, ἣν εἰ καὶ διηνεκῶς ἔχει προσφερομένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὁ θεός, ὅμως βούλεται καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ταύτην αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων προσφέρεσθαι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν μὴ τὸ ἅγιον κυκλοῦντων θυσιαστήριον ὑπῆρχον, οὐδ' οὕτως ἦν ἀνεκτόν τὸ γὰρ ὄλος ἀφιέρωμα ἤδη τι γεγεννημένον εἰς κοινὴν | χρῆσιν C 25 μεταφέρειν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκατάκριτον· ὅταν δὲ οἱ τὰ ἅγια φέρειν καταξιωθέντες, ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς στρατιωτικῆς λειτουργίας ἀπάγονται, τί ἂν τις ἐρεῖ; Σκόπει, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὅτι οὔτε ὑφασμα οὔτε ἄργυρον οὔτε χαλκόν,

150: 23: Ps. 25.6.

19 τοῦ P: ἐκ τοῦ Q || τῶν κέντρων P: τὸ κέντρον Q

150: P 236r-237r || 12 ἐξουδενώσης P<sup>c</sup>: -σεις P<sup>1</sup> || προσῆλθον Wk: προσῆλθον P cf. 102.186) || 21 καὶ P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup> || 23 τῶν μὴ P<sup>1</sup>: καὶ μὴ τῶν P<sup>c</sup> || 27 ἐρεῖ P<sup>c</sup>: ἐρῆ P<sup>1</sup>

those who exploit and turn to their own profit the sufferings of their victims. The Lord keep you in health, prosperous in your affairs, and continuing in a steady course, still unwounded by the darts of malice.

## 150. To the Patrician Philotheus

Clergy from the metropolis of Nicaea have come to my Mediocrity, and (my Son) even before they spoke, I could clearly see their confusion and grief of heart. But when they began to speak, the tenor of their words was so painful that it reduced my own heart to the same state of confusion and of (to put it mildly) pained affliction. My sufferings (my Son) were natural enough when ministers of the Holy Sanctuary—presbyters, I mean, and deacons—(whatever sort of men they may be, and of whatever sins they may be guilty) are being conscripted into the secular army! O Lord, spare Thy Sanctuary, and do not thus destroy us for our sins! I (my Son), when their report reached my ears, was so much horror-struck and so totally dumbfounded that I was rendered incapable of writing, and could do nothing but curse my own days, and lament and deplore the present time which has brought about such a disastrous state of affairs. But, since the outcries of the clergy did not cease, I at long last came to myself, and judged it proper to write a letter to your Generosity by which I would, if possible, secure the freedom from molestation of the priesthood, not to say of the glorification of God: for though this glorification is continually offered to Him in Heaven, yet it is His Will that it should be offered up to Him on behalf of men on earth also. Even if those *affected* had been others, from among those who do not surround the Holy Sanctuary, even so the thing would be intolerable: for to convert to common use anything whatever that has once been sanctified is culpable. But when those who have been deemed worthy to carry the sacraments are abducted into military service, what can we say? You are to consider (my Son) that neither cloth nor silver nor bronze jewel which has once been dedicated

ἀλλ' οὐτε λίθον εἰς ναὸν ἀφωρισμένον θεοῦ ἔξεστι κοινοποιεῖν, οὐδ' εἴ  
 τις τολμᾷ ταῦτα, καταδίκης ἀνώτερος. Εἰ δὴ οὖν οὕτως ἐστίν, ὥσπερ  
 30 καὶ ἔστι, σοὶ καταλείπω θεία χάριτι τελειοτάτῳ τὴν σύνεσιν ὄντι τὸ νῦν  
 γινόμενον κρίνειν.

Ἐβουλόμην τὸ γράμμα ἐκτείνειν καὶ διὰ πλειόνων τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ  
 πράγματος καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἄλλος ἐμφανίζειν. Ἄλλ' ἱκανὰ τὰ εἰρημένα  
 πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν, ἥτις κἂν μηδεὶς ἕτερος λέγῃ δυνατὴ ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ  
 35 συνιέναι καὶ ἄλλους περὶ τούτου διδάσκειν. Τοσοῦτον δὲ μόνον φημί,  
 ὅτι ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς προνόμιον δέδοται παρὰ τῶν κοσμησάντων εὐσεβεῖα D  
 τὸ στέφος τῆ μητροπόλει χάριν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κεκορημένων ἱερῶν συνόδων  
 (καὶ ὅρα ὅσος ὁ χρόνος· ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ Χριστῷ ὑπετάγη τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ  
 θεῷ ἢ τῶν σκήπτρων ἐξουσία τοῦτο παρεσχέθη), μὴ νῦν ὀφθῆ περι-  
 40 υβριζόμενον μηδὲ καταπεφρονημένον. Οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον οὔτε πρὸς τιμὴν δια-  
 βαῖνον ἢ τῶν προσταττόντων ἢ τῶν πληροούντων τὸ πρόσταγμα. Τὰ δ'  
 ἄλλα ἐρωμένον σε διαφυλάξει ὁ κύριος, ἐν πᾶσιν εὐαρεστοῦντα καὶ τῆς  
 παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιούμενον.

### 151. Γρηγορίῳ Ἐφέσου

Οὐκ οἶδα τί ἐρῶ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἀνεῖναι σπαραγμοῖς τὴν  
 ἐπώδυνον καρδίαν ἡμῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ μὴ διαξαινόμεθα  
 ταῖς ἐπιτιθεμέναις ἀλγηδόνισιν καὶ πληροῦται ὡς εἶοικε τὸ εἰρημένον, 380  
 5 ὧτινι καὶ ἐρρήθη· «Ἄει τὰ κακὰ τοῖς κακοῖς ἐπισυναπτόμενα τὸν ἐμὸν  
 περιστοιχίζει βίον· καὶ παρῆλθεν οὐπω τὸ χειρόν, καὶ παρέστηκεν ἕτερον  
 χειρόν.» Ἐφην, οὐκ οἶδα τί πρὸς ταῦτα ἐρῶ, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τοῖς συνήθεσι  
 καὶ ἀνθρωπίνους ἐχρησάμην λόγοις, πλὴν οἶδα τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν εἶναι  
 τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τοιαύτης τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐπιθέσεως. Τὸ γὰρ ἂ μὴδ' ἄλλου  
 10 τινὸς προλέγοντος ἐλπίς ἦν γενέσθαι, ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἀπαντᾶν, πόθεν ἄλλο-  
 θεν ἢ ἐξ ἧς εἶπον αἰτίας ἔχει τὴν γένεσιν;

Θορυβῆ τὴν ψυχὴν ἴσως, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερώτατον, ὥσπερ ἐπικε-  
 καλυμμένης προσιούσης σοὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀλγηδόνος. Οὐκοῦν τὸ πρᾶγμα  
 ἐκδηλότερον μάνθανε. Ὁ τοῦ Δυρραχίου μητροπολίτης τὰ ἐνταῦθα  
 15 καταλαβών, οὐκ οἶδα τί παθῶν τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτὸν B  
 ἀπομερίζειν ἠγάπησεν. Τοῦτον πλειστάκις παραινέσεις ὅσαι τῶν ταπει-  
 νῶν χειλέων ἡμῶν ἴσχυον ἔχουσι προίεναι τῆς ἀτόπου γνώμης μετενεγεῖν

151: 5-7: unde?

36 ὅπερ P<sup>c</sup>: περ P<sup>1</sup>

151: P 237r-v || 7 ἔφην] punctis del. P || 8 τῶν] ἐκ τῶν Jk || 10 ἐλπίς ἦν Wk:  
 ἐλπίσαι P

to the Church of God may lawfully be vulgarized; and any who dares to do  
 this is liable to condemnation. If then this be so, and so it is, I leave it to  
 you, who are by Divine Grace most perfect in wisdom, to judge of what is  
 now going on.

I had intended to expatiate at greater length, and to emphasize the  
 infamy of the occurrence and my own sorrow on its account. But what I  
 have said suffices for your Virtue, which, though none else should speak, is  
 able of itself both to understand and to instruct others on the point. I would  
 add this only—the privilege enjoyed from the beginning by the metropolis,  
 a privilege granted to it by those who have adorned their crown with piety,  
 because of the Synods that were convened there (and see how long a time it  
 has lasted: for it was granted at the time when the imperial power submitted  
 to Christ the Emperor and God), let not this privilege now be insulted and  
 despised! It would be unworthy and dishonorable both in those who gave  
 the order and in those who carried it out. For the rest, the Lord keep you in  
 health, and in all ways approved unto Him, and worthy of His acceptance.

### 151. To Gregory of Ephesus

I do not know what to say of the vexations which will allow my painful  
 heart no relief! Not a day passes but I am torn by the griefs which assail me,  
 and that saying (whoever it was) appears to be fulfilled which says: "Evil  
 still following on evil encompasses my life; and the worse has yet to pass,  
 when something worse still is at hand." I have said, I do not know what  
 to say of all this; yet, though I express myself in conventional and human  
 terms, I know that the true cause of these cruel assaults lies *in* my sins: for  
 to experience that which could never have been expected even though another  
 had predicted it, whence does it come if not from the cause I speak of?

Perhaps I am alarming you (my most holy Son) by this veiled approach  
 to my complaint. Learn therefore more directly of the matter. The Metro-  
 politan of Dyrhachium who has come here, has—for whatever reason—  
 seen fit to sever himself from the body of the Church. I have tried over and  
 over again, by every appeal which my humble lips could frame, to divert  
 him from this unseemly intention, but my repeated exhortations have obvi-

ἐπειράθημεν, ἀλλ' εἰς κενὸν ὠφθημεν ῥαψωδῆσαντες. Διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν  
 ὑμῶν σύνεσιν ἐκπεμφθῆναι αὐτὸν καλὸν εἶναι κεκρίκαμεν, ἐλπίζοντες τὸ  
 20 ἀπειθῆς αὐτοῦ εἰς εὐπειθειαν οὕτω μετενεχθῆναι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐνθυ-  
 μηθέντες ὅτι ἐνταῦθα διατρίβων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατησάντων τῆς ἐκκλη-  
 σίας οἷα εἰκὸς καθ' ἐκάστην εἰσηγήσεις λαμβάνων ὕστερον ὀφθησεται  
 πρὸς τὸ τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ συναφθῆναι δυσπειθέστερος, πρὸς ὑμᾶς δὲ σελ-  
 λόμενος καὶ εἴ τινα πρόληψιν ἔσχεν τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποστατεῖν  
 25 ῥαδίως ἀποθήσει, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀρετὴν τῆς σῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐξευλα-  
 βούμενος καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνήθειαν καὶ ὅσης εὐεργεσίας αὐτῷ πρόξε-  
 νος ἐγένου ἀναλογιζόμενος· εἰ μὴ ἄρα πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Ἰούδα βρόχον καὶ εἴ  
 τις ἐκείνῳ παρόμοιος κατένευσεν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φιλονεικήσει τοῦ τῆς ἐκ-  
 κλησίας ἑαυτὸν ἀποτεμεῖν σώματος.

152

C

Οὐδὲν ἄλλο πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν σύνεσιν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, αὐτοπαράκλη-  
 τον οὖσαν πρὸς τὸ καλὸν καὶ θεάρεστον γράφομεν ἢ μόνον ὅσον εἰς τὸ πα-  
 ραστῆσαι τοὺς ἐπικομιζομένους τὸ γράμμα καὶ γνωρίσαι ὑμῖν ὅτι τῆ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία πρὸς τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀποταχθεῖσαν ὑπηρεσίαν,  
 5 λέγομεν δὴ τὴν τῆς κράμβης συντέλειαν, ἀφωρισμένοι τυγχάνουσιν. Σὸν  
 οὖν ἔστι καὶ τῆς σῆς ἔμφρονος γνώμης τοῦτο μαθόντα διατηρῆσαι αὐτοὺς  
 ἀβαρεῖς τῆς ἄλλης τοῦ δημοσίου περιαγωγῆς καὶ περιστάσεως. Ἀδύνα-  
 τον γάρ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξεπίστασαι, ταῖς τε λειτουργίαις τοῦ δημοσίου  
 ὑπάγεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποταχθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
 10 ἐπιτελεῖν συνεισφοράν. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐρωμένον σε διαφυλάξει ὁ κύριος,  
 τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὑπὸ τῆ σκέπῃ τῶν πτερῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνώμαλον καὶ  
 πολύπονον τοῦ βίου ὁδὸν ἐξανύοντα.

153. Θεοδοσίῳ μοναχῷ καὶ κουβουκλεισίῳ

D

Ἄλλας ἐτρέφομεν ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς μονάζουσιν ἢ ὁποίας νῦν διὰ  
 τοῦ γράμματος ἔγνωμεν. Ὡς εἰκὸς γὰρ ἠλπίζομεν οὐκ ὀλίγης εὐεργε-

27: Matth. 27.5.

152: 11: Ps. 16.8; 35.8; 60.5; 62.8.

24 πρόληψιν P<sup>x</sup>: πρόσληψιν P<sup>1</sup>

152: P 238r

153: P 238r-v

ously been fruitless. I have therefore decided to send him to your Wisdom, in the hope that his obstinacy may thus be changed to compliance; and I have moreover taken into consideration that, if he continues here and is daily indoctrinated (as he is sure to be) by those who have revolted against the Church, he will as a result become even less amenable to joining with it; whereas, if he is sent to you, even though he may have had some prejudice in favor of revolt from the Church, he will readily abandon it, out of respect for your Archpriesthood's general virtue, and out of regard for your old friendship and all the kindnesses you have shown him—unless, that is to say, he has really turned toward the noose of Judas and his tribe, and is therefore actively determined to cut himself off from the body of the Church.

152

I write nothing more to your Wisdom (my Son), self-directed as it is toward what is good and pleasing to God, except only as much as will introduce the bearers of my letter and acquaint you that they are devoted to the service traditionally attaching to the Great Church, I mean, to the contribution of cabbages. It therefore behoves you, in the wisdom of your heart, on learning of this, to keep them exempt from any other fiscal involvement or liability. It is impossible for them, as you know yourself, if they are made liable to pay the state taxes, to make the contribution traditionally due from them to the Church. For the rest, God keep you in health (my Son) beneath the shelter of His wings, as you traverse the rough and toilsome road of life.

153. To Theodosius, Monk and Kouboukleisios

I had hoped for better things from the monks than those which I now learn from your letter. I naturally supposed that, since they had received

σίας ἀπολαύσαντας αὐτοὺς παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος οὐ μόνον οὕτως  
 5 ἐν βραχεῖ καιροῦ ἐπιλελῆσθαι τῆς σῆς ἀγαθῆς προαιρέσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τὸν πάντα βίον διατελέσειν εὐγνωμονοῦντας, καὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην ὅση  
 δύναμις ἀντιδεξιοῦσθαι ταῖς θεραπαίαις σπουδάζειν. Νῦν δὲ τί εἶπω;  
 Ἐξάγομαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης, | καὶ φθέγγομαι σὺν τῷ προφήτῃ· «Ὡ- 381  
 σόν με, κύριε, ὅτι ἐκλέλοιπεν ὁσιος, ὅτι ὀλιγόθησαν αἱ ἀλήθειαι ἀπὸ τῶν  
 10 οἰῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως  
 ἑνός.» Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τῆς ἀχαριστίας ἴσως καὶ νῦν τοῦ κέρδους αἰσθή-  
 σονται, πάντως δέ, εἰ καὶ μὴ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι συντετάζονται  
 τοῖς ἀγνωμονοῦσι. Σὺ δέ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, μὴ ἀκηδία μηδὲ τὸ  
 ὑψηλὸν τῆς διανοίας τῷ πάθει καταβαπτίσης, ἀφορῶν πρὸς τὴν θείαν  
 15 ἀντίληψιν, ἥτις οὐδέποτε καταλείπει τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀφορῶντας. Ἄλλὰ  
 τῶν μὲν ἀγνωμονησάντων ὑπερέχου, οἰκτεῖρων τῆς κακίας αὐτοὺς ὡς  
 ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν χρηστοτέρων ἐλπίδων πεποιδότι ἀνάβηθι  
 λογισμῶ· πάντως γὰρ σὺν τῇ θείᾳ εὐμενεῖα τῶν τέως λυπούντων τῆν  
 ζωὴν ἔσται διάλυσις παρὰ τοῦ μηδέποτε καταισχύνοντος θεοῦ τοὺς B  
 20 οἰκείους θεράποντας.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς ὑμῶν εἰσόδου ὅτι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος οὐ γέγονεν,  
 ἴσθι λελυπημένους ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ σοί. Οἶμαι γὰρ μὴ ἐπιλελῆσθαι σε ὅτι προσεί-  
 πομεν ἐξιόντι σοι τὴν γέννησιν Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν μὴ χωρὶς τῆς  
 μεθ' ἡμῶν συνουσίας τελέσειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ γέγονεν, τέως ἦν νῦν  
 25 ἐν τῷ γράμματι προθεσμίαν παρέθου μὴ διαψεύση, ἀλλ' εἰ γε τῷ παρόντι  
 βίῳ θεῶ κεκριμένον ἔστι περιφέρεισθαι ἡμᾶς, τὴν τῶν βατῶν ἐορτὴν  
 ἦκε σὺν ἡμῖν ἐορτάσων.

Ἄ δὲ περὶ τῆς δίκης τῶν μοναχῶν ὑπεσήμαινε τὸ γράμμα, δεῖ  
 ἐκείνους παρεῖναι μεθ' ὧν ἔχουσι λόγων δικαίων καὶ εἴτε ἡμῖν ἐντυχεῖν  
 30 εἴτε προσφωνῆσαι ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἀκοαῖς τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως. Οὕτω  
 γὰρ μᾶλλον ῥάδιος ἔσται ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων διοίκησις.

#### 154. Γρηγορίῳ Ἐφέσου

Καὶ πρότερον περὶ τῆς μελετηθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀμαρτιῶν C  
 συσκευῆς (τί γὰρ με δεῖ ἄλλους αἰτιᾶσθαι, προφανοῦς ἡμῖν τῆς αἰτίας  
 οὔσης;) ἐγράψαμεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερώτατον, ὡς μέχρι τῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ

153: 8-10: Ps. 11.2. || 10-11: Ps. 13.3. || 13: 1 Tim. 6.11.

4 οὐ μόνον] cf. supra 27.26 || 14 καταβαπτίσης P<sup>c</sup>: -σεις P<sup>1</sup>  
 154: P 238v-239r || 2 περὶ P<sup>c</sup>: ὑπὸ P<sup>1</sup>

substantial benefit from your Holiness, not only would they not in so short a  
 time have forgotten your kindly conduct toward them, but would on the  
 contrary remain grateful all their lives, and be eager to recompense their  
 benefactor by serving him to the utmost of their power. But now, what can  
 I say? I am transported with grief, and cry out with the Prophet: "Help,  
 Lord; for the godly man ceaseth; for the faithful fail from among the children  
 of men; there is none that doeth good, no, not one." But those shall, perhaps  
 even now, reap the reward of their thanklessness; or, if not now, yet certainly  
 in the life to come they shall be numbered with the ungrateful. But do you  
 (O man of God) despair not, nor overwhelm your high heart with grief, but  
 look for the Divine Support which never fails those who look to it. Pray for  
 those who have used you ungratefully, and, as a man of God, pity them for  
 their malice. Elevate your heart to a faith that hopes for better things to  
 come: for certainly, with the Divine Favor, those who still plague your life  
 shall be scattered by God, Who never puts His own servants to shame.

For your failure to come here before now, know that I am grieved for  
 you. You have not, I think, forgotten that I told you, as you were leaving,  
 not to celebrate the Birth of Christ our God save in my company. But since  
 this was not fulfilled, at least do not be false to the date proposed in your  
 letter, and, if it be God's will that I should still be in this present life, come  
 and keep Palm Sunday with me.

As regards what your letter suggests about trial of the monks, they  
 must come here with such justification as they have, and either interview  
 me or else state their case in an imperial audience. This will facilitate the  
 conduct of the business.

#### 154. To Gregory of Ephesus

As regards the plot contrived against me by my sins (for why should  
 I accuse others, when the cause is clear to me?) I have already written to  
 you (most holy Son) that the evil has been nipped in the bud, thanks to the

μόνης τὸ κακὸν ἔσται, οὕτω τῆς ἀνωθεν ἀγαθότητος διοικονοησαμένης,  
 5 καὶ πεῖρά τις οὐ προσήγγισε κακότητος. Νῦν δὲ εἴ γέ τι ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ  
 βίῳ ἀμεινον δεῖ λέγειν, τέως ἀποσαλεύομεν ἐν τοῖς ἀμεινοσί· περὶ δὲ  
 τῶν ἐσομένων ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρὸς τὸ ἀστάθμητον ἀφορῶσι τῶν ματαίων  
 τοῦ βίου πραγμάτων οὐκ ἔστι λόγος. Πλὴν εὐχόμεθα, εἰ καὶ ἀχρεῖοι, τοῦ  
 10 συνόισοντος διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ὑμῶν εὐχῶν τῇ ψυχῇ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν· καὶ ἔστω-  
 σαν ὁποῖά ποτ' ἂν ᾖ, ὡς οὐδὲν ἡμῖν σὺν θεῷ μελήσει περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν  
 διαθέσεως. Ἐρρωμένον σε διαφυλάξει Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, μεμνημένον  
 ἐν ταῖς ὁσίαις εὐχαῖς τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος.

155

D

Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ τὸ νέφος τῆς ἐπὶ σοὶ λύπης ἡμῶν διασκεδάσας,  
 ὦ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ γράμματος ἡ σκυθρωπὴ  
 ἀγγελία τῆς σῆς ἀρρωστίας προσῆλθεν ταῖς ἡμῶν ἀκοαῖς, δι' ἣν καὶ τῷ  
 νέφει τῆς ἀθυμίας συνείχετο ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ. Ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ ἁγίῳ θεῷ  
 5 τῷ νῦν διὰ τῆς παρουσίας τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ χρηστότερα δόντι μαθεῖν,  
 καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ σοὶ ἀπαλλάξαντι λύπης.

Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ κατασχόντος νοσήματος. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κουβου-  
 κλεισίου μηδεμίαν ἢ σὴ ὁσιότης φερέτω θλιψίν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ γέγονε βα-  
 384 σιλικὴ πρόσταξις τοῦ ἐξωσθῆ|ναί τινος τῶν κουβουκλεισίων, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν  
 10 σὸν καὶ ἡμέτερον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον οὔτε γέγονεν οὔτε γενήσεται, ἔσται δὲ  
 ὡσπερ πρὸ τούτου ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ μένων ἀξιώματι καὶ τῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον  
 ἡμῶν μὴ ἀποστερούμενος παραστάσεως. Ὡστε εἴ τι χάριν τούτου παρ-  
 ηνώχλει τῇ σῇ ψυχῇ λυπηρόν, τοῦτο ἀπόθου, καὶ θεοῦ κατανεύοντος  
 τῆς τελείας ἀπαλλαγῆς τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἡκέτω τὰ εὐαγγέλια.

## 156. Ἐρωμανῶ βασιλεῖ

Δέσποτα καὶ τέκνον δεδοξασμένον ὑπὸ θεοῦ, ὡς μὲν ἡ πληγὴ  
 μεγάλη καὶ πικρὰν φέρουσα τὴν ὀδύνην καὶ λίαν σπαράσσουσα τὴν καρ-  
 5 δίαν ἡμῶν, τίς οὐκ ἂν συνομολογήσῃ; Ἀλλ' ὅμως τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάρι-  
 τος, παρ' ἧς ὑψώθης εἰς τὸ ὕψος τῆς βασιλείας, ὑψηλὸν σοὶ φρόνημα  
 δωρησαμένης, οἶδαμεν ὡς ἔχεις καὶ τούτους τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι καὶ εἰ σὰρξ

155: P 239r-v

156: P 239v-240v || 6 εἰ P<sup>c</sup>: ἡ P<sup>a</sup>

dispensation of Divine Goodness, and no practical harm has come near me;  
 and now, if any one thing in human life can be said to be "better" than another,  
 I am for the moment at anchor in "better" conditions. However, about what  
 is to happen now one can say nothing, if one has regard to the uncertainty of  
 the vain affairs of life. But I pray (worthless though I am) that through your  
 holy prayers I may achieve that which shall be for my soul's profit; and then  
 let things go as they may, for, under God, it will be nothing to me what  
 posture they may assume. May Christ our God keep you in health and  
 remembering my Mediocrity in your holy prayers.

155

Blessed be God Who has dispersed the cloud of my sorrow on your  
 account (O man of God)! For, even before your letter, the gloomy report of  
 your sickness had reached my ears, whereby my heart was enveloped in a  
 cloud of dejection. But thanks be to the Holy God Who has now, through  
 the arrival of letters, granted me to learn of better tidings, and freed me  
 from my sorrow over you.

So much for the disease that had assailed you; but as touching the  
 Kouboukleisios, your Holiness need feel no uneasiness. It is true that an  
 imperial edict has been issued for the discharge of certain of the Koubou-  
 kleisioi, but nothing of the sort affects your *friend* and mine, nor will it do so.  
 He shall remain as heretofore in his own proper rank, and not be deprived of  
 his personal intercourse with me: so that if on this account you were troubled  
 with any heart-searching, lay it aside, and, by God's Favor, let me have the  
 joyful news of your complete recovery from your illness.

## 156. To the Emperor Romanus

My Lord and Son, whom God has glorified! We must all admit that  
 the blow has been a heavy one, bringing bitter grief and cruelly rending our  
 hearts. Nonetheless, since the Grace of Christ, by Which you were elevated  
 to the height of imperial rule, has endowed you with a lofty spirit, I know  
 you are telling yourself that although you and your blessed lady were one



μία σύ τε καὶ ἡ μακαρία ἐτυγχάνετε, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον πάντως ἦν τῶν δύο γενέσθαι τὸ ἐν, ἢ σὲ πρότερον διατιμηθῆναι καὶ λιπεῖν ἐκείνη τὴν πικρὰν τούτην ὀδύνην ἢ ἐκείνην, ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν, ἐξ ἡμῶν χωρισθῆναι. Σκεψώ-  
 10 μεθα οὖν ὅτι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέτησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός. Εἰ γὰρ ὅπερ εἶπον ἀνάγκη συμβῆναι, τίνα μᾶλλον ἔδει τὴν ἐκ | τοῦ B  
 διαχωρισμοῦ ὑπομεῖναι ὀδύνην, σὲ τὸν δυνάμενον μᾶλλον ὑποφέρειν τὸ ἄλλος ἢ ἐκείνην τὴν διὰ τὴν γυναικίαν ἀσθένειαν μέλλουσαν παντελῶς ὀκλάζειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ βάρος τῆς ὀδύνης, εἴπερ συνέβη ὁ μὴ βεβούληται ὁ  
 15 θεὸς συμβῆναι, παντελῶς ἑαυτῆς ἀπογινώσκειν καὶ τυχόν καὶ εἰς βλασ-  
 φήμους καὶ λογισμοὺς καὶ λόγους ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐξάγεσθαι; Συνέ-  
 ζευξεν αὐτὴν ὁ θεὸς ὁ πλάστης καὶ νυμφαγωγός· εὐχαριστήσωμεν ὑπὲρ  
 ὧν ἀπηλαύσαμεν τῆς συζυγίας. Ἐκρινεν ἀφελέσθαι αὐτὴν εὐχαριστή-  
 σωμεν τῇ ἐκείνου κρίσει. Αὐτῷ μέλει περὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐπ'  
 20 αὐτῷ πεποιθότων, ὧν, δέσποτα, καὶ αὐτὸς τυγχάνεις, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον  
 διεξάγει τὰ πράγματα. Ῥίψωμεν τὸ πάθος, ἀποβαλώμεθα τὴν κατῆφειαν,  
 ἵνα μὴ ὡσπερ γογγύζοντες κατακριθῶμεν κατὰ τῆς θείας κρίσεως.

Τὰ μὲν τοῦ μακαρίου προφήτου Δαυὶδ | ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ οἶδα C  
 ὅτι ἐπίστασαι καὶ περιττόν ἐστι περὶ τούτου γράφειν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἑτέρων  
 25 τινῶν μεγαλοψύχων ἀνδρῶν ἐφ' ὁμοίοις πάθεσι μεγαλοψυχίαν σοι διηγῆ-  
 σομαι. Ἐγένετό τις ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ πολιτείᾳ οὐπω τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ  
 θεοῦ ἡμῶν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ σκῆπτρα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ὑποτάζαντος ἐξουσία—ἀλλ'  
 ἐγένετό τις, Αἰμίλιος ὄνομα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, εἰ γε μαθεῖν καὶ τὴν κλήσιν  
 ἐπιθυμεῖς· καὶ δύο παιδῶν ἀρρένων κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τεθνηκότων οὐκ  
 30 ἐκλάσθη τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους, οὐκ ἔπαθεν τι τοιοῦτον οἷον πάσχου-  
 σιν οἱ κοπτόμενοι ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς· ἀλλὰ τί; «Εὐχαριστῶ,» ἔφη, «ὅτι ἐφ'  
 ὅσον χρόνον εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εὐφρανθῆναι, τὴν εὐφροσύνην  
 ἔσχον ἐφ' οἷς ἐκ τοῦ | σπέρματός μου ἐβλάστησαν· καὶ νῦν ὅτε ἔκρινε D  
 τούτους λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔσομαι ἀχάριστος.» Ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἐπίσημος ἐν τοῖς  
 35 Ἕλλησι, τούτου παῖς ἄλλοθι που διατρίβων τῇ τοῦ θανάτου δρεπάνῃ  
 ὡσπερ τις ἐκόπη βλαστός· καὶ ἤκόν τινες ὡς ἐνόμιζον ὀδυνηρὰν ἀπαγ-  
 γελίαν κομίζοντες. Ἄλλ' ἀκούσας ὁ μεγαλόφρων πατήρ οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν  
 ἀνάξιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς· οὐκ ἐκόψατο, οὐκ ἐθρήνησεν, ἀλλ' ἔφη πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἀπαγγείλαντας «Ἡπιστάμην, ὦ οὔτοι, ὅτι θνητὸν ἐγέννησα.»  
 40 Οὕτω καὶ σύ, δέσποτα, τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ δεδομένη σοι φρονήσει  
 συνδιατιθέμενος, μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς σῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης πάσχειν ὑπο-

flesh, yet one of two alternatives was inevitable: either that you should be earlier severed from her and leave to her this bitter grief, or else that, as is the case, she would be separated from us. Let us therefore realize that in this, as in other matters, God has been good to us. For if what I said was bound to happen, which of the two ought rather to bear the grief of separation—you, who have better strength to endure the pain, or she, who in womanly weakness must have wholly succumbed and, beneath the weight of that grief which God has not willed should fall upon her, must have been wholly beside herself, and might perhaps have been led astray by her suffering to blaspheme both in thought and word? Did God, the Creator and Bridesman, join her to you in marriage? Let us thank Him for our enjoyment of that marriage. Did he see fit to take her away? Let us thank him for His judgment. It is He who takes care of our life; and of those who trust in Him (of whom, my Lord, you are one) He guides the affairs to advantage. Let us cast away suffering, and throw off our despondency, lest we be condemned as grumblers against the Divine Judgment.

I know you are familiar with the words uttered by the blessed prophet David over his son, and of him it is unnecessary to write; but I will tell you of the nobility of some other noble men in sorrows like yours. There was once a man in the state of Rome, before our Christ and God had subdued the Roman scepter to His authority; and the man's name was Aemilius, if you would learn how he was called. Two of his male children died at one time, but his heart was not broken by suffering, nor did he act like one who mourns over the dead. What then? "I give thanks," he said, "that for as long a time as God approved that I should have joy of them, I rejoiced that they were begotten of my seed; and now, when He has decided to take them, I will not be ungrateful." Another was a man of note among the Hellenes; his son, who was living somewhere else, was cut down like a shoot by the sickle of death. Some people came to bring him the—as they thought—grievous tidings; but that noble-hearted father, when he heard them, bore himself in every way worthily of his virtue: he did not mourn, he did not lament, but said to the messengers, "Sirs, I knew that he I begat was mortal."

And so do you also (my Lord), consistently with the wisdom granted you by God, resolve to bear yourself in all ways worthily of your nobility.

156: 19: 1 Petr. 5.7. || 23: 2 Reg. 12.15-23. || 26-34: Plutarch., *Aemil. Paul.*  
 35. || 34-39: Anaxagoras A1.13, A33 D.-K.

18 ἀπηλαύσαμεν P<sup>1</sup>: ἀπελ. P<sup>c</sup> || 19 μέλλει P<sup>x</sup>: -λλ. P<sup>1</sup>

μείνης, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅτε συνεζεύχθης αὐτῇ, θνητῇ συνεζεύχθης, εὐχα-  
ρίσται μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτῇ συνέζησας χρόνων καὶ ὧν ἀπήλαυσας τῆς  
ἐκείνης φιλανδρίας· καὶ μὴ νῦν ὡσπερ | ἀδικίαν παρὰ θεοῦ ὑποστάς, οὕτω 385  
45 φαίνου κατηφῆς καὶ σκυθρωπάζων. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ κατηφεία καὶ σκυθρω-  
πότῃτι συγκατεχόμενοι πάντως διὰ ζημίας τινὰς καὶ βλάβας τὰ ταιαῦτα  
πάσχουσιν. Οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν φοβερόν, δέσποτα καὶ τέκνον μου ἡγαπημένον,  
τὸ νομίζειν ἐζημιῶσθαι ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ βλάβην τινὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ  
ὑπομεῖναι, τοῦ δοξάσαντός σε καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τῆς βασιλείας ἀναγαγόν-  
50 τος καὶ τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀγίας δεσπότην καὶ κύριον καταστή-  
σαντος; Μὴ, παρακαλῶ, μηκέτι θρηνηῶμεν, μὴ ὀδυρώμεθα, μὴ τὴν  
κατῆφειαν περιφέρωμεν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εὐχαριστῶμεν καὶ δοξάζωμεν, ὡς  
ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ, τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος  
τὸν σὸν φαιδρῦναντα βίον καὶ εὐεργετήσαντα καὶ ἔτι (πεποίθαμεν τῇ  
55 αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητι) τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἐπαυξήσοντα, ἐὰν ἡμεῖς εὐαρεστεῖν  
αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν τὰ εἰς θεραπείαν πράττειν σπουδάσωμεν. Εἴη δὲ  
Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ταύτης ὑπεράνω τῆς λύπης τιθεὶς καὶ πάντων  
λυπηρῶν ὅσα τῇ ὀδυνηρᾷ ταύτῃ παρακολουθεῖν οἶδε ζωῆ, καὶ τῆς  
αἰωνίου χαρᾶς καὶ φαιδρότητος παρεχόμενος τὴν κληρονομίαν.

## 157. Δημητρίῳ Κυζίκου

B

“Ὡσπερ ἦν προσῆχον τέκνον ἡμῖν ποθομένου ἀναμαθοῦσιν εὐετη-  
ρίαν, ἡ ὀφειλομένη τῷ θεῷ ἀνηρέχθη εὐχαριστία· εὐχόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἔτι  
παντός λυπεῖν εἰδότες ἐναντιώματος ἀνώτερον διατηρεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ  
5 μηδὲν τὴν ὑμῶν ἀρετὴν εἰς τὸ τὰ οἰκεῖα πράττειν ἀπείργεσθαι, ἀλλ'  
ὑπάρχειν αἰεὶ πρὸς τε τὴν θεῖαν εὐαρέστησιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποιμνίου  
κατάρτισιν ἀνεμπόδιστον.

“Ἄ δὲ περὶ τῶν κληρικῶν ἔγραψας, τῶν (οὐκ οἶδα πῶς εἶπα) ἐξ  
ἀσυνεσίας ἢ κακουργίας μὴ βουλευθέντων ἀπαντῆσαι τῇ ὀρισιμένη κρίσει,  
10 διὰ τὸ μὴ δόξαι ἡμᾶς ὅλον πικρίαν τινὴ ἀντιφέρεσθαι πρὸς τὴν τούτων πλημ-  
μέλειαν, καλῶς ἔχει βραχὺ τι προσυπομεῖναι καὶ προτρέψασθαι αὐτούς,  
καθὼς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὄρισται, | ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου παραγενέσθαι καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ C  
λόγῳ καταθέσθαι. Εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλοιντο, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἀντέχονται  
κακοτροπίας, τότε ὑπὲρ ἡζήσασαι ἔσται, καὶ γράμμα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκπεμφθῆ-  
15 σεται, ὥστε καὶ ἀπόντων αὐτῶν πέρας ἐπιτεθῆναι τοῖς κεκριμένοις.

You knew when you married her that you were married to a mortal; rather  
be grateful for the years you lived with her and for your joy in her love  
for her husband, and do not, as one who has been unjustly treated by God,  
appear dejected and gloomy. Those who are a prey to dejection and gloom  
are surely so because of some harms or damages sustained by them; is it  
not then a terrible thing (my Lord and beloved Son) to think ourselves to  
be harmed by God and to suffer damage at His hands, when He has glorified  
you and raised you to the height of imperial rule, and appointed you to be  
Lord and Sovereign of His holy Inheritance? Do not, pray, let us lament  
any more, or grieve, or bear ourselves dejectedly; let us rather give thanks  
to and glorify Him Who, as in all else, so in this, has from the beginning  
even until now, smiled upon and blessed your life; and will (we trust to  
His Goodness) still increase His blessings, if we earnestly seek to be approved  
unto Him and to do His service as best we are able. And may Christ our  
God place you above this sorrow and all others incident to this grievous  
life, and grant you a portion of His eternal joy and felicity!

## 157. To Demetrius of Cyzicus

As was fitting at news of my tenderly loved Son's well-being, I offered  
up due thanks to God; and I pray that you may continue to be preserved  
from every grievous obstacle, and that your Virtue may be wholly free to  
conduct your own affairs, still remaining in the Divine Favor and in the  
unhindered guidance of your flock.

As for what you write about those clergy who, whether from folly or  
wickedness, have refused to abide by the definitive decision, I do not wish  
to appear to proceed against their misdemeanor in any spirit of rancor, and  
therefore it will be best to wait a little and to invite them, as was decided  
initially, to present themselves on the spot and settle matters according to  
justice. If they refuse, and still persist in their evil ways, then your request  
shall be granted, and a letter shall be sent to them from me, so that the  
decisions may be implemented even in their absence.

Καὶ ἡμῖν, ἀδελφὲ καὶ τέκνων ὁ μάλιστα ἠγαπημένος καὶ ἀγαπῶν,  
τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ γήρους καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας ὀδυνηρὰ ἐπέστη, ἴσως οὐδὲν  
ἔλαττον, ἵνα μὴ λέγω μᾶλλον ἐπίκειται. Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα διὰ τὰς  
ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν προστιθέμενα τὴν ἄθλιον ζωὴν δαπανᾷ (πῶς ἄλλως  
5 εἶπω ἢ θεόθεν;) κάκωσις οὐκ οἶδα εἰ μὴ προστασίας οἷς οἶδεν κρίμασι  
λαχούσης ὁ τάξας εἰς τοῦτο θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν ζωῇ συναναστροφῆς  
\*\*\* προτρέπεται φέρειν ἡμᾶς. Οὐκ ἐβουλόμην οὖν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλ-  
λον πορρωτέρω καὶ πρὸς | τὴν νῆσον ἀπιέναι· τῆς δὲ ὀρμῆς ἐπεσχέθην, D  
οὐ δυνηθεὶς ἀξίωσιν ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τέκνου μοι ποθουμένου εἰς κρίσιν τῆς  
10 ἐμῆς ἀποροῦσαι δευτέραν βουλήσεως. Εἰσελευσόμεθα οὖν ὡς ἐπέστει-  
λας, ἅμα καὶ ὀφόμενοι, καὶ θεοῦ διδόντος παράκλησιν ἐπὶ ταῖς συνέχου-  
σιν τῇ κοινῇ συνομιλίᾳ εὐρήσοντες, καὶ εἴ τι δεῖ περὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων  
χαλεπότητος σοὶ τῷ χάριτι θεοῦ μηδὲν προτιμῶντι τοῦ φρονεῖν ὀρθῶς  
συνδιασκεψόμενοι.

#### 158. Κωνσταντίνῳ μητροπολίτῃ Λαοδικείας

Ἐλυπήσαμεν τὴν ὑμῶν ὁσιότητα οὐχὶ τοῦτο θέμενοι σκοπὸν (μὴ  
γένοιτο) οὐδ' ἄλλοθεν ποθεν παρακεκινημένοι (μὴ τοῦτο λογίζου, τέκνον  
ἡμῶν), | ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑπολαμβάνοντές σε τε καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξιν λύπης 388  
5 ἐφ' οἷς ἔνθεν κάκειθεν περιτρέχοντες οἱ κατὰ τῆς σῆς ὁσιότητος φλυα-  
ροῦντες πολλῶν ἀκοὰς παρηνώχλου. Οὐ χρὴ οὖν τὴν σὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀρε-  
τὴν λυπεῖσθαι. Τί γὰρ καὶ ἀπήνησε χαλεπὸν; Οὐδὲ γὰρ χάριτι θεοῦ ἡ  
ἐκείνων φλυαρία μῶμόν τινα τῇ σῇ ἀρετῇ προσετίψατο, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ  
μᾶλλον ὠφθησαν κατεγνωσμένοι, καὶ ὁμοίον τι πάσχοντες ὅσον πολλὰκις  
10 ἐν τοῖς κυσίν ἐστιν ἰδεῖν, οἱ τῷ βάλλοντι προσψαῦσαι μὴ δυνάμενοι τοὺς  
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βαλλομένους δάκνουσι λίθους· οὕτως οὖν κάκεινοι πρὸς  
ἄλλους φέροντες τὴν αἰτίαν, οὐ κατὰ τῆς ὑμῶν τελειότητος, εἰκῆ καὶ  
μάτην ὑλατοῦντες ἠλέγχθησαν. Ὡστε εἴ τι καὶ [νῦν] μέχρι τοῦ νῦν  
ἄνθρωπος ἂν ἐπαθεῖς τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς οὐκ ἔδει, ῥῦπον τὸ πάθος, εἴ | τί B  
15 σοι πρόσεστι φίλτρον ἡμέτερον καὶ λόγος περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀλγεῖν τὴν ἡμετέ-  
ραν ψυχὴν. Καὶ πάλιν γάρ φημι, μὴ τοῦτο εἰς ὑπόληψιν ἔχε· οὔτε οἰκο-  
θεν οὔτε παρ' ἄλλου τινὸς πρὸς τοῦτο ὑπήχθημεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον βουλόμε-

The pains of old age and sickness (Brother and most loved and loving of Sons) have assailed me also, no less, if no more, than they have you. But the tyranny (from Heaven, as I must suppose it) of all those other sorrows which for my sins are added to me and wear away my miserable life, is perhaps an admonition to me to *take leave*, not only of the office that fell to me by the inscrutable Judgments of God, Who set me in it, but even of my converse with the living. And so I had resolved not to come in, but rather to go further off, to the island. But I have abandoned this plan, because I could not reject the request of my Brother and tenderly loved Son out of preference for my own inclination. So I will come in, as your letter urges me to do, and will see you and, God willing, find solace for my afflictions in mutual converse, and will discuss any necessary measures regarding the cruel state of affairs with you, who, by God's Grace, value correct belief above all else.

#### 158. To Constantine, Metropolitan of Laodicea

I have offended your Holiness, not on purpose—God forbid!—nor must you think (my Son) that I was incited by any other party: rather, my idea was to free you and myself from the annoyance caused by those who were running hither and thither chattering nonsense against your Holiness and offending the ears of many. Your Virtue must not be offended at this. After all, what harm has been done? By God's Grace their chattering has not attached any blame to your Virtue—it is rather they who are seen to be in fault, and to be acting after the fashion often seen among dogs, who, when they cannot fasten on a thrower, worry the stones that have been thrown at them: in the same way those men, by bringing responsibility on to others instead of on to your Perfection, are shown to have been idly and vainly barking. So that if, up to the present, as a man you have felt hurt by this (though you ought not to have done so), throw away such a feeling, if you have any affection for and regard for my peace of mind. I repeat, do not entertain such a notion: I was led to act as I did by no personal motive nor by any other party, but simply out of a desire to stop the

157A: P 241r-v; initium op. indic. P || 2 γήρους P<sup>1</sup>: -ως P<sup>c</sup> || ὡς] fort. καὶ (Δ Jk) ||  
5 fort. μὴ <μόνον> || 7 lac. indic. Wk (ex. gr. τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν)

158: P 241v || 6 τούτῳ P<sup>c</sup>: τοῦτο P<sup>1</sup> || 13 νῦν del. Jk

νοι τὰς τῶν ἀσυνέτων ἐκείνων κληρικῶν ἀποπαῦσαι κραυγὰς, ἵνα μὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀκαεῖ περιούνητες τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας ἴσως τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν πρὸς 20 ὑπολήψεις ἀναξίους καὶ ἀπρεπεῖς τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος συναρπάξωσι. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐρρωμένους ἡμῖν εἴης καὶ οἶα τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς τῶν πολλῶν μικροψυχίας ἀνώτερος.

## 159

Ἐπὶ τοῖς κεκριμένοις ὑμῖν περὶ τοῦ ἱερέως ὃν ἀφροσύνη διερεθίζουσα τοῦ οἰκείου ἀρχιερέως ὑβριστὴν ἀπειργάσατο, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπαντώσεως τῇ κρίσει ἀντιλογίας (κανόνος γὰρ ἰσχύϊ διασφαλίσκεται), τοῦτο μόνον φαμέν, ὡς ἔξεστι βουλομένοις ἡμῖν ἐπιεικεστέραν τιὰ γνῶμην 5 συμπαθῶς κινουμένοις πρὸς τὸν ἀφρονευσάμενον ἐπιδείξασθαι, καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ ἀποκαταστῆσαι βαθμῶ, διότι τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐκεῖνα παντελῶς ἀσύγνωστα, ὅσα μῶμον τῷ ἁγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ προστρέβεται· ἀ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης μικροψυχίας τῶν πλημμελούντων μόνους ὄρα, ταῦτα εἰ συγχωρεῖν βουλοίμεθα οἴμαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εὐμείναιαν μὴ νεμεσήσειν ἡμῖν. Πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε τῆς αὐτῷ προσφερομένης 10 θυσίας ἐπίπροσθεν ποιεῖται τὸν ἔλεον· «Ἐλεον» γάρ φησι «θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν.» Ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ καὶ τὴν παιδείαν | καλῶς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀτακτῆσαντι D προσελθεῖν, καὶ τὸ συμπαθὲς ἔτι κάλλιον ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ἐπιδειχθῆναι, ὥστε <εἰ> καὶ ὑμῖν ταῦτο συνδοκεῖ, οὐκ ἔσται τις παρὰ τῶν 15 μὴ παντάπασιν τὰ σπλάγγνα κλειόντων μέμφις τοῖς δεομένοις, ἀνθρώποις καὶ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσι, φιλανθρωπίας.

## 160. Γρηγορίῳ Ἐφέσου

Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάθη ὅσα, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ συνέχει ἐκκλησίας οὐδὲ πρὶν ἠγνοοῦμεν, ἀλλ' εἶχεν ἡμᾶς ἡ πικρὰ τούτων γνῶσις καὶ χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ γράμματος ἀπαγγελίας. Καὶ πολλάκις ταῦτα ἐκτραγωδούντων ἡμῶν μία τις ἀπαντᾷ, ὡς δοκεῖ, τοῖς ἀποκρινομένοις εὐπρόσ- 5 ποπος αἰτία, ἡ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἀσθένεια. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα, ὅσα ἡ

159: 11-12: Matth. 9.13; 12.7; Osee 6.6. || 15: I Ioann. 3.17.

159: P 242r || 10 τῆς P<sup>1</sup>: πάσης τῆς P<sup>e</sup> || 13 κάλλιον P<sup>1</sup>: κρεῖσσον P<sup>e</sup> || 14 εἰ Jk: om. P || ὑμῖν Jk: ἡμῖν P

160: P 242r-v

clamor of those stupid clerics, so that they might not go here and there and mislead those who are perhaps unacquainted with your virtue into unworthy and unseemly notions about your Holiness. For the rest, I pray for your health, and that you be above the spitefulness of the many, as a man of God and an Archbishop ought to be.

## 159

With respect to your verdict on the priest whom madness has excited to an outrage on his own archbishop, there is no objection to this: indeed, the force of the canon confirms it. I merely say this, that we could, if we liked, out of compassion for the crazy fellow, adopt a more lenient course, and restore him to his proper status: because, while those sins which imply vilification of the Holy Sanctuary are absolutely unforgivable, on the other hand if we see fit to pardon those which arise from the human spite of the sinner and are directed solely against our own persons, I believe we shall not jeopardize God's Favor toward us. After all, He puts mercy before sacrifice that is offered to Him, for He saith: "I will have mercy and not sacrifice." My opinion is, therefore, that while you have done well to chastise his offense, your Virtue will do better still to show leniency: and, if you agree with me, no one whose springs of compassion are not utterly stopped will blame you, who, as a man, are yourself in need of mercy.

## 160. To Gregory of Ephesus

Of the general suffering (my holy Son) that afflicts the churches of God I am not ignorant: I was all too bitterly aware of it even without the report contained in your letter. I have frequently deplored it, and get the single reply, which seems to satisfy those who give it, that the cause lies in the general weakness of the state. But as regards the rumor which has

φῆμη φέρουσα θόρουβον ὑμῖν ἐνεποίησεν, ἴσως ἔχει μὲν | τι καὶ ἀληθές, 389  
 ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ οἷα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τὴν πρὸς τὸ ψεῦδος ἀναχώρησιν. Πλὴν  
 οὐδὲν λυπηρότερον ἐν τῷ τέως τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ ἡμῶν προσήγγισεν, τῆς  
 10 ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος μεθόδου διαλυθείσης, δι' ἧς ἐμηχανᾶτο καὶ τὰ  
 τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συνεκταράξαι, φανερωθείσης τῆς  
 αὐτοῦ κακούργου μηχανῆς καὶ διαλελυμένης ὑπὸ τῆς θεικῆς ἀντιλήψεως.  
 Ταῦτά σοι ὡς ἐν γράμματι δῆλα ποιούμεν· καὶ εἴης ἡμῖν καὶ ἐρρωμένως  
 καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ὑπερευχόμενος ταπεινότητος.

### 161. Τῷ στρατηγῷ Πελοποννήσου

Ἴσως δόξομεν περιττόν τι ποιεῖν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο παρακαλοῦντες τὴν  
 ὑμῶν σύνεσιν, ὃ πράττεις αὐτὸς ἐμφύτῳ χρηστότητι καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἔξω-  
 5 θεν παρακλήσεως. Τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν; Τὸ ὠσιῶν φημι καὶ συμπαθές·  
 τοῦτο γὰρ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν προσεῖναι | σοὶ παρὰ πάντων σχεδόν, B  
 ὅσοι τὸν σὸν οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσι τρόπον, ἐκδιδασκόμεθα. Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ  
 ἡγαπημένος ἡμῶν ἀδελφός καὶ συναρχιερεὺς ὁ τῆς Καισαρέων πρόεδρος  
 ἐβουλήθη συμπρεσβευτὰς ἡμᾶς παραλαβεῖν ὑπὲρ ἧς αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν  
 ἐκδηλότερον ὑποθέσεως, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅπως τὴν ἐκείνου παρὰ φαῦλον  
 10 ἀξίωσιν θείημεν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡλθομεν τὴν παράκλησιν. Πλήρου, τέκνον  
 ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰ σεαυτῷ συνήθη ποιῶν καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν φίλον καὶ συμπα-  
 τριώτην τιμῶν, εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον μέρος ἐν λόγῳ τιθείς, τὴν  
 κοινήν πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου ᾧ διὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐκδημίαν πάντως  
 οὐκ ἄλλη τις ὑπολέλειπται χάρις· καὶ παράσχου τὴν ἐπάνοδον τῷ τέκνῳ  
 15 πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον πατέρα, παραμύθιον τοῦτο κοινὸν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ  
 πατρὶ χαριζόμενος, | τὸ προσιδεῖν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα προσομι- C  
 λῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτάφια. Ὅρας ὡς τῇ σῇ πεποιθότες εὐμενεῖ ψυχῇ τὸ αὐτο-  
 παράκλητον ἐχούση πλείονων οὐκ ἐδεήθημεν λόγων ἢ ὅσον τὴν γνώμην  
 ἐνδείξασθαι ἦν κεκτήμεθα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος; Ἄνθ' οὐ ὡς ἤδη πέρας  
 20 λαβόντος ἐξαιτούμεθά σοι τὴν τῆς ἀνωθεν εὐμενείας ἀντίδοσιν, παρ' ἧς  
 ἀμήχανον εἰπεῖν ὅσος τοῖς ἐλεημόνως πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον διατεθεῖσιν ὁ  
 ἔλεος ἀντιδίδοται.

160: 9-10: cf. Ephes. 6.11.

161: P 242v-243r || 2 ἐκεῖνο P<sup>c</sup>: ἐκεῖνω P<sup>1</sup> || 16 τὸ P<sup>c</sup>: τοῦ αὐτ τῷ P<sup>1</sup>

reached and alarmed you, it may be partly true, but—as often in human affairs—it partly deviates into falsehood. However, in the meantime nothing very terrible has accrued to my miserable self, now that the artifice of the evil demon, whereby he plotted to embroil both Empire and Church, has been put an end to, and his knavish plot has been, through the Divine Assistance, exposed and frustrated. I make this clear to you as best I can in a letter: and may you continue in health, and in prayer for my Humility.

### 161. To the Military Governor of Peloponnesus

I may appear to be doing what is unnecessary in asking your Wisdom for what you already provide out of your own good nature and without external intervention. And what is that? I mean, graciousness and sympathy: for I have learned from almost everybody who is acquainted with your character that, together with your other virtues, you are endowed with these also. However, since my beloved Brother and fellow Archbishop, the president of Caesarea, wishes me to second his intercession in a matter on which he is writing more explicitly himself, I do not see how I can ignore his application, and therefore come to my request. Grant (my Son), out of your usual *humanity*, and in favor to your old friend and fellow countryman, and, if you please, out of regard for my own share in it, this joint intercession on behalf of a man who, making his last journey, has certainly nothing left to ask for. Let the son return to his father, granting this solace to him and his father equally, that they may see one another and speak the final words at the gate of the tomb. You see, I rely so much on your kind heart which knows that the request speaks for itself, that I need say no more than to indicate my own feelings in the matter. And therefore, as though I had already gained my object, I beg for you the recompense of the Divine Favor, from Whom it is beyond telling how great a reward of mercy will be granted to those who have shown themselves merciful to their neighbors.

## 162. Γεωργίῳ ἐξουσιαστῇ Ἀβασγίας

Τοῖς εὐγενέσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ μάλιστα ὑσίοις τὸ ἄρχειν ἐδωρήσατο ὁ θεός, ὡσπερ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχουσι τὸ διαφέρειν, οὕτως ὀφειλόμενόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀρετῇ διαπρέπειν, καὶ μὴ μόνον τῇ σαρκικῇ εὐγενείᾳ σεμνύνε-  
 5 σθαι, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ πλέον καὶ τῇ ψυχικῇ | λαμπρότητι ἐξωραϊζεσθαι. D  
 Τοιοῦτον καὶ σὲ ἀκούομεν εἶναι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀκούοντες χαίρομεν καὶ ἐξαιτούμεθα παρὰ τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου τῶν καλῶν θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλέον  
 σε τοῖς εὐγενέσι τούτοις τρόποις καλλωπίζεσθαι καὶ καλὸν ἀρχικῆς  
 ἐξουσίας παράδειγμα καὶ νῦν διαφαίνεσθαι τῷ βίῳ παρόντα καὶ <μετὰ>  
 10 τὴν ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ταύτης ζωῆς ἀναχώρησιν δοῦναι τοῖς σοῖς τέκνοις ἐπὶ  
 τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς καθισταμένοις πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν ἀφορῶσιν κατάστασιν  
 ὀφθῆναι κατὰ μηδὲν λειπομένοις τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ μακαριότητος.  
 Ἀ δὲ περὶ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἔγραψας, οὐκ οἶδα ποίοις κρίμασι τοῦ  
 θεοῦ μένει τὸ κακὸν ἔτι τῆς ἔχθρας καὶ τὸ καλὸν οὐκ ἐμεσίτευσεν τῆς  
 15 εἰρήνης. Σὺ οὖν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀξίωσίν τε καὶ  
 δῆλωσιν τὸ καθαρὸν | τῆς φιλίας σφίζων, φύλασσε παρὰ σεαυτῷ καὶ τὸ 392  
 πρόθυμον τῆς συμμαχίας· καὶ εἴ γε χρεῖα καλέσοι, πάντως οἶα φίλος εὐ-  
 γνώμων τὸ ζητούμενον ἐπιτελέσεις, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἡ σὴ διαφαίνοιτο  
 ἀρετὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς φιλίας ἀνὸθευτον.

## 163. Ἀντιόχῳ μονάζοντι

Οὐδὲν ἕτερον γράφομεν περὶ τοῦ κομίζοντος κουβουκλεισίου πρὸς  
 τὴν ὑμῶν εὐλάβειαν τὸ γράμμα ἢ μόνον τὸ δοῦναι λόγους αὐτῷ ἂν τοῦτο  
 δεήσῃ πρὸς τοὺς τὰς ἐγγλήσεις ἐπιφέροντας, καθὼς ἐστὶ καὶ τῇ σῇ  
 5 ἀρετῇ πρέπον καὶ ἡ τοῦ δικαίου τάξις ἐπιζητεῖ· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν τὸ μηδὲν  
 εἰς ὕβριν μηδ' εἰς ἀτιμοτέραν πράξιν καθιστάμενον ἐπαχθῆναι αὐτῷ  
 παρ' ὑμῶν. Τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ τῆς σῆς ἀξίον εὐλαβείας ἴσως οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ  
 ἀνθρώπου καταστάσεως. Μονάζων γὰρ καὶ κουβουκλεισῖος οὐ χθὲς  
 οὐδὲ σήμερον, ἀλλὰ πάλαι καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ διακονίας ἐτέρας ἐγκεχειρι-  
 10 μένος αἰ τοὺς κατὰ τὸν βίον διαφέροντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐκκαλοῦνται. Εἴ  
 τι οὖν οἶα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα | παρεσφόλη καὶ ἡ καταδικάζουσα ψῆφος τοῦ- B  
 τον ὀρθῶ, τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ψήφου ζημίαν ὑποστήτω καὶ εἴ τινός τι ἀφείλετο  
 πάντως ἀποδιδότω· τιμωρίαν δὲ ἄλλην καὶ ὕβριν, οἶα πολλάκις πρὸς

162: P 243r-v || 9 μετὰ P<sup>c</sup>: om. P<sup>1</sup> || 10 τέκνοις Jk: τέως P || 14 ἔτι P<sup>c</sup>: ἐπι (sic) P<sup>1</sup>163: P 243v-244r || 4 ἐγγλήσεις] ἐγγλ- in ras. P<sup>c</sup> || 7 ante ἴσως dist. P

## 162. To George, Despot of Abasgia

Noble men, and especially those on whom God has conferred rule, as they are superior to the rest, so ought they to excel them in virtue, and not only take pride in their corporeal nobility, but far more to be beautified by spiritual illumination. Such a one I hear that you are (my Son), and I rejoice to hear it, and I pray that you may be yet more adorned with these noble qualities by our God Who is the Author of all blessings, and that now in this present life you may evince a noble example of princely authority, and, after your withdrawal from this vain life, may give occasion for your sons, succeeding to your rule and looking to your condition, to be found in no way inferior to their father's virtue and blessedness.

As for what you write of the Bulgarians: by God's inscrutable Judgments the curse of war still persists and the blessing of peace has not interceded. And so do you (my Son), in accordance with the imperial requirement and declaration, and holding fast to the integrity of your friendship, be constant in your readiness to fight with us; and, should need invoke, you will as a grateful friend certainly do what is asked of you, so that in this also your virtue and genuine friendship may be manifest.

## 163. To Antiochus the Monk

I write of the Kouboukleisios who is the bearer of this letter to your Reverence merely that you should give him a hearing, if necessary, against his accusers, as befits your Virtue and as the order of justice demands. I mean, that he should not suffer at your hands any insult or action tending to his further disgrace, for this would be unworthy both of your Reverence and, I think, of the man's condition. He is a monk and Kouboukleisios, not of yesterday or today, but has been such from of old and since the beginning of his career; and he has been entrusted with other missions which demand men of superlative character. If therefore he has erred in human wise, and the verdict goes against him, he must of course submit to the penalty imposed by the verdict and must certainly make good whatever he has taken from anybody; but do not inflict on him any other sort of punishment or insult,

αίσχυνην τινῶν ἐπεδείξατο ὑμῶν ἢ εὐλάβεια, τούτω μὴ προστριψάτω.  
 15 Περισσὸν γὰρ καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς σῆς ἄξιον συνέσεως οὔτε τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
 τοιαῦτα πάσχειν ὀφειλόμενον. Εἴ τι οὖν σοι μέλει καὶ περὶ τῆς σῆς εὐκο-  
 σμίας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀνουβρίστου πρὸς σὲ παραστάσεως τοῦ τὸ γράμμα  
 κομίζοντος, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν παραινέσεως, τοῖς γεγραμμένοις  
 ὑφ' ἡμετέρων ἐπακολουθῶν.

## 164

“Ὅσοι νοῦν φρονήσει κοσμούμενον ἔχουσι, καὶ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα  
 μεταχειρίζονται φρονίμως καὶ τὰ πρὸς θεὸν ἀναφερόμενα διοικοῦσιν  
 ἀκατακρίτως. Τοιοῦτον σὲ ὄντα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, παιθόμεθα εἶναι καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο γράφομεν οἷα γράφομεν. Βασιλικῶν προστάξεων χρηματίζεις ὑπη-  
 5 ρέτης, ἀλλὰ πάντως τὴν ὀφειλομένην τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίαν οὐκ ἀτιμάσεις.  
 Τίς δὲ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπηρεσία, κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω, σὺ πάντως οὐκ ἀγνοήσεις  
 ὡς φρόνιμος· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ ἡμᾶς λέγειν, κἂν σὲ μὴ λανθάνῃ  
 καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων ἢ τοῦ πρέποντος γινῶσις.

Αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαι τὴν ὀφειλομένην αὐταῖς ὑπουργίαν χρῆζουσιν  
 10 ἀναγκαίως· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλεύσαντες, ὅσοι τὸ βασιλεύειν  
 ἤδεισαν ὑπὸ θεοῦ λαβόντες καὶ οὐχὶ τὸ κράτος ἐκ τυραννίδος ἐκτήσαντο,  
 καὶ τόπους καὶ ἀνθρώπους τοὺς τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν τόπων ἐκπληροῦντας  
 καὶ κληρικούς ταῖς ἀγίαις ἀπένειμαν ἐκκλησίαις, πιστεύοντες διὰ τοῦτο  
 μᾶλλον ἀσφαλεστέραν ἔξειν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης περι-  
 15 δρομῆς τε καὶ συγκροτήσεως. Καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὅσοι θεὸν ἔχουσιν εὐ-  
 μενῆ, καὶ ἐν πολέμοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις τοῦ βίου καταστάσεσιν πολλὴν  
 εὐρίσκουσι τὴν εὐκολίαν· ὅπου δὲ τὰ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐναντιοῦται, τίς ὁ δυνάμενος  
 ἐξομαλίζειν τὴν ἐναντίωσιν; «Ἐὰν μὴ κύριος οἰκοδομήσῃ οἶκον, εἰς  
 20 ἡγρῦπνησεν ὁ φυλάσσων.»

Γράφομεν ταῦτα ἵνα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ φείσῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς  
 ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ μὴ τὴν σὴν πρᾶξιν ἀνωφελῆ γενέσθαι. Τοὺς ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ σιγγίλλῳ κληρικούς  
 ἀναγεγραμμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὑπουργίαις παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν  
 25 βασιλέων ἀποδιδόμενους ὑπηρετεῖν ἐν ταῖς τόποις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἕασον  
 ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀφωρίσθησαν, καὶ μὴ μεταποιήσῃς ἃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν μεταποιεῖν,

164: 18-20: Ps. 126.1.

164: (= 25 Da): Q 176v-177r || 3 εἶναι] fort. εἰδέναι || 25 leg. ἀποδεδομένους?

such as your Reverence has frequently exhibited for the disgracing of certain persons. This would be an excess unworthy of your Wisdom; nor does the man deserve it. So then, if you have a regard for your own propriety, and for the decent examination of the bearer before you, and, I may add, for my own advice, pray act in conformity with what I have written.

## 164

Those who have a mind enriched with wisdom not only handle human affairs wisely, but also administer the things that pertain to God in a manner beyond reproach. We are convinced (my Son) that you are one of these and therefore we write as we do. You rank as a minister executing imperial orders, but surely you will not despise the ministry that is due to God. What the ministry of God is, even if I do not explain it, a wise man such as you will certainly not ignore; but there is no reason why we too should not mention it, although even without our words you already possess the knowledge of what is proper.

The churches of God obviously need the ministry to which they are entitled; this is why from the very first emperors, insofar as they were conscious of having received their rule from God and had not seized power by usurpation, assigned to the holy churches' estates men charged with the task of cultivating the estates, and clerics, as they believed that their empire would be better protected by this than by all other exertion and organization. And it is true indeed that those who enjoy God's favor find that things run smoothly both in warfare and in the other circumstances of life; but where God is against us, who can make up for that opposition? "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord guard the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

We write this that you may spare the churches of God, or rather your own soul, and that your endeavor may not be fruitless. Let the clerics that have from the beginning been registered in the Church of God and in the imperial decree, as well as the men appointed to other ministries by the pious emperors, fulfill their tasks on the estates of the church to which they were originally assigned, and do not change what must not be changed,



ἵνα μὴ καὶ θεὸν ἀγανακτοῦντα εὐρήσεις καὶ εἴ τίς ἐστὶν αἰσθησὶς τοῖς  
 εὐσεβέσι βασιλευσὶν οἵτινες ἀπέταξαν ταῦτα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, κατεντυγ-  
 χάνοντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀθανάτου βασιλέως ἕξεις καὶ ματαιοπονῶν  
 30 ὀφθεῖης. Πάντως γὰρ οὐδεμία ὠφέλεια τῷ κοινῷ ἔσται οὔτε κληρικῶν  
 στρατευομένων οὔτε τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πενήτων εἰς δουλείαν ἀφωρισμέ-  
 νων.

## 165

Ὅτε τὰ γράμματά σου ταῖς χερσὶν ἡμῶν ἐδεξάμεθα, τῶν λόγων  
 κατανοοῦντες τὴν κατάστασιν ἀπεδεχόμεθά σε τῆς ὀφειλομένης ἐπὶ τῷ  
 ἀτακτῆσαντι φρονήσεως. Ἄρτι δὲ φήμης ἄλλης ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἡμῶν προσ-  
 5 ούσης οὐκ οἶδα τί εἶπω, ἢ σοῦ καταστενάξω τῆς ἀπηνείας καὶ τῆς  
 ἀφιανθρώπου καρδίας, ἢ τοὺς ψευδομένους, ἐὰν ἄρα ψεύδωνται, ἀπο-  
 κλαύσομαι χάριν τῆς τοιαύτης κακοπλάστου ψευδολογίας. Ἦκούσαμεν γὰρ  
 ὅτι σάρκα ἀνθρώπου διέξανα καὶ δορὰν οὐκ ἐπαφῆκας τὴν σάρκα περι-  
 10 καλύπτουσιν καὶ οὐκ ἠρκέσθης μέχρι τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίχας ἀπέκοψας,  
 αἱ οὐκ οἶδα τίνα θεραπείαν παρέξουσιν τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς σου πικρίᾳ. Οὐ  
 μόνον δέ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ κατεπεμβαίνεις τοῖς χωρίοις τοῖς ἀποτεταγμένοις  
 τῷ μεγάλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ναῶ ὑπὸ βασιλέων εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαίων μέχρι τῆς  
 15 σήμερον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀσεβῶν καὶ αἰρετικῶν ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ πλοῖα τὰ εἰς λει-  
 τουργίας ἀφωρισμένα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, ὡς ἐνόμισας, τῆς ἐκκλη-  
 σιαστικῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἀποσπάσας εἰς τὴν τοῦ δημοσίου χρεῖαν ἐγκατέστη-  
 σας.

Ἄνθρωπε, πόθεν ἐπήρθης εἰς τοσαύτην ματαιότητα; «Σκληρὸν σοὶ  
 πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν.» Οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ τοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκ-  
 κλησίαν τῷ ἁγίῳ αἵματι συστησαμένου. Οὐκ ἀποδέχεται ταῦτα βασιλεὺς  
 οἶδαμεν βασιλέων αἰδῶ καὶ εὐλάβειαν, ἣν πάντες ἔσχον πρὸς τὴν μητέρα  
 20 αὐτῶν τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν. Μὴ ταῦτα προφασίζου τὰς μικρὰς προφάσεις,  
 ὡς «βασιλεὺς κελεύει». Εἴ τι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἠτάκτησας, ἐπίδειξαι τὴν διόρ-  
 θωσιν. Οὔτε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ φιλόχριστος καταδέξεται οὔτε ἡμεῖς  
 σιωπήσομεν μέχρις ἂν ἀντὶ τῆς τοσαύτης ὕβρεως τὴν ὀφειλομένην δίκην  
 ἀποδώσεις. Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τέκνῳ ἡμῶν τῷ πατρικίῳ μήνυσιν περὶ

165: 16-17: Act. 26.14.

27 εὐρήσης Da

165: (= 26 Da): Q 177r-v || 4 σου Q || 9 αἱ] ἃ Da || 19 βασιλέ( )Q || 20 ταῦτα] leg. ταύτας? || 24 ἀποδώσης Da

lest you find not only that God is moved to wrath, but also that the pious  
 emperors who apportioned this to the churches, if any awareness remains to  
 them, will plead against you before the Immortal King, and your toil be in  
 vain. Surely the State will derive no profit whatever either from clerics  
 being enlisted in the army or from the poor of the Church being reduced to  
 slavery.

## 165

When your letter had been handed to us, we took note of your account  
 as it stood and praised you for the wisdom rightly shown in dealing with the  
 man who had misbehaved. Now, however, that a different report has recently  
 come to our ears, I do not know what to say: whether to bewail your cruelty  
 and your inhuman heart, or to grieve for the liars—if liars they are—because  
 of slander so malignant. We have heard that you lacerated a man's flesh  
 and left no skin to cover it; not content with this, you even tore out his hair,  
 though I do not see how this can provide a cure for the bitterness of your  
 soul. There is more: you also encroach upon the lands reserved until now for  
 the Great Church of God by just and pious emperors, indeed, even by the  
 impious and heretical; the ships also that were set apart for the needs of the  
 Church of God, you have withdrawn, as you thought fit, from the service of  
 the Church and put them at the disposal of the State.

Sir, what has incited you to this degree of vain conceit? "It is hard  
 for thee to kick against the pricks." These are not my words, but God's,  
 Who established His own Church with His Holy Blood. The Emperor does  
 not approve of this; we know the reverence and respect which all emperors  
 have shown toward their Mother the Holy Church. Do not use those feeble  
 excuses, that "these are the Emperor's orders." If until now you have shown  
 a certain lack of discipline, let us see that you have mended your ways.  
 Neither will our Christ-loving Emperor acquiesce in this nor will we be silent  
 until you have suffered the due penalty for such an outrage. Furthermore,  
 we have also notified our Son the patrician of this affair and a letter from

25 τούτου πεποιήμεθα και γράμματα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξαπεστάλη σοι. Ὅρα (καὶ πάλιν φημί) μὴ καταφρονήσης μηδὲ δόξης οἷα νέος ὢν ὑπὸ τῆς νεότητος μετεωρίζεσθαι, καὶ πετεινὸν σε καταπήγῃ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐν ᾧ δοκεῖς μετεωρίζεσθαι.

## 166

Κατερρηγόρευσας ἡμῶν ὡς γοργούς ἔχων, οἷα δὴ νέος καὶ σφριγῶν, τοὺς λογισμούς σου· ἀλλ' ἴσθι ὡς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνη ὀρίζει τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ ζυγοστατεῖ τὰ ἔργα καὶ σιγῶντων ἡμῶν καὶ μηδ' ὅλως φωνῆν ἀφιέντων κατ' ἐκείνων τὴν κρίσιν ἐπάγει. Σὺ καὶ τῶν ἀπειλῶν ἡμῶν ὑπέρτερος εἶ, κἂν ἀπειλῶμεν, καὶ τῶν ἐπιπληττόντων λόγων βουλομένῳ σοι οὐδεμία φροντίς. Πλήν τοσοῦτον ἐγράψαμεν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἠπειλήσαμεν, ἵνα εἰ δυνατὸν μάθης ἐπιεικῆς εἶναι καὶ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι τῷ θυμῷ. Ἡμᾶς λέγεις θυμῷ κινηθῆναι; Ὁ θυμὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος τίνας σοι γέγονε πρόξενος χαλεποῦ ἐπίστασαι· καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ὁ ὑμέτερος τί κατεργάσατο τὸν καθ' οὗ τοῦτον ἀφήκας, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα τοῦ γράμματος ἀσύμφωνα ὄντα τοῖς προτέροις σοι γράμμασιν (πάντως γὰρ μέμνησαι ἃ πρόην ἐγράψας καὶ ἦν ἡμῖν τὸ νῦν γράμμα κομίζει ἀπαγγελίαν), ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀναγκαίως ζητεῖς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, σιωπῶ. Τί γὰρ με δεῖ φιλονεικεῖν ἀνθρώπων πολιδὸν ὄντα μετὰ νεανίσκου καὶ οἷα ἢ τοιαύτη ἡλικία οἶδε σπουδάζοντος; Τοῦτο δέ σοι λέγω· μέμνησο τῆς τοῦ βίου ματαιότητος καὶ ὅτι πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου χόρτος, εἰ δὲ βούλει, κἂν μὴ θέλῃς, καὶ χόρτου εὐτελεστέρα. Διενήνοχε τί; Ὅτι ὁ μὲν χόρτος ἰδίῳ ἀνθεῖ καιρῷ καὶ ἰδίῳ μαραίνεται, ἡ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνη ζωὴ ἐν ὅσῳ ἀνθεῖν δοκεῖ ἀπέρυσσε τῆς ἀνθήσεως καὶ ἠφάνισται.

## 167

Ἄλλοις ἐκτείνεται περωτοῖς τὰ δίχτυα τοῦ σοφοῦ ῥήματος, ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς θεῖῳ πνεύματι ἐπτερωμένοις καὶ ποθοῦσιν ὑπεράνω τῆς ἰλῦος καθίστασθαι ὁ τῆς κακίας πατὴρ πειρᾶται μὲν τὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδίκου

166: 16: Isai. 40.6.

167: 1: Prov. 1.17.

166: (= 27 Da): Q 177v-178r || 17 εὐτελεστέρα διενήνοχε τι Q  
167: (= 28 Da): Q 178r-v || 3 μὲν τὰ Wk: μετὰ Q

him has been dispatched to you. Take heed (I repeat it) not to scorn us, and do not think, because you are young, that you can soar high in the sky, or you may be devoured by one of the birds of that very sky in which you imagine yourself to be soaring.

## 166

You have swept us away with your rhetoric because, being young and hot-blooded, you have a quick wit; but know that God's justice does not depend upon words to determine what is right, but weighs our deeds and judges them even when we are silent and do not utter a word. You are beyond the reach of our threats, even if we threaten, and can, if you wish, ignore words of reproof. We have only written this much and threatened this much so that (if it can be) you may learn to use restraint and not yield to your anger. Do you say that *we* are carried away by anger? You know what harm our anger has caused you; and you are perfectly aware what your own anger did to the man against whom you indulged it. The rest of your letter, which disagrees with your earlier one (surely you remember what you wrote before as well as the account your present letter brings us), I pass over in silence, since you do not insist on an answer. Why should I, a gray-haired man, try to vie with a youth who has the ambitions appropriate to that age? I tell you only this: remember the vanity of life and that all the glory of man is grass and, if you wish—or even though you do not like it—still more worthless than grass. What is the difference? That grass blooms at its own time and withers at its own time, whereas human life even while it seems to blossom loses its flower and is gone.

## 167

For other winged creatures the nets are spread of which the wise saying speaks; for you who have grown the wings of the Divine Spirit and long to rise above the earthly slime the father of evil tries to spread the nets

προαιρέσεως δίκτυα ἐκτείνειν, διαπίπτει δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς κενὸν ἢ σπουδῇ. Οὐ  
 5 γὰρ ἐπιλανθάνεται ὁ φιλόανθρωπος τῶν οἰκείων σπλάγγων πατῆρ οὐδ'  
 ἀφίησι τὴν ἐπήρειαν κατὰ σκοπὸν ἐξανύεσθαι τῷ ἐπηρεάζοντι, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ  
 πολλάκις κρίμασιν οἷς οἶδε δοκιμάζων τοὺς οἰκείους θεράποντας συγγω-  
 ρεῖ τῷ ἀναιδεστάτῳ προσιέναι καὶ προσάπτεσθαι, τοσοῦτον ἡ συγχώρησις  
 γίνεται ὅσον τὸν μὲν αἰσχυρῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς ἐπάθλοις τῆς μακαρίας  
 10 διαμονῆς δοξασθῆναι.

Τούτου δὴ καὶ σοί, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἡ σύμβασις γέγονε, ἵνα διὰ τῆς  
 προσκαιροῦ ταύτης ἀλγηδόνος τῆς οὐ λυομένης ἀνέσεως ἀπολαύσης καὶ  
 μετὰ πάντων ὅσοις ὑπῆρξεν αἰσχύνῃ περιβαλεῖν τὸν ἐχθρὸν τοῦ γένους  
 καὶ ὑμῖν τὸ σεμνύεσθαι διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀγωνισμάτων παρασχεθῆ. Πλὴν  
 15 ἄπιθι πρὸς ὃν ἔφης τόπον μετὰ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος, ὃν εἰ καὶ  
 ἁμαρτωλοὶ δυσωποῦμεν καὶ τῶν λυπούντων τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐρεῖν καὶ  
 ἡμῖν ὀφθῆναι ἀντὶ τῶν σκυθρωπῶν τούτων ῥημάτων τὰ φαιδρότερα δια-  
 λεγόμενον καὶ κοινῇ εὐχαριστοῦντα τῷ αἰτίῳ καὶ δοτῆρι τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

## 168

Καλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλως τὰ δῶρα διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτοῖς γλυκύτητα,  
 καλλίω δὲ ὅτι καὶ παρὰ φίλου ἦγε φιλοῦντος ἐξαιρέτον φιλίαν τῆς κοσμι-  
 κῆς καὶ ἦν οἶδε τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα καὶ ὅσοι τούτου θεράποντες. Ἄλλ' οὕτως  
 ἡδέα τὰ δῶρα τυγχάνοντα ἡδύτατα γίνεται λογιζομένοις ὅτι ὁσίων χειρῶν  
 5 ἐστὶ γεωργήματα καὶ πρὸς θεὸν αἰρομένων διὰ παντός καὶ καθαρὰ πάσης  
 πλεονεξίας βιωτικῆς. Βούλει προσθήσω τὸ πλῆθος; καὶ γὰρ ἔχει τι καὶ  
 τοῦτο πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἡδίους ποιεῖ τοὺς δεχομένους τῶν δωρημάτων τὸ  
 δαψιλές. Ἄλλ' εἰ πανταχοῦ καλὸν ἡ ἰσότης, σκόπει μὴ τὸ πλεόν τῆς γεωρ-  
 γίας ἡμῖν ἀποστέλλων ἐγγλημα διανομῆς ἀνίσου ἀποίση· οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ εἰ  
 10 τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀπαρχαί τῶν γεωργημάτων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ πλεόν μέ-  
 ρος, ἵνα μὴ λέγω ὅτι πᾶν <τὸ> γεώργιον. Ἄλλ' ἔρρωσό μοι καὶ ὡσπερ ἐν  
 τούτοις ἐπεδαψιλεύσω, οὕτω δαψιλῶς ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
 τὰς ὁσίας εὐχὰς ἐπιχορήγει.

168: 4-5: cf. 1 Tim. 2.8.

4 αὐτῷ Wk: αὐτῶν Q || 5 οὐδ' Wk: ἀλλ' Q || 11 σοί Da: σὺ Q  
 168: (= 29 Da): Q 178v-179r || 11 τὸ Wk: om. Q

of his own unrighteous intent, but his pains are lost. For the merciful Father does not forget His own children, nor does He allow injury to be accomplished according to the purpose of its author, but though often, for reasons best known to Him, He puts His servants to the test and permits that most insolent wretch to approach them and assault them, yet this permission goes only so far as to put *him* to shame and to glorify *them* with the reward of their blessed perseverance.

This has befallen you too (my Son) so that through this transient pain you may enjoy the relief that has no end, and that, with all those who succeeded in covering the enemy of our race with ignominy, it may be given also to you to be proud of your struggles. Go then to the place you mentioned with good hope in God, Whom, despite our sinfulness, we beseech that you may be delivered from what offends you and that you may present yourself to us speaking more cheerful words, instead of those gloomy ones, and, jointly with us, giving thanks to the Cause and Giver of good gifts.

## 168

Your gifts are pleasant already because of their natural sweetness, but they are even pleasanter because they came from a friend who loves us with a love superior to worldly friendship, such as is known to the Holy Spirit and His servants. However, sweet as are the gifts, they become sweetest of all to us when we reflect that they are the produce of holy hands continually lifted up to God and are pure from all worldly greed. May I mention also the quantity, for in that, too, there is a certain satisfaction, and the abundance of gifts makes the receiver happier. Still, if equality is a good thing under all circumstances, take care lest by sending me the greater part of the crop, you incur censure for unequal distribution; I am not sure whether such a quantity can still be called the first-fruit, rather than the bulk, of your crop, not to say the whole production. Farewell, and offer up your holy prayers for God's Church with the same generosity you have shown in this.

Ὡς ἔοικε, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τῆς σῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπης ἢ λαμπρότης  
 τοῖς δυναμένοις ὁρᾶν τοιαύτην διάθεσιν φανερά γέγονε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰς  
 ὧν καὶ ὁ τοῦ γράμματος ἡμῶν ἀποκομιστῆς τῶν ἐγνωκότων ταύτην  
 ἠξίωσεν ἡμᾶς γράψαι περὶ πράγματος ἐκεῖνῳ μὲν μεγάλην σωτηρίαν παρ-  
 5 ἔχοντος, σοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔσομένου εἰς βάρος οὐδὲ τυχὸν εἰς κατάκρισιν, ἐπεὶ  
 μηδὲ ἀπαραίτητος ἢ δουλεία πρὸς ἡν ἄγεται. Φησὶ δὲ πρὸς στρατείαν ἄγε-  
 σθαι· οἴμαι δὲ ὅτι οὔτε τὸ ἀνδρεῖον αὐτοῦ οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων  
 ὅσα τῶν πολεμίων ἢ προσοῦσα ἐμπειρία τοσαύτη ὥστε ἀπαραιτήτως εἰς  
 τοῦτο αὐτὸν καταλέγεσθαι, μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ παιδίον, φησὶ, τὸ πρὸς τὴν  
 10 στρατιωτικὴν λειτουργίαν ἀγόμενον. Εἰ οὖν δυνατὸν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ  
 τοσαύτην ἐστείλατο πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁδὸν ἀπὸ \*\*\* τοῦτο μόνον διανοούμενος  
 ὥστε κινῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ νῦν γράμματος, μὴ ποιήσης αὐτῷ, τέ-  
 κνον, τὴν ὁδοπορίαν κενὴν μηδὲ ὀφθεῖν ῥυεῖσα εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἢ ἀξίως  
 αὐτοῦ. Οὐδὲν ἄλλο γράφομεν πλέον, ἀλλ' ᾧ πεποιθότες ὅτι μὴ ἀποτεύξε-  
 15 ται τοῦτόν σοι διὰ τοῦ γράμματος παριστῶμεν. Παράσχοι δὲ σοι ὁ ἅγιος  
 καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι παντὸς ὑπερκεῖσθαι τοῦ λυπεῖν εἰδότος.

Τέκνον ἡμῶν ἠγαπημένον, τὴν σὴν περὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπιμέλειαν  
 εἰδότες καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν ὅσην ἀεὶ περιφέρεις τοῦ μὴ τοὺς σοὺς ὑποχει-  
 ρίους καταπονεῖν τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους, ἐπειδὴ ἀπήγγειλεν ἡμῖν ἢ ἐπ'  
 ἀδελφῷ νύμφῃ, λέγομεν δὴ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ γεγονότος πατρι-  
 5 κίου καὶ δρουγγαρίου τῆς βίβλας χρηματίσασα γαμετή, ὡς τὸ προάστειον  
 αὐτῆς ἐπήρειαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν παρὰ τῶν αὐτόθι διατριβόντων ὑφίσταται  
 στρατιωτῶν, γράφομέν σοι, ὥστε, εἰ δυνατὸν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνης χηρείαν  
 καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς τὴν ἀπαραμύθητον ὀρφανίαν ἀναστεῖλαι τοὺς  
 ἐπιηράζοντας, ἐπειδὴ ἢ πᾶσα ἐλπίς τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ εἰρημένῳ  
 10 ἀποκρέμαται προαστείῳ. Οἴδαμεν οὖν ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 κοινῆς εὐετηρίας ταλαιπωροῦσι καὶ δέονται αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι ὄντες τῆς  
 πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν παραμυθίας· ἀλλ' ὅμως, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τοσαύτης ἀπολαυέ-  
 τωσαν ἐκ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς διατρίβουσιν ὥστε μήτε τοὺς τῶν τόπων  
 δεσπότης αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑφίστασθαι μήτε αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ σωτήρων καὶ προ-  
 15 μάχων πολεμίους ἀναφαίνεσθαι. Τί γὰρ διαφέρει ἐάν τε Βούλγαροι ἐάν

It would seem (my Son) that the shining light of your love for us has  
 become manifest to those who have an eye for such a disposition; and so the  
 bearer of our letter, being one of those who have become aware of it, has  
 asked us to write to you on a matter that is of vital importance to him  
 without becoming a burden to you or even involving the risk of censure;  
 in fact, from the kind of servitude to which he is summoned, exemption is  
 not impossible. He says that he is drafted for the army; now I think that  
 neither his bravery nor the experience he possesses of other matters pertain-  
 ing to warfare are such that he cannot be exempted from enrollment, espe-  
 cially, he says, as it is a mere child that is being drafted for the service.  
 Therefore, if it is possible (my Son), since he has undertaken so long a journey  
 from . . . to us for no other purpose than to arouse my interest in the subject  
 of the present letter, do not (my Son) make his journey a vain one nor permit  
 his request to appear to be of no avail. We have nothing else to write; only  
 this reason for our confidence that he will meet with no refusal as we hand  
 him this letter of introduction to you. May the Holy One protect you in  
 soul and in body from all that can harm you.

My beloved Son, we know your concern for justice and what great  
 care you exercise always and everywhere that those under your command  
 should not molest the weaker; now since we have been notified by our  
 sister-in-law (we mean the widow of the late John, the Patrician and Droun-  
 garios of the Watch) that her country estate is subject to no small harassment  
 on the part of the soldiers billeted there, we write to you in the hope that,  
 if possible, you will restrain those guilty of such outrages, in view both of  
 her widowhood and of the pitiful plight of her fatherless children, since her  
 hope of an income depends exclusively upon this estate. We are aware that  
 the soldiers too do their best for the well-being of us all and that, being  
 human themselves, they need sustenance; but still, my Son, let them avail  
 themselves of the produce of the places where they stay with such moderation  
 that the owners of the estates are not reduced to the status of prisoners of  
 war and that they do not reveal themselves as enemies rather than as  
 helpers and defenders. What difference, indeed, does it make whether it is

169: (= 30 Da): Q 179r-v || 3 ὦν Da: ὧν Q || 8 ὅσα Wk: ὅσω Q || 11 intercidit  
 nomen loci

170: (= 31 Da): Q 179v-180r

τε ὁ ὑπέρμαχος στρατιώτης τὰ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ὁμογενῶν ἀναλίσκεν πράγματα; Ἄλλὰ σύ, τέκνον μου, συνετὸς ὢν καὶ ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην ὑπὸ θεοῦ καταπεπιστευμένος καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτηθήσῃ παρὰ τοῦ πάντων ἀρχοντος καὶ θεοῦ, <τὴν> βιαιότητα καὶ τὴν μισάνθρωπον γνώμην  
20 ἀναστέλλειν μὴ διαλίπῃς, ἵνα καὶ θεὸν ἔχῃς προπορευόμενόν σοι καὶ τοὺς ἀπολαύοντας τῆς σῆς δικαίας προνοίας εὐχαριστοῦντας καὶ ὑπερευχομένους τῆς ὑμῶν εὐζωίας.

## 171

Τέκνον ἡμῶν, πάντως ἐπὶ μνήμῃς ἔχεις ὅτι ἐνταῦθα παρόντι σοι περὶ τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ ἀγίου Ἄνθη ἐδηλώσαμεν ὡς κατέλιπον τὸ οἰκεῖον μοναστήριον ἕνεκε τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ γεγενημένων ἀπειλῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ εἴλοντο μᾶλλον ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον πλανᾶσθαι πρὸς ὄλεθρον τῶν οἰκείων ψυχῶν  
5 ἢ ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ προσμένειν μονῇ. Διὰ τοῦτο νῦν τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασιν ἐφοδιάσαντες, ἐλπίζοντες <ὅτι> μηδὲν ὑποστήσονται δεινὸν ὑπὸ σοῦ, μὴ μόνον ἐπέισαμεν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον εἰσελθεῖν. Καὶ πάντως εἴ τί σοι μέλει καὶ τῆς θείας καὶ φρικτῆς δίκης καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ μοναστηρίου καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀποτεταγμένων καὶ τοῦ ἀλύπου τῆς ἡμῶν  
10 ταπεινότητος, μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐργάσῃ χαλεπὸν, ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἐστὶ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν κατεγκαλούντων φιλονεικία, ὁ τοῦ δικαίου λόγος τὴν λύσιν βραβευσάτω καὶ ὡς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὕτω καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς νόμος καὶ κρίσις εὐθεῖα διοικησάτω καὶ μὴ θυμὸς καὶ ὄργη καὶ ἀπειλαὶ καὶ ποιναί, ὢν τῷ φόβῳ προφθάσαντες τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐξέλιπον μοναστήριον. Οἶδας  
15 γάρ, τέκνον μου, φρόνιμος ὢν ὡς μιᾶς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἔστι ἀντάξιος ὅλος ὁ κόσμος καὶ ὡς ἕνεκε σωτηρίας τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ποιητῆς τοῦ παντὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν σάρκα ἐφόρεσε καὶ ἐταπεινώσεν ἑαυτὸν πτωχεύσας· καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῦτο, ἀλλ' <ἄλλα τε> πολλὰ καὶ σταυρὸν ὑπέμεινε καὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ αἵματι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν ἐδωρήσατο. Ἄρκεῖ ταῦτα  
20 φρονίμῳ σοι ὄντι καὶ λογιζομένῳ ὅσα τοῖς γινομένοις αἰτίοις ἀπωλείας τισὶν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι ἀπόκειται κόλασις· ἢς μὴ παράσχοι πείραν ὁ ἀγαθὸς θεός, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ μερίδι τῶν δικαίων αὐτοῦ συντάττων καὶ τῆς τούτων ἀπολαῦσαι καταξιώσει ἀγαλλιάσεως.

20: cf. Deut. 1.30, 33; 9.3; 20.4; 31.3, 6.

171: 17-18: cf. 2 Cor. 8.9.

19 &lt;τὴν&gt; βιαιότητα Wk: βιαιότατα (-α dub.) Q

171: (= 32 Da): Q 180r-v || 6 ὅτι Da: om. Q || 18 ἀλλ' &lt;ἄλλα τε&gt; Wk: ἀλλὰ Q || 22 leg. παράσχοι &lt;σοι&gt; ? || αὐτοῦ Wk: -ὰς Q

the Bulgarians or the protecting soldiers who squander the goods of their own people and race? You (my Son) intelligent as you are and having been entrusted by God with a command of this kind and knowing that you will be accountable for it to the Commander and God of all, do not relax in restraining violence and inhumanity, so that you may have God marching at the head of your troops and those who benefit by your rightful solicitude thanking you and praying for your happiness.

## 171

My Son: you remember no doubt that during your presence here we told you about the monks of St. Anthes, how they left their own monastery in consequence of the threats you used against them and preferred to wander from one place to another to the detriment of their souls rather than to stay in their own house. Therefore, having now provided them with a letter from us in the hope that they will suffer no unpleasantness from your side, we have with difficulty persuaded them to move into the monastery. And I am convinced that, if you have any regard at all for the fearful judgment of God, for the preservation of the monastery and the salvation of the souls of its inmates, as well as for the peace of mind of Our Humility, you will not subject them to any harsh treatment, but if there is a quarrel between them and those who are bringing charges against them, you will let considerations of justice provide the solution and, as in all other cases, so in theirs too let law and equitable judgment prevail, not anger and wrath and threats and punishments, for fear of which they once already left their monastery. For you know (my Son), wise as you are, that the whole world is not worth one single soul, and that it was for the salvation of our souls that God the Creator of the universe took on our flesh and humbled Himself by becoming poor; nor was this all: He underwent many other sufferings and even the Cross and by His own Blood He bestowed salvation upon us. This is sufficient for you, who are intelligent and able to consider what punishment from God in the world to come awaits those who have caused the perdition of others; may the good God spare us from experiencing this, but may He rather deign to assign us a place among the assembly of His just men and let us share their jubilation.

Εὐφράνθημεν καὶ ἄλλως γράμμασιν ἐντυχόντες τῆς ὁσιότητός σου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ τοῖς φιλοῦσι παρέχεται ἡδονὴν γράμμα τῶν φιλομένων ἐμφανιζόμενον, διὰ τῆς ἡδείας ὁμιλίας ὡσπερ εἰς ἔνωσιν καθιστάνον τοὺς φίλους· ἐνταῦθα δὲ πλείονος τῆς ἡδονῆς ἢ ἀπόλαυσις, ὅτι καὶ  
 5 ὑπόθεσιν ἡμῖν ἐδήλου καλῶς παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος καὶ προσηκόντως διακειμένην ἥτις ψυχῶν σωτηρίαν οἶδε περιποιεῖσθαι τοῖς εἰς ἔρωτα ταύτης γεγενημένοις. Ἐπεὶ οὖν χάριτι θεοῦ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡ σὴ ἀρετὴ τυγχάνουσα τελειοτάτη καὶ ἐξήτασε καὶ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος εὗρεν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκέτι ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν ἐλκύσει τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ  
 10 πάντως ἔσται τοῖς πατριαρχικοῖς προνομίοις διακειμένος. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ προσεδρευόντων μοναχῶν καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος αὐτῶν σὺν θεῷ τὴν ἐπιστάσιαν ἔξειν, ὑμῖν τὸ πᾶν ἀνατιθέαμεν ὡς καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ τόπου ἐπισταμένοις καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν διαγνοῦσιν ὠφέλειαν· καὶ ὃν συνορᾷ σου ἡ θεοφιλὴς ἀρετὴ ἱκανὸν ἔσσεσθαι πρὸς τὴν τριαύτην ἐπιστάσιαν, εἴτε τὸν  
 15 προβεβλημένον εἴθ' ἕτερόν τινα, δηλωθῆναι ἡμῖν ἀξιούμεν, ὅπως τὸ προσῆκον καὶ θεῷ εὐάρεστον γένηται διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ὑμῶν προσευχῶν.

Οὐκ ἠγνοοῦμεν, τέκνον, καὶ πρὸ τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ περισχόντα σε λυπηρὰ ἐκ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνωμαλίας, οἷα πολλὰ φέρειν οἶδεν ὁ βίος· πλὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἀναμαθόντες ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπὶ τῷ πρώην ἀλγήματι ἔσχομεν προστεθειμένον ἡμῖν ἀλγημα. Οὕτως οὖν ἀλγοῦντες,  
 5 ἐπεὶ ὅσα τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρωπίνης ἀποροῦμεν βοηθείας, πρὸς τὸν κηδόμενον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κληρονομίας καὶ ὄμμα καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὴν καρδίαν ἀνατείνουμεν, ἐκεῖνον παρακαλοῦντες, εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιοι, καὶ σὲ τῆς ἀδίκου ρύσασθαι περιστάσεως καὶ τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχευεν τὸ πανάγιον, τὰ σωτήρια περιποιήσασθαι. Καὶ σὺ δέ, τέκνον  
 10 ἡμῶν, μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐν θεῷ συνειδήσεως ὑπεράνω γίνου τῶν λυπηρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀδίκως ἐπιτιθεμένων, συνετὸς ὢν καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι μεγάλη παράκλησις ἀνθρώπων, ὅταν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀναπτύσσων συνειδήσιν καθαρὰν εὐρίσκη καὶ μηδὲν φέρουσαν αἴτιον. Πρὸς τὴν συσκευὴν τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ἔρρωμένον σε διαφυλάξει ὁ κύριος.

172: (= 33 Da): Q 180v-181r || 2 ἡδονὴν Da: -ῆς Q || 11 αὐτῶν Wk: αὐτῶ Q

173: (= 34 Da): Q 181r-v

We were glad, for other reasons too, to receive a letter from your Holiness, since for its own sake the arrival of a letter from loved ones already brings joy to those who love them, for by its pleasant converse it seems to reunite the friends; in this case, however, the pleasure we experienced is greater, because it also contained the information that your Holiness had arranged in the right and proper way a matter which will bring the salvation of their souls to those who have come to desire it. Now, inasmuch as your Virtue, by the Grace of God most perfect in every respect, has made an inquiry and discovered the truth of the matter, the bishop will no longer usurp the control of the estate, but it will definitely fall under the privileges of the patriarchate. As regards the monks residing there and the man who with God's help is to be their supervisor, we leave the decision entirely to you, as you know the situation of the property and have acquainted yourself with the profit it can yield; and whomever your God-loving Virtue considers fit for this leading position, whether the present superior or someone else, we request you to make known to us, so that what is right and pleasing to God may come to pass through your holy prayers.

Even before receipt of your letter (my Son) we were not unaware of the troubles that beset you owing to these turbulent events, such as life will often bring about; however, now that we have learned about them from your letter also, more grief has been added to the grief we already felt. Since in this sorrow, as far as men are concerned, we are destitute of human aid, we lift up our eyes and our hands and above all our heart to Him Who cares for His heritage, entreating Him, in spite of our unworthiness, to save you from your undeserved predicament and to work salvation for His people, for which He has shed His All-holy Blood. As for yourself (my Son), with the good conscience you have before God you must rise above all your troubles and all unjust attacks, for you are wise and you know that it is a great comfort to a man when, examining his own conscience, he finds it clean and free from guilt. May God preserve you intact from the plot of those who are scheming against you.

15 Περὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίας σφοδρῶς λυπούμεθα ὅτι μήτε αὐτὸς τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐνεδείξω πρόνοιαν πρὸς τὴν ἱεράν κατάστασιν μήτε πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα διὰ γραμμάτων ἐγνώρισας, ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ὧν καὶ γινώσκων τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἀταξίαν, τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καθημένοις.

174

Ὅσακις δεξώμεθα γράμμα τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος χαίρομεν, ἅμα μὲν τῆς παλαιᾶς συνηθείας εἰς μνήμην γινόμενοι (οἶδας δὲ ὅσην γλυκύτητα τῇ ψυχῇ παρέχει ἀνάμνησις παλαιᾶς φιλίας καὶ συναναστροφῆς), ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς νῦν χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ πολιτείας σου εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ, παρ' οὗ σοι τοῦ μακαρίου βίου διὰ τῆς τοῦ παρόντος βίου ἀναχωρήσεως συντηρεῖται ἢ ἀπόλαυσις. Καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν τὴν ὑμῶν ὁσιότητα ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινότητος καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐντυγχάνειν θεῷ τῷ ἀκούοντι τῶν δεήσεων τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτόν, εἰδόντα σε μάλιστα εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, ὅση δόδυνη ταῖς καρδίαις ἐπικάθηται τῶν πρόνοιαν λαοῦ

10 ἐμπειπιστευμένων ὅταν οἱ τελούντες ὑπ' αὐτοὺς διαστασιάζωσιν.

Περὶ δὲ οὗ ἡξίωσας γράψαι, ὅτι μὴ τελείως ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κεῖται θελήματι (πῶς γάρ; ὑπὸ <γάρ> τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἧς οἰκονόμοι καὶ μόνον καθιστάμεθα), φεύγοντες τὰς τῶν μεθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διοίκησιν ἐγχειρίζομένων μέμψεις οὐκ ἔχομέν τι διαπράξασθαι.

15 ὥστε τὸ μὴ τελεσθῆναι τὴν αἴτησιν οὐκ ἔστι τῆς ἡμῶν προαιρέσεως, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν δυσκολίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναφέρει τὸ αἴτιον. Μεμνησθαι δὲ μὴ διαλείπτῃς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινότητος ἐν ταῖς ὁσίαις ὑμῶν εὐχαῖς.

175

Ἄλγειν ἡμᾶς ποιεῖ καὶ αὐτὴ μόνη καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ διάστασις (ὅσον γὰρ ἡδύνη τῶν φίλων ἢ ἔνωσις, ἵνα μὴ λέγω πλέον, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον οἶδεν λυπεῖν ἢ διάστασις)· ἀῖξει δὲ ἡμῖν τὸ ἄλγος καὶ ἐπίθεσις τῆς νόσου ἣν ἐπὶ χρόνον τοσοῦτον ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ σῇ ὁσιότητι ἀνεμάθομεν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ

174: 7-8: Ps. 144.19.

18 ἀταξίαν Wk: ἀταραξίαν Q

174: (= 35 Da): Q 181v || 1 δεξώμεθα Da: -όμεθα Q || 2 γλυκύτητα Wk: -τατε Q || 12 γάρ<sup>2</sup> Wk: om. Q || 14 τί Q || 15 ἡμῶν Da: ὑμῶν Q

175: (= 36 Da): Q 182r || 3 δὲ Wk: γάρ Q

As regards the Church in your city, we are extremely grieved that you have neither yourself evinced all possible concern for the sacred established order nor submitted a written report to those presiding here over the affairs of the Church, although you are on the spot and acquainted with the disorders that may ensue.

174

Whenever we receive a letter from your Holiness, we are glad; for on the one hand it reminds us of our intimacy (you know what sweetness the memory of old friendship and converse brings to the heart); on the other hand the state of life you have now adopted by the Grace of God gives us cause to thank God, from Whom the joy of the blessed life awaits you for having renounced this present life. And we entreat your Holiness to pray, for us and for God's Church, to God, Who hears the prayers of those who fear Him, since you know better than anyone else what sorrow weighs on the hearts of those entrusted with the care of a people, when their subjects are discordant.

As for the matter on which you have thought proper to write to us: because obviously it does not entirely depend on our will (since it falls under the authority of the Church, of which we are merely the stewards), therefore, avoiding the censure of those who will be entrusted with the administration of the Church after us, we cannot accomplish anything; so that the denial of your request is not the result of our wish; it is the difficult situation that is responsible. Do not cease from remembering our Humility in your holy prayers.

175

Even by itself the separation causes us pain (indeed, as much as reunion with friends brings joy, so much, if not more, does separation from them cause sorrow); but in our case the pain is increased by an attack of the illness which has for so long already afflicted you. Such is the discomfort



5 μὲν κοινὸν τῆς ὀδύνης τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· παράσχοι δὲ ὁ ἅγιος θεὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ παρακεκλημένος χρηστότητος, ὡς περ οἷς οἶδε κρίμασι χώραν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἀνιῶσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν, ἵνα κοινῇ ἔχοντες τὴν ἀνε-  
 10 σιν κοινῇ δοξάσωμεν καὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην ἡμῶν σωτήρα, ὃς καὶ διὰ τῶν λυποῦνται καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνεσιν φερόντων ὡς πλάστης καὶ φιλόσοφος οἰκο-  
 νόμος τοῦ οἰκείου πλάσματος οἰκονομεῖ τὴν ζωὴν πάντως πρὸς τὸ συμ-  
 φέρον καὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν, κἄν (οἴμοι) τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἐνίοτε δακνόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων δριμύτητος χωρὶς ὀδύνης τὰ δῆγματα φέρειν οὐ δύναται. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐρρωσθαι σε ἐπευχόμεθα καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁσίαις εὐχαῖς σου μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος.

## 176

Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ γράμματος ὅσα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀνεμάθομεν, ὀδῶν δυσχερείας, τόπων διαπτώσεις, ἀπορίαν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς, ἐλύπει τὴν καρδίαν, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερώτατον, πλὴν οὐ τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἡ ἀπαγγελία τῆς ὑμετέρας διὰ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τῆς νόσου κακώσεως. Ἐκεῖνα μὲν  
 5 γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἀλγεῖν παρεῖχεν, ὅμως ὡς περ ἄκρας ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας ἐφή-  
 πτετο, τὰ δὲ ὑμέτερα πάθη καιρίαν τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ὀδύνην ἐποίησε. Πλὴν κάκεῖνα καὶ ταῦτα τῆς πολυπαθοῦς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰδότες ὄντα ζωῆς, ὡς οἰκεῖα καὶ συνήθη πάσχοντες εἰς εὐχαριστίαν διελύσαμεν τὴν ὀδύνην μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἐλπίδος καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖνου τῆς ἀντιλήψεως οἰ-  
 10 κτιρῶν. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκ τῆς νόσου πόνον πεποιθήσαμεν μὴ πλέον ἀλγήσειν, ἀνέσεως ὑμῖν τε καὶ ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀνωθεν χορηγούμενης προνοίας· περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκεῖνό φαμεν, ὅτι θεοῦ βουλομένου καὶ σπουδῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ ἐπιμελείας τὰ οἰκεῖα πράττειν θελούσης, πάντως οὐκ ἀνέλπιστον τὸ δέξασθαι καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπανόρθωσιν.  
 15 Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ γηρωκομείου τὸ πᾶν ἐν σοὶ ἀνατίθεμεν, ἵνα καὶ ὡς ἐνδημῶν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ ὡς εἰδὼς τὸ μαρτυρούμενον ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ὡς ἀρχιερατικὴν πρόνοιαν πάντων μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν τῶν πενήτων κεκτημένος, οὕτω καὶ διοικήσεις, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ σῆ κατανεύομεν μαρτυρίᾳ καὶ Χριστὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ  
 20 φιλόανθρωπος θεὸς ἡμῶν τῆς ἀγαθῆς κηδεμονίας καὶ ἀποδέχεται καὶ παρέξει τὰς ἀντιδόσεις. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα εἴης καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι πάντων λυπούντων ὑπέρτερος καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπάνοδον καιροῦ ἐπιτρέποντος εὐδόως ποιούμενος.

8 δοξάσωμεν Da || 9 φιλόσοφος] aut leg. σοφός aut φιλόανθρωπος || 10 οἰκονομεῖ Wk: οἰκοδομεῖ Da: οἰκοδομεῖν Q || 11 κἄν Wk: καὶ Q

176: (= 37<sup>o</sup> Da): Q 182r-v || 2 ἀπορίαν Da: -ία Q || 7 πολυπαθοῦς Wk: πολυμα-  
 θοῦς Q || 12 ἐκεῖν (= -ος) Q

we share between us; but may the Holy God, when called upon in the name of His Goodness, even as, for reasons best known to Him, He permitted the suffering to occur, also grant deliverance, so that for the relief we have jointly obtained we may jointly glorify our Benefactor and Saviour, Who by both that which hurts and that which alleviates, as the Creator and the wise Governor of His own creation leads it under all circumstances toward its good and its salvation, even though (alas!) our weak nature, stung by smarting events, cannot bear the stings without feeling pain. For the rest we pray that you may fare well and not forget our Mediocrity in your holy prayers.

## 176

All the other news we learned from your letter—hardships on the road, failure to reach your destinations, want of the necessities of life—wounded my heart, my most holy Son, but not so much as the report of what you suffered through the sickness that attacked you. For, though the other things did cause us pain, they seemed only to touch our heart, while your sufferings hurt our soul with the pain of a mortal wound. However, knowing that both those other troubles and this are part of the manifold vicissitudes of human life, we took what happened as natural and usual and let our grief dissolve itself into thanksgiving with good hope in God and His compassionate help. As far as your distress due to your illness is concerned, we trust that we will suffer no more pain, but that you, as well as we, will be granted relief by Providence above; concerning the other matters, we say this, that God willing and human effort and diligence doing their own part, there is certainly no reason to give up hope that they can be set right.

So much for this. As regards the Home for the Aged, we leave everything to you. Since you live on the spot, are acquainted with the facts to which you testify, and are charged with the archpriestly care of all, but in particular of our needy brothers, you will arrange things accordingly, knowing that we accept your testimony and that Christ our true and merciful God will approve of you for your good care and will reward you for it. For the rest, may you be protected both in soul and body from all that can hurt you and may you return safely to us when circumstances permit it.

“Ὅσα τῆς συμπαθοῦς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρχιερεῦσι θεοῦ ὀφειλομένης προαιρέσεως, ταῦτα δὲ οἴκοθεν χάριτι θεοῦ γινώσκεις, τοῦ χρίσματος δὲ ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἔχεις διδάσκοντός σε· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀναμαθεῖν ἐπιζητεῖς, ἔχεις τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον τῷ χρίσαντί σε ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ταῦτα φθεγγόμενον·  
 5 «Διὰ τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖσθε ἄλλ’ αὐτοὶ ἀδικεῖτε; Διὰ τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀποστερεῖσθε ἄλλ’ αὐτοὶ ἀποστερεῖτε, καὶ ταῦτα ἀδελφούς;» Ἄλλ’ ὁ μὲν οὐράνιος ὢν οὐράνια φθέγγεται, ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ ἄλμυ τῷ βίῳ νηχόμενοι τοσοῦτόν σοι προσφθεγγόμεθα· πρὸ τῶν ἕξωθεν κριτηρίων τῇ σῇ ἐπιτρέπων συνειδήσει τὴν κρίσιν μηδὲ ἐθελήσης ὁ μὴ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διαφέρων  
 10 παρακατασχεῖν μηδὲ τοὺς πένητας ἡμῶν ἀδελφούς βλασφημεῖν σε τὸν ἀρχιερέα τούτων καὶ πατέρα, ὅτι βίαιος, ὅτι τύραννος, ὃν μᾶλλον ὀφείλουσιν εἰδέναι ῥύστην τῆς ἕξωθεν τυραννίδος καὶ βιαιότητος.

Ἐκτενέστερον δὲ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐξαίτει θεὸν ἡμῶν ἀναστεῖλαι τῶν δυσχερῶν τὴν φορὰν καὶ δοῦναι ἄνεσιν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς πολλῆς  
 15 κακώσεως, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φιλοῦντας παρὰ τῆς θεϊκῆς βοηθούμενοι προνοίας ἀνεμποδίστως ὤμεν ἐπιστρεφόμενοι.

“Ὅτε τὸ γράμμα ὑμῶν, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερώτατον, ἐδίδοτο ταῖς ἡμετέραις χερσίν, ἠδονὴ τις κατέσταξε τῇ ψυχῇ τῷ ἐν θεῷ σε σεσῶσθαι πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀναπτύξεως τοῦ γράμματος ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι. Ὡς δὲ τῇ ὀψει ἀνελαμβάνομεν, ἡ λύπη ἐκεῖθεν προϊούσα  
 5 ἐσκέδαξε τὸ ἠδὺ τῆς ψυχῆς· τὸ γὰρ διὰ τοσοῦτων πόνων καὶ βαρύτητος γνωρίζεσθαι ἡμῖν διηγουμέναι σε τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποίει καὶ ἀνιᾶσθαι καὶ ἧς τέως ἀπελαύομεν ἠδονῆς ἀποστερεῖσθαι. Πλὴν ὥσπερ εἰς ἀναγκαῖον ἴαμα σοὶ τε καὶ ἡμῖν τὴν θεῖαν εἶδομεν εὐχαριστίαν· καὶ ὅτι πάντων ἐκείνων τῆς τῶν κακῶν συστροφῆς ἔδωκεν ὑπερανασχεῖν ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πρὸς τὰ  
 10 οἰκεῖα κατέστησεν, ἠὲ εὐχαριστήσαμεν τῇ σωτηρίῳ προνοίᾳ, ἧς καὶ ἔτι δεόμεθα ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ πάσῃ περιστάσει, ὅση τε ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ ὅση ἐξ

177: 4-6: 1 Cor. 6.7-8.

177: (= 38/39 Da): Q 183r || 2 δε] δη ci. Da || 9 μηδὲ] leg. μηδὲν? || 12 post βιαιότητος signum finem epistulae indicans Q

178: (= 40 Da): Q 183r-184r || 11 πάση Da: πᾶσι Q

Whatever belongs to the compassionate disposition befitting the archpriests if God, you know from yourself by the Grace of God, taught by the unction that you have received from Him; if you desire instruction from others as well, you have the words of the Great Apostle speaking as follows by the Holy Spirit Who anointed you: “Why do you not rather take wrong, but do wrong? why do you not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded, but do you defraud, and that your brethren?” But he, being a citizen of Heaven, speaks the language of Heaven, while we, struggling to keep afloat in the salty sea of this life, can say only this much to you: before you go to outside courts, refer to the judgment of your own conscience, do not wish to retain possession of what does not belong to the Church and do not let our needy brothers speak ill of you, their Archpriest and Father, that he is violent, that he is an oppressor, when they should rather recognize in him their protector against outside oppression and violence.

And pray with more insistence to the good God that He may check the onset of troubles and grant relief to his Church from its manifold distress, in order that with the help of Divine Providence we may return unhindered both to each other and to those who love us.

When your letter, our most holy Son, was handed to us, something like joy crept into our soul, because we learned, even before unfolding the letter, that with God's help you had reached your Church in safety; when, however, we perused it, the sad news that it brought dispelled the joy of our heart. Indeed, the knowledge that your journey had been attended with such toil and trouble saddened us and deprived us of the happiness we had felt until that moment. Then, however, we turned to giving thanks to God as a necessary remedy for you and for us, and, because He Who is good had granted you to weather the storm of all those misfortunes and had brought you back to your home, we thanked saving Providence, Which we continue to beseech that in whatever place and whatever circumstance, whether of

ἀερίου χαλεπότητος καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη ἀόρατος ἐπανάστασις, μηδέποτε σε, τέκνον ἡμῶν, διαμαρτεῖν.

15 Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτου. Ἄ δὲ καὶ παρενταῦθα ἤδεις κεκινη-  
μένα κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἤδη τέως πρὸς ἡσυχίαν κατέστη, οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε  
τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦτο διενεργήσαντος εἴτε τῆς ἄφρονος αἰτίας ἐξ ἧς ἡ κίνησις  
συνιδούσης τὸ παράλογον καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συσταλείσης. Πλὴν τοῦ ἁγίου  
θεοῦ σε διατηροῦντος μὴ βραδύνης ἡμῖν συγγενέσθαι· ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν δυνατὸν,  
μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα γενοῦ πορείας, εἰ δὲ μή, πάν-  
20 τως γε μετὰ τὴν ἱεράν τοῦ ἀποστόλου πανήγυριν, μὴ τοὺς Ἐφεσίου  
τῆς μεθ' ἡμῶν συνδιαγωγῆς προτιμήσης.

## 179

Ἄνθρωπος φρόνησιν κεκτημένος καὶ φόβῳ θεοῦ κυβερνώμενος ἢ  
οὐδὲ ὅλως ἢ παντάπασιν ὀλίγησιν χρήζει τῆς ἐξωθεν παραινήσεως. Οἶδαμεν  
οὖν καὶ σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὅτι φρονήσει κεκόσμησαι καὶ φόβον θεῶν ἔχεις  
τὸν κυβερνῶντά σε καὶ ὡς οὐ χρήζεις πρὸς τὸ συντηρεῖν τὸ δίκαιον παραι-  
5 νέσεως ἡμετέρας· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴ ὁ τὸ γράμμα κομιζόμενος τοῦτο παρ'  
ἡμῶν ἐζήτησατο γενέσθαι, καὶ τὴν τούτου ἐξεπληρώσαμεν αἴτησιν καὶ  
σοί, τέκνον ἡμῶν, γράφομεν, ἐκεῖνα προτροπόμενοι ἃ πεπεισμένοι ἐσμὲν  
ὅτι χωρὶς τῆς ἡμετέρας ποιεῖς ὑπομνήσεως. Τίνα ταῦτά εἰσιν; Τὸ τὴν σὴν  
ἐπιδειξάσαι δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑποθέσει ταύτῃ, καὶ εἴ τι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον  
10 ἐζημίωνται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἐνύβρισται, τοῦτο ἐπανορθώσασθαι  
καὶ <διὰ> τῆς δικαίας σου κρίσεως ἀναστεῖλαι καὶ ἄλλων ἀτακτεῖν με-  
λόντων τόλμαν καὶ προαίρεσιν ἄτακτον καὶ δεῖξαι καὶ τοῦτον ὑπόχρεων  
τοῦ τῆς σῆς ὑπερέχουσθαι τιμιότητος καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι μέλλουσιν  
ἀνεπηρέαστα ζῆν διὰ τὴν γινομένην ἐκδίκησιν <τοῦ> νῦν ἀτακτήσαντος  
15 καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ θράσει καὶ τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ ἀποχρησαμένου, ἐπειδὴ πονηρίας  
ἀνακοπτομένης συστέλλονται οἱ πονηροί, ὥσπερ πάλιν ἀτιμωρήτου ἀφιε-  
μένης οἱ πονηρία συζῶντες εὐτολμότεροι γίνονται. Ἐρρωμένον σε διαφυ-  
λάξαι ὁ κύριος καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν εὐοδούμενον αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι μετὰ  
τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων θεῶ συν αριθμούμενον.

179: (= 41 Da): Q 184r-v || 7 προτροπόμεν (=-ος) Q || 8 ἡμετέρας Da: ὑμετέρας  
Q || 11 διὰ Wk: om. Q || 14 τοῦ Wk: om. Q || ἀτακτήσαντος Wk: -ας Q || 15 ἀποχρησα-  
μένου Wk: -σάμενον (?) Q

human contriving or due to the inclemency of the climate or any other invisible assault, It may never, my Son, forsake you.

So much for this. As for the actions undertaken against the Church, about which you already learned while still here, they have for the moment abated; I cannot say whether the circumstances have effected this, or whether the foolish originator of the disturbance has recognized its absurdity and has recoiled. However, if the Holy God preserves you, do not delay joining us, but if possible set out on the journey to these parts after the Holy Pasch; if not, then at least after the Holy Feast of the Apostle, lest you be found to prefer the company of the Ephesians to ours.

## 179

A man who possesses virtue and is governed by the fear of God, needs either no outside admonition at all or very little. Now, we know of you too (my Son) that you are graced by wisdom and guided by the fear of God and that, to preserve justice, you do not need our encouragement; in spite of this, as the bearer of our letter requested this favor from us, we have complied with his request and write to you (my Son) to exhort you to that which we are convinced you are already doing without our reminder. What is this? To show your wisdom also in this matter, and if the man has unjustly suffered any harm, to set this right and to check by your just judgment the boldness and lawless purpose of others also who would misbehave, and to impose upon him too the obligation of praying for your Excellency, as well as upon many others, who will live free from molestation thanks to the retribution brought upon the man who has now spurned the law and yielded to his own audacity and foolishness; for when wickedness is restrained, the wicked shrink back, and conversely, when it is left unpunished, those who spend their lives in crime become bolder. May the Lord keep you well, may you not only be prosperous in this world, but also in that to come be counted with those who have pleased Him!

Θεοφιλῆς ὢν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ θεῖα τιμᾶν οὐ χρῆζεις  
 τῆς ἔξωθεν παραινέσεως καὶ προτροπομένης σε τὴν ὀφειλομένην τιμὴν  
 τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπομένειν ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ τὴν δέουσαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πρό-  
 νοιαν εἰς τὰς ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας· ταῦτα γὰρ ἡ προσοῦσά σοι σύνεσις  
 5 καὶ προτρέπεται καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκει. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς μέχρι τοῦ  
 παρόντος οὐκ ἐδεήθημεν τοιαύτης προτροπῆς καὶ ὑπομνήσεως. Ἐπειδὴ  
 δὲ ὁ θεοφιλέστατος Σάρδεων μητροπολίτης καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξερχό-  
 μενος ἐπαρχίαν εἰς ταχεῖαν κατέστη τοῦ κομίσει γράμμα ἡμέτερον πρὸς  
 σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἔνεκεν τοῦ τυχεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ κηδεμονίας καὶ  
 10 συναντιλήψεως ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τῆς ἐγκεχειρισμένης αὐτῷ ἐκκλησίας,  
 τὴν ἐκείνου πληροῦντες ἐξαίτησιν τὰ παρόντα ἐγράψαμεν, ὥστε, πρῶτον  
 μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀποκειμένην ἐλπίδα πᾶσι τοῖς φιλαρέτοις καὶ ἀγαπῶσι τὸν  
 κύριον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς, ὢν εἰ καὶ ἀμαρτωλοὶ τὴν εὐχὴν οὐ παρὰ  
 φαῦλον νομίζεις, καὶ τρίτον διὰ τὴν τοῦ μητροπολίτου θειοτάτην ὡς  
 15 ἀληθῶς ἀρετὴν, οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν διατεθῆναι καὶ ἐν οἷς ἂν χρῆζῃ ἐπίκου-  
 ρον γενέσθαι ὡσπερ ἐστὶν εἰκὸς τὸν φρόνιμον καὶ θεοφιλεῖ ἄρχοντα καὶ  
 στρατηγὸν καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιζητοῦντα γέροντος πατρὸς καὶ προκαθημένου  
 ἀρχιερατικῆς τάξεως καὶ ἀρετὴν τιμῶντα αἰδεσίμου καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου  
 ἀρχιερέως. Ὁ κύριος φυλάξει σε καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι πάσης ἀνώτερον  
 20 καὶ ὀρωμένης καὶ ἀοράτου κακώσεως.

Ὁ τῶν Σάρδεων θεοφιλέστατος μητροπολίτης τάχα θειότερα,  
 τέκνον ἡμῶν, περὶ σοῦ πληροφορηθεὶς, ὡς κατὰ πάντα γενήσῃ αὐτῷ συν-  
 εργὸς καὶ ὑπήκοος ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας ἢν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 ἀγίου ἐγκεχειρισταὶ πνεύματος, ἐξητήσατο γράμμα ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν σὴν  
 5 ἐπικομίσασθαι σύνεσιν, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας προτροπῆς θερμότερος  
 αὐτῷ γενήσῃ πρὸς τὰς ἀξιώσεις αὐτοῦ ἐκπληρωτῆς. Καὶ προτροπέμεθα  
 σε διὰ τοῦ παρόντος γράμματος ὡς ἤδη παρόντες καὶ γλώσση προσομι-  
 λούντες, ἵνα ἐν οἷς ἂν ὀφθῇ τῆς σῆς ἐπιδεόμενος, τέκνον ἡμῶν, διοικήσῃς,  
 ἢ ἐν κριτηρίῳ αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κατὰ τὸν τόπον χρεῖαις ἢ ἐν οἷς ἢ  
 10 μητρόπολις ἐπιδεῆς ἐστὶν ὑπουργήμασιν, ἀπροφασίστως αὐτῷ τὴν σὴν

180: (= 42 Da): Q 184v-185r || 6 τοιαύτης] -οιού- dub. || 7 καὶ] del.? || 8 ταχεῖαν  
 (sic) Q: leg. χρεῖαν? || 9 καὶ] dub. || 14 καὶ τρίτον διὰ τὴν τοῦ μητροπολίτου Wk: καίτοι  
 τὴν διὰ τὰς μητροπόλεις Q || 20 ὀρωμένης Da: -ου Q

181: (= 43 Da): Q 185r-v || 1 θειότερα Da: θειότερα Q; fort. ser. θειότερα <κινή-  
 σει> vel sim. || 4 γράμμα Wk: γραμμάτων Q

Since you love God (my Son) and have learned to honor what is God's,  
 you do not need any exhortation from without, admonishing you to pay due  
 homage to the archpriests of God and to display proper care for the holy  
 Churches of God; to this your own wisdom exhorts you and reminds you  
 of your duty. Therefore neither have we thus far needed so to exhort or  
 remind you. However, now that the most God-loving metropolitan of Sardes,  
 on the way out to his own diocese, found himself in urgent need of taking  
 with him a letter from me to you (my Son) to obtain your attention and  
 assistance in the affairs of the Church that has been entrusted to him, it is  
 in compliance with his request that we have written the present letter; in  
 order that, in the first place for the sake of the hope that is laid up for all  
 who aspire to virtue and love God, secondly also for our sake, whose entreaty,  
 in spite of our sinfulness, you do not set at nought, and thirdly on account  
 of the truly divine virtue of the metropolitan, you may be so disposed  
 toward him and so assist him in whatever he needs, as may be expected  
 from a wise and God-loving magistrate and commander, who asks for the  
 prayer of an old Father presiding over the archpriestly order and honors  
 the virtue of a venerable and most God-loving archpriest. The Lord preserve  
 you, both in soul and body, above all malice seen or unseen.

The most God-loving metropolitan of Sardes, guided perhaps by an  
 insight more than human, has come to believe about you (my Son) that you  
 will be his fellow-worker in everything and obedient to him in the affairs of  
 the Holy Church which has been entrusted to him by the Holy Spirit, and  
 therefore he asked to be given a note from us for your Wisdom, so that  
 encouraged by us you might fulfill his wishes with even greater zeal. And we  
 exhort you by the present letter, as if we were already with you and speaking  
 to you by word of mouth, that in whatever matter he be found to need your  
 authority, whether in a court of law there in Sardes or in other local affairs  
 or in the services of which his metropolis stands in need, you will unhesi-

ἐτοίμην δείξῃς ὑπακοήν καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ εὐρεθῆς ἀναβαλλόμενος καὶ ἀνα-  
νεύων, ὅπως καὶ τὴν παρὰ Θεοῦ ἔξεις μισθαποδοσίαν καὶ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν,  
εἰ καὶ ἀμαρτωλοί, καὶ προσευχὴν ὑπὲρ σοῦ αἰεὶ τῷ Θεῷ προσαγομένην.

## 182

Ἠλγοῦμεν, ὡς εἰκός, χρόνου παρελάσαντος ἐξ οὗ πρὸς ὑμᾶς γρα-  
ψάντων, τέκνον ἡμῶν, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμετέραν ἦκεν μάθησιν οὔτε περὶ τῶν  
γεγραμμένων οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας καταστάσεως. Νῦν δέ (καὶ χάρις  
τῷ ἁγίῳ Θεῷ) δεξάμενοι τὰ γράμματα ἀπεσκευάσμεθα, μάλιστα μαθόν-  
5 τες, εἰ καὶ μὴ διὰ τοῦ γράμματος, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ κομίσαντος αὐτὸ γλώσσει,  
καὶ σὲ νόσω μὲν περιπεσεῖν, ἀνώτερον δὲ θείᾳ δυνάμει τῆς κακώσεως  
γεγενῆσθαι· καὶ πεποιθήσαμεν τῷ ἀγαθῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἔτι μὴ ἐπιλιπεῖν σε καὶ  
ῥωννύουσαν ὑπεράνω τιθεῖσαν πάσης ὀχλήσεως.

Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐδήλου τὸ γράμμα τί ἄλλο ἐρῶ ἢ ὅτι γινώσκοντες (πῶς  
10 εἶπω;) τὴν ἀθλιότητα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ὀφείλομεν τὰ συμπίπτοντα  
φέρειν ἐπιεικῶς, ὅθεν ἂν καὶ φέροιτο; Συγγενῆ γάρ, ὡς εἶπες, ταῦτα  
τοῦ ταλαιπώρου βίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐκ ἔστι μὴ κεντεῖσθαι καὶ  
λυπηρὸν βίον διάγειν οὐδένα τῶν πάντων ἄλλων ἀπαραίτητος ἀνάγκη  
τοῦτον ἢ ἐκεῖνον· ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν τὰς αἰτίας παρέχουσα εἰς τὸ σὺν θλίψει  
15 καὶ ὀδύνη τὸν βίον ἐξανύειν. Ὡστε λιπόντες, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὸ πρὸς τοὺς  
λυποῦντας ἡμᾶς ὄραν πρὸς τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀφορῶμεν, δι' οὗ καὶ τοῖς λυπου-  
μένοις ἢ παρὰ κλησὶς καὶ τοῖς λυποῦσιν ἢ ἀνταπόδοσις· ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο εἶη,  
μᾶλλον γένοιτο αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐπανόρθωσις.

Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτου. Σὺ δὲ Θεοῦ βουλομένου εὐοδοῦντος τὴν  
20 σὴν πορείαν ἦκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν ταχίστην, ὡς διαλελυμένης τῆς ὑποθέ-  
σεως δι' ἣν καὶ τὰ προλαβόντα ὑπέστης καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐδειλίαις.  
Τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἐπισημαινόμεθα, μὴ καταλιπεῖν ἀδιόρθωτα τὰ περὶ τοῦ  
ἐπισκόπου Βινδίου καὶ τῆς δεδομένης αὐτῷ τιμῆς· περὶ ἧς ἀκηκόαμεν  
φήμεν πονηράν, ὡς τοὺς ἐκεῖσε προσεδρεύοντας μοναχοὺς ἀποδιώξας  
25 ἰδιωτικὸν αὐτὸ οἰκητήριον ἀντὶ μοναστηρίου κατέστησεν. Τοῦτο, εἰ τί  
σοι μέλει περὶ τῶν ἐμὲ συνεχόντων (οἶδα ὅτι μέλει), μὴ καταλίπης ἀνεπαν-  
όρθωτον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ πρόπον αὐτῷ καταστήσας σχῆμα τὸν ἔκπαλαι  
τῷ Θεῷ ἀφωρισμένον τόπον καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπελαθέντας μοναχοὺς σὺν  
τῷ τούτων καθηγεμόνι, οὕτω γενοῦ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπανόδου.

11 δείξῃς Da: δείξαι Q || 12 τὴν<sup>2</sup> Da: τῶν Q || 13 καὶ<sup>2</sup> del. ? || αἰεὶ dub.

182: (= 44 Da): Q 185v-186r || 1 ὑμᾶς Wk: ἡμᾶς Q || 7-8 καὶ ῥωννύουσαν] fort.  
ῥωννύουσαν καὶ || 9-10 πῶς εἶπω Wk: προσείπω Q || 11 ἐπιεικῶς Da: ἐπὶ εἰκός Q || 13-14  
fort. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀπαραίτητος ἀνάγκη τοῦτον <τὸν τρόπον> ἢ ἐκεῖνον || 19 σὺ Da: σοὶ Q || leg.  
εὐοδοῦν? || 22 ἀδιόρθωτα Da: -τον Q || 25 αὐτὸ Wk: αὐτῷ Q || 26 μέλει (Cis) Q

tatingly and readily obey him nor in any matter delay or refuse, so that  
you may not only receive your reward from God, but also on our part,  
sinners as we are, our prayer offered up to God on your behalf.

## 182

We were naturally grieved when after the lapse of some time since we  
wrote to you (my Son) we had received no word either about the subject  
of our letter or about your own condition; now that, thanks to God, we have  
received your letter, we have abandoned our grief, especially since we have  
learned, not from the letter, but from an oral report of the carrier, that,  
though you had been ailing, you have, through the Divine Power, recovered  
from your illness, and we trust in the good God that in the future too this  
Power will not forsake you, and will give you strength to overcome all  
distress.

As regards the matter expounded in your letter, what else shall we  
say but this, that, knowing (how shall I put it?) the pitiable condition of  
human nature, we should bear our fate with equanimity, from whatever  
quarter it comes? It seems indeed that these things are part and parcel of  
the miserable life of man, and it is not possible that anyone at all should be  
exempt from painful stabs or from a life passed in sorrow, but there is an  
inexorable necessity which one way or another gives each of us cause for  
spending our lives in affliction and pain. Therefore (my Son), let us refrain  
from watching those who pain us and, rather, fix our eyes upon Him Who  
is good, through Whom comfort comes to those who are hurt and retribu-  
tion to those who hurt them; but no, let this not come true, rather we must  
hope that they will mend their ways.

So much for this. You, however, if God will speed your journey, must  
come to us as soon as possible, because the situation to which you owed  
those unpleasant experiences in the past and on account of which you feared  
the future, has been cleared up. We have only this instruction for you, not  
to overlook the affair of the bishop of Bindiis and the benefice given to him;  
we have heard an ugly rumor about it—that he has made it a private re-  
sidence instead of a monastery. If you care at all for my anxieties (as I  
know you do), do not overlook this, but having first restored to their proper  
position the place dedicated to God and the monks expelled from it, then set  
out to rejoin us.

Πολλάκις, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὠρμήθην πρὸς σέ γράψαι καὶ πολλάκις τῆς ὀρμῆς ἀνεκόπη· νῦν δὲ γράφω ἃ γράφω. Καὶ μὴ δέξῃ βαρέως τὰ λεγόμενα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὡς παραίνεσιν πατὴρ τέκνον ἀγαπῶντος—οἶδας δὲ πεῖραν τὴν εἶδησιν ἔχων ὅτι τῶν πατέρων οἱ λόγοι αὐστηρίας (πλήρεις)—  
5 ὀρθοῖς τοῖς ὠσίν, ἵνα θεοῦ εὐμενεῖα γλυκύτητα ἐξ αὐτῶν θησαυρίσῃς.

Τί εἶπω οὐκ οἶδα πρὸς σέ. Χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ τὴν σὴν ἐγνωρίσαμεν τιμιότητα οἶδας ὅσος· καὶ νεότητός τε ἦν καὶ δόξης κοσμητικῆς ταπεινότητος καὶ πλούτου ἀσύγκριτος ἐλάττωσις καὶ ἦσαν πολλοί, ἵνα μὴ λέγω πάντες, τὸ σὸν φέροντες ὄνομα ἐν ἐπαίνῳ, ἐν μακαρισμῶ, ἐν εὐχαίς, ὡς τοῦ  
10 θεοῦ ἀνθρώπος, ὡς ἀρετὴν ἀγαπῶν, ὡς πάντων ὑπερκηδόμενος, μάλιστα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ προσανατεθειμένων. Νῦν δὲ τί; Πάντες καταβοῶσι μονάζοντες, πάντες κατεύχονται ἱερεῖς, πάντες δυσφημοῦντες τὸ σὸν ὄνομα προσέρχονται ἡμῖν.

Τί τοῦτο, ἀνθρώπε τοῦ θεοῦ; Οἶδαμεν ὅτι διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν  
15 ὁ λυμεὼν, ὁ ἐχθρός, ὁ ἀποστάτης θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πίστεως τῶν Χριστιανῶν πολλὴν εἰργάσατο καινοτομίαν τῷ δημοσίῳ· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ ἔδει τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ οἴκων ἀφαιρεθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον (ἵνα τι καὶ εἶπω ἴσως μὲν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἀρέσκον, θεῶ δὲ πειθομένῳ μάλιστα εἰς ἀρέσκειαν ἐσόμενον) αὐτὴν διαπραθῆναι τὴν ἀλουργίδα τοῦ θεοστεφεοῦς  
20 βασιλέως μου καὶ τέκνου, ὅτε ἄλλη πᾶσα ἦν ἀπορία, καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ ἀποστερηθῆναι τῆς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων ἀφορισθείσης αὐτοῖς παραμυθίας. Νῦν δὲ (τί) ποιούμεν; Πατζινακίταις καὶ Τούρκοις καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ δωρούμεθα τῆς ἐκείνων δεόμενοι συμμαχίας, τῆς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίας ὡς εἶκοι καταγινώσκοντες ὡς ἀδυνάτου καὶ  
25 μὴδὲν ὠφελούσης ἀποσυλῶμεν τοὺς αὐτοῦ θείους οἴκους καὶ διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπινοίας ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἑαυτοὺς συνιστᾶν. Κακῶς ταῦτα ὑπέθεντο οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑποθέμενοι· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστὶ θεοῦ καταφρονεῖν τὰ τινὰ ἀνθρωπίνῃ περινοίᾳ κατορθῶσαι τὸ σπουδαζόμενον. Ἡ οὐχὶ ταῦτα θεοῦ καταφρόνησις; Ἐγὼ μὲν σιωπῶ, σὺ δὲ σκέψαι κατὰ σεαυτὸν εἰ μὴ καταφρονεῖται θεός.  
30

Ἐκεῖνο μόνον προστίθημι. Εἰ σὺ, ἀνθρώπος ὢν, ἐάν ποτε θεάσῃ τὸν σὸν ὑπηρετὴν στυγρὸν σοι προσιόντα ὅτι ἀφείλετό τις αὐτοῦ, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἀργύριον ἢ νόμισμα, ὀργίξῃ κατὰ τοῦ ἀφελομένου, πόσῳ μᾶλλον θεός, ὅταν οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἢ ἀφαίρεσις γίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς στενοχωρίαν

Often (my Son) I have felt impelled to write to you, and often my impulse has been checked; now, however, I write as I do, and please do not take offense at my words, but rather listen to them as the admonition of a father who loves his son—and you know from experience that the language of fathers is fraught with severity—listen with pricked-up ears, so that by God's favor you may gather sweetness from them.

I do not know what to say to you. You know how long ago we became acquainted with your Excellency; you were held in little account because of your youth and your rank in the world, you were infinitely inferior in wealth, and then many people, not to say all, pronounced your name with praise, with eulogy, with prayers, calling you a man of God, a lover of virtue, one who more than anybody else showed concern for the churches of God and for the men dedicated to Him. And now, why are all monks coming to us with protests, all priests with imprecations, all men with disparagement of your name?

What is this, man of God! We know that because of our sins that destroyer, that enemy, that apostate from God and the Christian faith has caused great losses to the public treasury. Yet this is no reason for taking away what belongs to God and His holy Houses; it would be better (if I may say something which is perhaps not pleasing to you, but which will certainly become acceptable to you if you are ready to obey to God) for the purple robe of my Son the Emperor crowned by God to be sold, at a time when there was absolutely no alternative, than that the Houses of God be bereft of the revenues reserved to them from of old by pious emperors. But as it is, what are we doing? We offer gifts to the Petchenegs and Turks and others because we need their alliance; the alliance with God, however, we seem to reject as ineffectual and useless, and so we plunder His sacred Houses and imagine that by this device we strengthen our position. This was bad counsel on the part of those who originated it; for it is impossible for anyone, while scorning God, to achieve his purpose by human cleverness. Or is this not scorning God? I say nothing, but you may consider in your own mind if God is not being despised.

I add only this. If you, a mere man, when you see your servant coming to you with a gloomy face because someone has robbed him, say, of some silver or of some gold coin, are angry with the thief, how much more will God be angered, when it is not a case of simple robbery, but one resulting

183: (= 66 Da): Q 195v-196r || 4 πλήρεις Wk: om. Q || 12 κατεύχονται Wk: κατέχονται Q || 18 ἀρέσκον Da: ἀρέσκοντα Q || 22 τί Wk: om. Q || 27 καταφρονεῖν Wk: -ες Q || 31 εἰκέινο Q

35 μεγάλην και συνοχήν τῶν ἀφαιρουμένων; Ταῦτά σοι ἔγραψα ἵνα γνῶς ὅτι ὡς πατήρ γνήσιος ἀγαπῶ γνησίως και τὴν σωτηρίαν οὐ παρὰ φαῦλον ποιῶμαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν και ἡγαπημένης, κἂν ἴσως οὐκ ἔδωκε πληροφορίαν ὅτι ἡγαπήσαμεν, καίτοι τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἡμῶν ἀγάπην μαρτυρησάντων.

## 184

Ψυχὴ πρὸς θεὸν ἀνανεύουσα ἀνθρώπων τὰ χείρονα ψηφίζομένων οὐ ποιήσεται λόγον, τὴν βελτίω περὶ αὐτῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ψῆφον ἐπισταμένη. 'Ο δ' ἐφ' οἷς αἱ τυραννικαὶ φέρουσι ψῆφοι καταπίπτων δίδωσιν ἔλεγχον μὴ τῇ θεῖᾳ πιστεύων τὰ κρείττονα φερούση και διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀθυμίαν  
5 ἐκπίπτων.

## 185

Κάμνομεν τὰς ἡμέρας ἀπαριθμούμενοι και πότε καιρὸς ἐπιστήσεται πρὸς ὀφθαλμούς (σε) ἄγων τοὺς ἡμετέρους. Ἔχει μὲν τι και πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἢ ἐλπίς αὐτῆ, νικᾷ δὲ τὸ ἡδὺ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ παρατείνεσθαι τὸν χρόνον διασπάραις τῆς καρδίας. Ἡμεῖς και ἀπαξ και δεύτερον ὑπεθέμεθα—εἰ  
5 τὸ ἀσφαλές, οὐκ οἶδα, θεὸς δ' ἂν εἰδείη ὃ τὰ ἐσόμενα βλέπων, πλὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡναγκασμένοι πόθου και τοῦ τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν ἐπίπροσθεν τὰ ὑμέτερα τίθεσθαι. Τὰ ὑποτεινόμενα ἦλθε πρὸς ἔννοιαν και τῆς ἐννοίας ταύτης ἀναχωρεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. Εἰ οὖν δυνατόν, γενέσθω τι πρὸς κοινὸν παραμύθιον ὑμῶν τε και ἡμῶν· εἰ δ' ἔστιν τι τὸ φοβοῦν ὑμᾶς και  
10 διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀναστέλλον (ἐάσθω γὰρ τὰ περὶ ἐμὲ φοβερά), ἐκεῖνο κρατεῖται τὸ μὴ δοκοῦν ἐπάγειν ὑμῖν τινὰ χαλεπότητα.

## 186

Ἦν ποτε καιρὸς ὅτε τὸ πάσχειν ὑπὲρ φίλων, μὴ ὅτι γε ὑπὲρ πατρὸς, ἐζηλοῦτο, και πολλοὶ και τῶν φαύλως βιούντων τοῦτο τέως ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο, τὸ φίλων πάθειν ἐπικοινωνεῖν. Nῦν δὲ ὡς εἶοικεν ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν

37 ἡγαπημένης Wk: ἡγαπωμένης Q

184: (= 1 La): A 163v || 1 ἐπιστολ(α)ὶ νικολάου π(ατ)ριάρχ(ου) κωνσταντ(ινου) πόλε(ως) sscr. A

185: (= 2 La): A 163v-164r || 2 πρὸς<sup>1</sup> La: προ A || σε La: om. A

186: (= 3 La): A 164r-v || 1 Ἦν La: Ἦν A

in great straits and distress for those robbed? I have written you this to let you know that as a true father I love you truly and do not make light of your salvation, nor of that of our beloved Lady, though perhaps she has not given you reason to believe that we love her, even if the facts have testified to our love.

## 184

A soul that is lifted up to God will not heed the adverse verdict of men, knowing that God's judgment is favorable. But he who loses heart because of what happens to him by the verdict of tyrants makes it clear that he has no faith in God's favorable judgment, and this is the ground for his discouragement.

## 185

We wear ourselves out counting the days, waiting for the moment to come that brings you before our eyes. There is something pleasant in this expectation, but stronger than the sweetness is the heartrending pain as time drags on. We have given you instructions time and again—whether they were prudent, I do not know, only God, Who sees the future, knows, but it was our love for you that prompted us and the feeling that your troubles should weigh more than ours. These instructions have come to our mind, and we cannot free ourselves from the thought. Therefore, if possible, let something be done to comfort both you and us; however, if there is anything that frightens you and prevents you from following your inclination (my own dangers must not count), let that course prevail which does not seem to entail any trouble for you.

## 186

Once there was a time when suffering for one's friends (and how much more for a father!) was a laudable example, and many even of those who led a bad life had at least this ambition—to share the troubles of their



ὁσιότητι βιοῦσι τοῦτο δοκεῖ φιλότιμον, τὸ τοὺς πατέρας ἐξαρνεῖσθαι. Τὸ  
 5 μὲν σὸν, καλὲ καὶ ἀγαθὲ ἄνθρωπε, τοιοῦτον· τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον εὐχαριστεῖν,  
 ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἡμῖν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ σοὶ τῷ θεῷ.  
 Τοῦτο δὲ σοὶ μόνον φαμέν· γινῶθι μὴ ἐμὲ ἀθετήσας, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ  
 προσώπῳ τὸν οὐράνιον πατέρα, οὗ νόμος τιμᾶν τέκνους πατέρας.

## 187

Ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν ἀγὼν ἤνυσται σοι· τί ἔτι κάμνεις ἐπαγωνιζόμενος;  
 Ἡ αὖξιν ἐπιζητεῖς τὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ βραβεῖα; Ὅφει τὸ σπουδαζόμενον  
 δε τῷ πλεονί μέρει τῶν βραβείων πλέον οἰμῶξεις. Τοῦτο μὲν ἡ μέλ-  
 λουσα ἡμέρα δείξει ἀναμφιβόλως, τίς δὲ οἶδεν εἰ μὴ καὶ ἡ παροῦσα;

## 188

Σαλεύουσι τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν ἕξιν καὶ πρὸς νοσώδη μεταποιοῦσι  
 διάθεσιν, πολλὰκις δὲ καὶ τέλεον διαφθείρουσιν, οὐ μόνον τὰ δηλητήρια,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ καρυκεῖαι καὶ πόσεις τὴν αἴσθησιν γοητεύουσαι. Μακάριος μὲν  
 ὁ μὴ φθειρόμενος ὑπὸ δηλητηρίων ἀλλ' ἐπικρατοῦσαν ἔχων τοῦ φαρμά-  
 5 κου τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἕξιν· μακαριώτερος δὲ ὅν ἡδονῆ οὐ διεσχρήσατο. Τῶν  
 μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ δηλητηρίων τοῦτο παθόντων ἔχουσι τὴν κατάγνωσιν οἱ  
 ταῦτα συντεθεικότες καὶ δόντες, τῶν δ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τίς ἄλλος ἢ ὁ δειξας  
 ἑαυτὸν ἀνδράποδον ἡδονῆς;

## 189

Οὕτω τὸν κοσμικὸν ὀρῶμεν τροχὸν τῆς ἰδίας πεπαυμένον κινήσεως,  
 ἀλλ' ἔτι κινεῖται καὶ κινήσεται πάντως ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιφερόμενος,  
 ἕως ἂν ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα. Εἰ οὖν οὕτως ὁμολο-

186: 7-8: cf. Luc. 10.16. || 8: Ex. 20.12.

187: (= 4 La): A 164v

188: (= 5 La): A 164v-165r || 6 ἔχουσι Wk: ἔχωσι A

189: (= 6 La): A 165r

friends. Now, however, it seems as if you that lead a life of holiness make it  
 a point of honor to deny your Fathers. So much for your attitude, my  
 noble and worthy sir; as for me, I thank God, as I thank Him for all things  
 that befall me, so also on your account. All I have to say to you is this:  
 know that you have not rejected me, but, in my person, the Heavenly  
 Father, Whose law it is that children should honor their fathers.

## 187

Your battle against us is won; why do you still trouble to carry on a  
 fight that is over? Or do you want to add to the trophies you won in it?  
 You will see the results of your pains when with each added trophy you  
 will smart the more. The coming day will show this beyond a doubt, but  
 perhaps (who knows?) even the present.

## 188

What impairs health and changes it to a sickly condition, and often  
 destroys it completely, are not poisons alone, but also spicy sauces and  
 drinks that beguile the senses. Fortunate is he whom poisons do not kill,  
 but whose physical condition is strong enough to overcome the drug; more  
 fortunate he whom pleasure does not ruin. For with victims of poison the  
 guilt rests with those who prepared and administered it; with victims of  
 pleasure who is responsible other than the man who proved himself its  
 slave?

## 189

As yet we do not see the wheel of the world stay its motion; still it  
 moves and will of necessity continue to move so long as man lives on the  
 earth and the human condition exists. If you agree with this (and I believe

γεῖς καὶ αὐτός (οἶμαι δ' οὐ φεύγεις τὴν ὁμολογίαν), μὴ πάνυ σεαυτῷ  
 5 πιστεύσης μηδ' ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ θαρρήσης μετεωριζόμενος. Συμπεριενεχθήσῃ  
 γὰρ καὶ αὐτός, τυχὸν εἰ καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων περιπετείας,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς περιφορᾶς, ἥτις σε πάντως κατενέξει πρὸς τάφον,  
 οὗ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάτω δοκούντων οὐδὲν κατώτερον εὐρεθήσεται.

Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ, καθὼς ὀφειλόμενόν ἐστι, περὶ τῆς ὑμῶν  
 ὁσιότητος ἐκάστοτε, ἀναμανθάνοντες καὶ τὴν κατὰ σοῦ μανίαν τοῦ  
 μεμηνόςτος ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ τὴν σὴν κατ' ἐκείνου ἀπτόητον παρρησίαν, δι'  
 ἧς ὁ μὲν ἐνδύεται τὴν αἰσχύνην, λαμπροτέρα δὲ ἡ σὴ γνωρίζεται ἀρετῇ,  
 5 καὶ δοξάζεται μὲν ὁ θεός, χαίρει δὲ τῶν εὐσεβούντων τὸ πλήρωμα,  
 μάλιστα δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐν τοῖς σπλάγχθοις ἑαυτῶν οἷα δὴ τόκον εὐγενῆ τῆς  
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας περιφέροντες. Ποία γὰρ ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην  
 θλίψεων, αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ βαρεῖαι κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιφύονται, κεκακω-  
 μένοις οὐχὶ προσγίνεται ἄνεσις καὶ παράκλησις, λογιζομένοις τὴν διὰ σοῦ  
 10 ὠφέλειαν τῷ ποιμνίῳ ὑπάρχουσαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃ σπαράσσειν μὲν  
 ὁσημέραι οἱ κακοὶ θρασύνονται κύνες, ἡ δὲ σὴ ἄγρυπνος φυλακὴ ὅσοις  
 ἐχαρίσθη τὸ σῶζεσθαι, τούτους ἀβλαβεῖς τῆς ἐκείνων ἀγριότητος συν-  
 τηρεῖ. Ἄλλ' εἴης καὶ νῦν καὶ διὰ παντός πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν ταύτην  
 γρηγόρησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ποιμένος ἐνισχυόμενος, καὶ σῶζων καὶ  
 15 ἐπανορθούμενος καὶ στηρίζων τοὺς ἐκάστου τούτων ἐν χρείᾳ καθιστα-  
 μένους.

190: (= 7 La): A 165r-v || 8 αλ Wk: αἱ A || 10 σπαράσσειν La: -ει A

you cannot fail to do so), do not put too much trust in yourself nor feel  
 confident because you are borne up to the summit, since you too will follow  
 the turn of the wheel, if not perhaps by the vagaries of circumstance, then  
 in any case by that rotation common to all, which will inevitably bear you  
 down to your grave, a lower depth than any that can be imagined in human  
 life.

We thank God, as is our duty, on account of your Holiness, every  
 time we receive news both of the way the madman (there is no other word)  
 rages against you and of your fearless frankness toward him, by which he  
 is covered with shame, while your virtue shines all the more brightly, to  
 the glory of God and to the joy of the congregation of the pious, above all  
 of ourselves, who carry you in our heart as a noble scion of God's Church.  
 Harassed indeed, as we are, by the many heavy afflictions that daily beset  
 the Church, what relief, what comfort do we not experience in considering  
 the profit that accrues to Christ's flock through you! Though day by day  
 the cruel dogs grow bolder in their attempts to ravage it, your vigilant  
 watchfulness guards all those whom Grace has elected for salvation and  
 keeps them safe from their savagery. May the Great Shepherd, now and  
 always, confirm you in this blessed vigilance, and may you continue to save,  
 to correct, to strengthen each according to his needs.

## SUMMARIES

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## SUMMARIES

*Ep. 1.* <To the Caliph Al-Muqtadir>

Aug. 913/Feb. 914

Inasmuch as all power comes from God, those united by this common gift should communicate through letters and envoys. This is especially true of the two supreme powers, Romans and Saracens (3—22). Such contact is all the more necessary in view of the present events, in which the issue is justice, the virtue most essential to the ruler (23—43).

Since the time when the Cypriotes became tributary to you, their right to protection was always respected by your successive rulers; now all the oaths and treaties are suddenly void, and they are slaughtered by those who should be their protectors (44—66). A nation which has served you loyally for nearly three centuries has fallen a victim to the frenzy of a renegade. Even if they had undertaken anything against you (as they have not), they should not be treated as enemies without having been heard and warned (67—92).

Will not your fame, present and future, suffer from this? What must your forefathers, who concluded the treaties, think of it? Should this impious wretch Damianus be allowed to exterminate a nation (93—115)?

The alleged reason, the killing of Saracens in the island by Himerius, would be valid only if the Cypriotes had cooperated with him. As it is, they were powerless to interfere with the operations of the Roman army. Why not punish those who are responsible? It would be equally absurd to use Himerius' invasion of Syria as an excuse for action against Cyprus. Traditionally, Cyprus has always been recognized as a common sphere of interest between the Romans and you. The hostilities on the island have nothing to do with this, no more than the Syrian Christians ought to be victimized because of your war with the Christian Empire (116—57).

You must be aware of the way in which the divine wrath overtook Damianus: not only his death, but also his illness from the time of the atrocities in Cyprus, and the destruction of your fleet in the very island he intended to lay waste (158—69). Act in accordance with your wisdom and restore the old conditions (170—81).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 646. Vasiliev, IIB, 197—203; cf. IIA, 180—83, 208. Vasiliev—Canard, II, 1, 57 note 1, 399—400, 403—11. Jenkins, XVI, XVII, XXII.

1, 2

*Addressee:* Jenkins has argued convincingly that the letter is not to the Emir of Crete, but to the Caliph (head of the Muslims, ruler of Syria), to whom St. Demetrianus about this time appealed on behalf of the Cypriotes. For a possible explanation of the error, see *Ep. 2*.

*Date:* After Damianus' death (Aug. 913/July 914) and during Nicholas' regency (no emperor mentioned). To account for lines 140—44, which seem to ignore the defeat of Himerius in 912, as well as for the present tenses at 74 and 129, Jenkins assumes an earlier draft written in the spring of 912, to which a paragraph on the death of Damianus was added later; however, this does not explain the fact that Nicholas is speaking in his own name as the head of the Empire.

*Ep. 2. To the Emir of Crete*

June 913/Feb. 914

Nothing in human life is sweeter than friendship. The friendship we want to establish with you is not a new one, but rather a paternal inheritance (2—16). My father in the Spirit, Photius, was a sincere friend of your father, because, in spite of the barrier of a different religion, he discerned his great human qualities. I have long wished to renew this friendship (17—29).

What better occasion than the present matter: an appeal to that mercy and goodness which makes men like God? I refer to the liberation and return of prisoners-of-war (30—41). Nothing will contribute more to your glory, since no fate is sadder than theirs. Do not use pretexts or seek for a gain that is really the greatest loss; the only real gain is this act of mercy (42—70). Let it be the beginning of our friendship (71—76).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 600. Vasiliev, IIB, 203—5; cf. IIA, 208. Vasiliev-Canard, II, 1, 399—403, 409—11. Jenkins, XVI, 275 note 5.

*Addressee:* Grumel rightly observes that *Eps. 1* and *2* cannot be addressed to the same person, as both represent the first contact between the correspondents (unless, of course, we assume that one of the two was never dispatched). The easiest solution is that *Ep. 2* is really to the Emir of Crete; this would account for the erroneous heading of *Ep. 1*. Note that the formula of address in *Ep. 1* is perfectly correct; also that it fits the contents of *2* remarkably well. In G. C. Miles's tentative list of the emirs, the father, friend of Photius, could be Shu'ayb I ibn 'Umar (ca. 855—80), the son Muhammad ibn Shu'ayb (ca. 895—910; there is a considerable margin of uncertainty in Miles's dates).

*Date:* Grumel, followed by Canard, thinks of the captives of Thessalonica (904); but Nicholas is trying to establish relations with a foreign ruler in his own name, so the eight months of his presidency of the Regency Council are a more probable date. The prisoners might be those taken in the naval victory over Himerius.

3—5

*Ep. 3. To Symeon of Bulgaria*

May 912/July 913?

It is hardly necessary to exhort you to mercy, that greatest virtue of princes (3—22). A man took refuge in St. Sophia, and his extradition was demanded in your name; I finally yielded to pressure, after receiving the promise that nothing grave would happen to him (23—49).

Remember that you yourself need God's clemency, and that His judgment will depend on your action in this matter (50—60). I enforce this counsel by a bond in the name of the Holy Trinity (61—74).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 623. Zlatarski, X, 391—95.

*Date:* Though the first patriarchate cannot be excluded, there is no reason why the incident should not be dated to the reign of Alexander or the beginning of the Regency, when Symeon was looking for a *casus belli* and the more prudent politicians (the "friends" of 4.50—56) must have tried to pacify him.

*Ep. 4. To the Archbishop of Bulgaria*

May 912/July 913?

We welcome the opportunity of taking up contact with you. As mediators between God and men we also have the duty to mediate between men (3—20). You can fulfill this duty by exhorting the ruler of your country to clemency (21—32).

A man who asserts that he is neither a Bulgarian nor a Bulgarian's slave was claimed as a runaway and took refuge in St. Sophia. We permitted his extradition, when it was demanded on behalf of your Prince, with the warning that for any harm that might befall this man, we should invoke God's retribution. Understand that the Prince would be responsible, not those who acted for him (33—56). Make it clear to him that it was I who entrusted the man to his care, and that he will be held liable (57—66). Clemency, especially in a ruler, is a greater achievement than vengeance (67—77). We could be more explicit, but this will suffice (78—85).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 624. Zlatarski, X, 394. Dujčev, fasc. 4, pp. 26—28.

*Date:* See *Ep. 3*.

*Ep. 5. To Symeon of Bulgaria*

Ca. beginning of July 913

We write in great sorrow over the news that has reached us (2—10). They say that you are preparing an attack against our orphaned Emperor, without considering how hateful the word "usurper" is to men, nor that God is the Protector of orphans; without regard for the original treaty between Romans and Bulgarians, or for its renewal after the peace was broken (11—31).

I have always praised you as a just and faithful man, and prayed for a long reign for you and your offspring. What am I to think, what will all other men think, of this sudden change (32—57)? At first I took these

rumors for slander and defended you, maintaining that you could never have become a usurper and a liar (58—91). But now what shall I say? Is it not satanic pride to claim the Empire that Christ has set above all others? The example of a recent usurper has shown how this must end. By breaking your oaths you renounce the Christian faith (92—121).

Let me refer you to a more remote historical event. After the death of Arcadius, Chosroes the Persian ended his war against the Romans and made himself the guardian of the three-year-old heir Theodosius (122—43). Should you, a Christian, be put to shame by a barbarian and a fire-worshipper (144—63)?

As a friend, I wonder how you can do this, while still repenting, it is said, your former war against the Romans. I pray to God that He may touch your heart and open your ears to reason (164—88). By the power that has been given me, I put you under the bond of excommunication, if you should persist in your purpose; at the Last Judgment I will bear witness against you (189—207).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 641. Zlatarski, X, 395—404. Gay, "Le patriarche Nicolas," 95.

*Date:* After the revolt of Constantine Ducas, June 913, and before Symeon's arrival before Constantinople in Aug. (Zlatarski).

*Ep. 6. To the Same*

*July/Aug. 913*

We write again to remind you how disastrous war and revolt are (2—22). The bearers of this letter will confirm the following proposal: there are to be no hostilities, and the usual *conventum* will be handed to your men at Debeltos, not presented to you personally. We urge you to be satisfied with this (23—45).

Our messengers on their return reported your shocking misconstruction of my words that you could not "attain your end without bloodshed." I did *not* mean (and I cannot believe you said so) that bloodshed would bring you what you want. On the contrary, many wars end in disaster for both parties (46—69). If this was the idle talk of people of low intelligence, we shall bear it; if it came from you, we can only pray for you (70—86).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 643. Zlatarski, X, 404—11.

*Date:* *Eps. 6* and *7*, according to Zlatarski, were written in August 913, after Symeon's army had appeared before the capital. However, peace still prevails (37—38) and it seems that Symeon has not yet crossed the border.

*Ep. 7. To the Same*

*July/Aug. 913*

Our preceding letter [*Ep. 6*] was a fatherly admonition inspired by genuine affection (2—10). However, your letter to the Emperor has reassured

us, and we do not want you to take our severity in bad part. If I had been with you, I would have resorted to prayers; as it was, all I could do was warn you to check your impulse. A father has a right to scold, and the wise man will bear a friend's reproach gladly. My advice was only for your good, both in this world and hereafter (11—43).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 645. Zlatarski, X, 411—18.

*Date:* Must have followed closely upon *Ep. 6*, to which it refers.

*Ep. 8. To the Same*

*Spring/summer 914*

Greater than ever is my sorrow at the war between Romans and Bulgarians. As long as you were pagans, it was only natural; your conversion brought peace (2—24). Now, however, the devil has disturbed it. Once more, I beseech you to reflect what you are doing. If scandalizing only one of the little ones carries so terrible a punishment, what will happen to him who scandalizes the Empire founded by God Himself? Yet those are Christ's words. What will you answer when you appear before His Judgment Seat? I know that even more than worldly glory you desire the glory that does not wither (25—62).

God has allotted to each nation its boundaries as well as its rank; those who aspired to more have never been known to prosper for long. We men would not tolerate such behavior in our own subjects; how can we assume that God will (63—87)?

When we met last year, you promised us a lasting peace; why have you not kept your word? A wise man like you should be able to see through the wiles of the Evil One, prompted by envy. The glory you long for will be granted you, if you curb your pride. God will not permit the oaths sworn by your fathers and yourself to be broken; the longer His patience, the heavier the punishment (88—119). Though not a prophet, I warn you as a priest and a father: let peace prevail, before it is too late (120—31).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 655. Zlatarski, X, 418—28.

*Date:* Fixed by the reference to last year's meeting (88—93), which took place in August 913.

*Ep. 9. To the Same*

*Late Aug./early Sept. 917*

How shall I bewail the mischief wrought by the archenemy of man (2—17)? Chafing at your conversion, and at the brotherhood and peace between us, he at last found some willing instruments, both on our side and yours, for his evil designs (18—37). These events must sadden not only Christians throughout the world but the angels in heaven and Christ Himself (38—47).

But let us forget what has been and turn to the present. Let us end this war and mend the wrongs done by both sides (48—65). As for yours,

you know them well enough. As regards our side, though I was not consulted about the military preparations, I did know that something was on foot, and I called those in power to account (66—88).

They explained that the military governors of Macedonia and Thrace were warning them against a forthcoming Bulgarian attack and that this was confirmed by continual reports from Bogas, the governor of Cherson, according to which you were seeking help from the Pechenegs and other tribes in those regions; envoys from the Pechenegs themselves declared that they had received a proposal for intermarriage from you. When peaceful remonstrances were of no avail, our government decided to intimidate you by a military demonstration (89—120).

When I protested nevertheless, they asked me to write to you about the matter, a task which I must confess I neglected. However, how else could our government have acted after those reports (121—41)? A preventive action did seem indicated. Even parental authority must sometimes have recourse to threats. War was never intended, but the devil used his opportunity (142—72).

You will say that this does not explain our invasion of Bulgarian territory. Their excuse was that this had been the answer to attacks in the regions of Dyrrhachium and Thessalonica (173—86).

However specious these reasons, I maintained my protests, and I beseech you now to restore peace between Christians (187—96). The earth, once sanctified by the blood of the martyrs, is now defiled by Christian blood. Do not cause such grief to Christ, to the angels, to myself; do not wage war against our Emperor, who, in spite of his childhood, is your spiritual father and your sincere friend (197—226). Under the bond of excommunication I forbid you to invade territory that belongs to the Empire by existing treaties (227—39).

Let the Gospel I am sending you remind you of Christ's suffering for the peace of the world. Let it be said of you, later, that as a dutiful son you vanquished the bitterness of your heart (240—63). Be kind to my envoy, who is the abbot of a monastery on Mt. Olympus and worked for the conversion of the Alans (264—78).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 660. Zlatarski, XI, 3—17. Gay, "Le patriarche Nicolas," 95—96.

*Date*: Soon after the battle of the Achelous, Aug. 20, 917 (Zlatarski).

*Note*: The envoy is Euthymius, cf. *Ep.* 135.82—101 (Grumel).

*Ep. 10. To the Same*

*Early 918?*

We write you this as a father and as a bishop, whether you want it or not (2—8). If I have "become foolish," as you say, what is an adolescent son who calls his father a fool (9—19)?

The cause of the defeat of the Roman army was, first, the will of God, second, our sins. All those who, before you, attacked Constantinople perished: the Persians, the Avars (whose serfs you are), the Saracens who besieged it for seven years, but the city stands (20—45). Take my foolish advice: do not try to enslave those who liberated your nation from slavery (46—61).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 661. Zlatarski, XI, 17—23.

*Date*: The lost battle is either that of the Achelous, in which case this letter was written *ca.* Sept. 917, to answer Symeon's reaction to *Ep.* 9; or that of Catasyrtae, when Symeon's siege of Constantinople had already begun (Zlatarski).

*Ep. 11. To the Same*

*Winter 918/19*

If old age and ill-health did not prevent me, I would face the winter and the long journey to meet you (2—14). This would be for a worthy purpose: peace (15—19). We beseech you in the name of Christ, be with us (20—32). Let there be an end to the horrors of this fratricidal war; let the satisfaction you have received suffice (33—54). Even brute animals are reconciled after a victory. If we want to be members of Christ, our common Head, let us not hurt Him by our strife (55—84).

Bear with me if I continue; sorrow forces me to speak (85—93). Think of the wrath to come, think also of the verdict of posterity. No one will condone the war of brothers against brothers, of sons against fathers. No power or glory can compensate this (94—121). For the sake of your own reputation and your children's, listen to me (122—39). May God restore peace to your mind and to our nations (140—51).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 662. Zlatarski, XI, 23—30. Runciman, 86.

*Date*: *Eps.* 11—13, sent simultaneously (12.82—86; 13.13—16), represent a new peace initiative, in the winter (11.3—4) of 918/19 rather than 919/20 (Zlatarski, Grumel, Runciman), since Zoe's government continues to exist in some form: those in power have not been removed, they have come to see eye to eye with Nicholas (12.63—72). The divine punishment on those responsible for the war (13.35—39; cf. 18.63—66) may be (partly?) the arrest of Constantine the Chamberlain by Romanus.

*Ep. 12. To the Archbishop of Bulgaria*

*Winter 918/19*

We do not want to instruct you, knowing that you think about this war as we do, but only to discuss it with you (2—14). Each man has his own task assigned to him; for us priests our first task is that peace for which Christ shed His blood. How must we feel now that we see two nations at war (15—54)?



12-15

I for my part have always opposed this war, before it began and after, and our rulers have come to share my view, only your Prince refuses (55—81). We have written to him on this matter; we trust that he will listen, because that brief meeting we had with him [Aug. 913] has convinced us of his fundamental kindness (82—93). Use your influence with him, impress on him the sorrow of Christ, the horrors of war (94—119). Plead with him on your behalf, but also on mine. Let him send men to negotiate (120—37).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 663. Zlatarski, *Istoriya*, II, 405. Dujčev, fasc. 5, pp. 23—27.

*Date*: See *Ep. 11*.

*Ep. 13. To the Chief Man of Symeon*

Winter 918/19

Knowing the high moral standard that befits a man of your rank, we ask you to support our appeal to your Master. You can render him no greater service (2—23). We are confident that your pains will not be wasted, since God Himself has shown His approval by removing from our midst those responsible for this cruel war (24—45).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 664. Zlatarski, *Istoriya*, II, 405. Dujčev, fasc. 5, pp. 23—27.

*Date*: See *Ep. 11*.

*Ep. 14. To Symeon of Bulgaria*

July 9/early Aug. 920

We announce good tidings concerning the Church (2—16). Unity has been restored, those who had separated themselves from us have repented and returned, with the exception of a few, who saw no other way of gaining fame; they, too, will eventually make their peace (17—47).

As regards yourself, malicious men have moved you to a course completely at variance with your own character, a war between Christians (48—85). This must be the work of the devil, who cannot bear the triumph of our faith (86—95). It is true that on our side he has found men willing to help him in his evil designs (96—105). These men are beneath your notice; the Emperor himself is not responsible. If you have been offended, you have had your revenge (106—27).

We are willing to see you in spite of old age and ill-health, if you want to discuss peace; in that case release our envoys and write to us. We could meet at Mesembria or elsewhere, and end the war (128—55).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 672. Zlatarski, XI, 30—37.

*Date*: Soon after the Union (July 9, 920).

*Ep. 15. To the Same*

Aug./Sept. 920

We are grateful for your immediate readiness to meet us (2—17). Only let us be certain that we shall not come in vain (18—30). Give me your

15-17

assurance that you have abandoned your claim to the Roman throne. Do not make me a laughingstock and bring God's judgment upon yourself (31—61).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 673. Zlatarski, XI, 37—42.

*Date*: After Symeon's prompt answer to *Ep. 14*.

*Ep. 16. To the Same*

Soon after Dec. 17, 920

I write to you again, because I realize my responsibility (2—13). Whether the military preparations now on foot lead to the destruction of the Romans or of the Bulgarians, there will be no excuse for the guilty (14—34).

Do not be over-confident because you once won a victory (35—49). Do not take the risk of another bloody battle, when glory is waiting for you elsewhere. The Lord Romanus, whom God has set on the throne, is willing to grant that intermarriage, either through a son or through a daughter, which you have desired so long. Do not despise him because he is a new-comer to the throne; clearly it is God Who established him there (50—83). A sign of God's grace is the restoration of the unity of the Church, which since Leo's days had been disturbed (84—94).

Knowing this, you should accept the Emperor's offer and restore peace (95—106).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 677. Zlatarski, XI, 42—47.

*Date*: Soon after Romanus' coronation, Dec. 17, 920; before Feb. 921, if Grumel's chronology of *Ep. 17* is correct.

*Ep. 17. To the Same*

Feb. 921?

Though you have thus far despised all my entreaties, I cannot forget my responsibility (2—30). If the slaughter of any fellowman is awful to see, what should we think of a war between fathers and sons and brothers (31—49)?

New military preparations are being made; the Emperor himself will be commander-in-chief. Whatever the outcome, Christians will be slaughtered by Christians (50—74).

Think of a father's feelings when his sons attack each other. What must Christ's feelings be now (75—102)? Do not limit yourself to earthly examples: look up to heaven and think of the sorrow of the angels (103—19). Listen to a father's prayers and do not allow another bloody clash to take place (120—44).

May God direct your thoughts toward peace. The Romans, for their part, are willing to pay a reasonable tribute, and I will support your demand (145—68).

17-19

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 681. Zlatarski, XI, 47—54.

*Date*: If the military preparations are those of Pothos (Theoph. Cont. 400.1—8), the letter was written about Feb. 921 (Zlatarski, Grumel); in any case in the first half of that year (see *Eps.* 18 and 19).

*Ep. 18. To the Same*

*Spring/summer 921*

Your letter and the return of my envoy have belied my rising misgivings (2—15). I was disappointed, however, at your sarcastic reply that your demand was not impossible, since it was not the resurrection of the dead Bulgarians, but only the abdication of the present Emperor. This is not a realistic proposal. Let your gain, besides some gold, clothing, and perhaps land, be the end of the hostilities (16—53).

In your letter you accused the eunuchs, and rightly so, but this is no reason why we should imitate them. God has punished them for their misdeeds; do not grieve your Avenger by the evils of war. Rather follow Christ's example, to which you yourself referred. Think of what I have suffered these last four years (54—88).

If you really want peace, do not insist on your meaningless demand, but send an envoy to meet a representative of the Empire (89—102). If God elected you to sit on the Roman throne, why not leave it to Him? I pray for you, that you may find the way to peace (103—20).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 682. Zlatarski, XII, 121—28.

*Date*: The words "in the fourth year" (line 84; obviously to be counted from Aug. 20, 917) cannot be explained in terms of either calendar or campaign years, as this would result in the letter being written in 920, before Romanus' coronation; Grumel therefore rightly dates it within four years from the beginning of hostilities. When the envoy did not find Symeon in Bulgaria, *Ep. 19* was written to replace 18, still within the fourth year (19.36).

*Note*: Nicholas' letter cited at 20—26 may be *Ep. 17*, though the words "not impossible," which provide the point for Symeon's sarcasm at 26—30, are not actually found in it; however, the phrase "not... beyond our power" (17.159) could have been given the same ironical application.

*Ep. 19. To the Same*

*Spring/summer 921*

When the monk we had sent had returned with your letter, we sent him back with our reply [*Ep. 18*]; but since he is in Bulgaria and you have come to these parts, we do not know when he will see you. Therefore we now repeat our request for peace on reasonable conditions (2—20).

Discard the absurd demand that the Romans accept you as their ruler; ask for concessions that we can grant. Listen to an entreaty which I have

19-21

been repeating for four years now (21—39). If necessary, I will come to Heraclea or Selymbria to meet you and to discuss peace. As always, I pray for you (40—54).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 685. Zlatarski, XII, 124—28.

*Date*: See *Ep. 18*. Meanwhile, Symeon has again invaded Byzantine territory.

*Ep. 20. To the Same*

*Summer 921*

I hoped that you would be moved by my willingness to come to you; I hoped this, considering your wisdom as well as my own old age and high office (2—28). Your letter has made it clear that I am to expect nothing. What will people think of this brutal contempt of a son for his father (29—47)?

You point out that the apostles had nothing to look forward to but their reward from God, implying that the hardships I am willing to endure must be pleasing to God. Does this not oblige you to act as He wills (48—68)? Those who refused to listen to them did so out of ignorance, while you know better. Soon you will appear before your Lord to render your account (69—87).

In the reign of Arcadius, Gainas laid waste this country, but he relented when John Chrysostom appeared before him to admonish him (88—126). Need I insist that you follow his example? What will your fame in later ages be, if you persist in your blunt refusal? Even now there is discontent among your own nation and relatives (127—56). At the risk of being tiresome, I must continue my pleas for peace (157—68).

You also write about the exchange of prisoners. It is sad that such an issue should arise between fellow Christians. But since the circumstances make it necessary, let it be negotiated in the usual way (169—91).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 686. Zlatarski, XII, 129—38.

*Date*: Soon after *Ep. 19* (reference to proposal for meeting, 19.41—44).

*Ep. 21. To the Same*

*Summer 921/end 922*

In spite of all disappointments I continue my efforts, encouraged by your statement that, imitating God's condescendence, you consented to meet my humble messenger (2—22).

However, your letter does not continue in the same spirit of humility: its one purpose is usurpation of the Roman throne (23—46). This is not the road to peace; end the war, but do not try to enslave those who are your fathers in Christ (47—61). Do not listen to the promptings of evil counselors: this is not God's will, but the devil's; he and his satellites engineered this war between Christians (62—82). You say that you seek concord and peace,

but your actions do not agree with this pretense. Subjugating one's brothers is not the way to peaceful coexistence (83—104).

I fail to understand your allusion to blackbirds, apes, and jackdaws. These animals miss the essential characteristic of man, reason. If you insist on applying the comparison, it leads to the same conclusion: restore peace between our nations (105—27).

If you believe that what you demand is God's will, bide His time (128—43). Rather than trying to answer each of your arguments, which all have one and the same purport, we admonish you to remember the blessings of the former peace (144—61). Let not Satan prevail; do not listen to evil advisors. Once we shall all have to appear before God's Judgment Seat (162—84). Let us not wait until it is too late to repent (185—200).

You suggest that we send envoys; first show your good faith by releasing at least one of the two you keep under arrest. After that, ambassadors from the Emperor and the Senate will come to you (201—12).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 702. Zlatarski, XII, 138—46.

*Date*: Between *Ep.* 20 and the last possible date for *Ep.* 23.

*Ep.* 22. *To the Same*

*Summer 921/end 922*

Though you have not deigned to answer my letter [*Ep.* 21?], I write again (2—11). From the Emperor's letter to you we have learned your desire for peace, and we pray that it may lead to a reconciliation (12—34).

Since you requested an envoy, we have sent you one of our pupils, who took holy vows and was ordained archbishop [or metropolitan] by us; from him you will hear the Emperor's and the Senate's decision (35—49). Under the bond of the Holy Trinity we enjoin you, not to keep him for longer than fifteen days (50—63).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 704. Zlatarski, XII, 144—49.

*Date*: Some time after *Ep.* 21.

*Ep.* 23. *To the Same*

*922*

I have tried before to convince you that my reason for writing is not the misfortune of the Romans, but a genuine concern for peace on behalf of both nations. This concern has become even stronger now that I have learned that the imperial diplomacy has led to a joint action against you by the Russians, the Pechenegs, the Alans, and the Western Turks (2—21).

I have besought our Emperors not to permit an attack by these heathen tribes against our fellow Christians (22—39). They did not insist on retribution for the harm we suffered, but showed a sincere desire for peace and, in spite of the trouble and expense already incurred, professed themselves

willing to countermand the attack, asking me to write to you on the subject of peace, as I do now (40—65).

I must warn you that a refusal may lead to the destruction of your nation, for you cannot hope that Divine Justice will be on your side after all your wrongdoings. Many nations have perished through pride (66—92). Do not let Satan prevail, do not be carried away by your anger. The Emperor is willing to negotiate an honorable peace. The outcome of war is at best uncertain; in this case it is all too certain (93—131).

Think of the fate of Leo the Tripolite, who took Thessalonica and prepared an attack on Constantinople, but has now, after more than 17 or 18 years, been crushed on Lemnos by our fleet (132—60). God's patience is not inexhaustible. Ward off a catastrophe by a change of heart (161—76).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 705. Zlatarski, XII, 149—60.

*Date*: Zlatarski, end of 922; Grumel, first half of 922, taking the words "more than 17 or 18 years" to mean that the eighteenth year is not completed. The obvious meaning, however, is that Nicholas is not sure which, so that this piece of information works out to some time after August 921 or 922. The only other one is the entry in the chronicles on Leo's defeat (Theoph. Cont. 405.11—16), which immediately precedes the one on the Bulgarian invasion of Sept. 924 (or 923), and thus favors the later dating.

*Ep.* 24. *To the Same*

*922/June 923*

I am distressed at the thought that both our nations are losing, not only their happiness in this world, but also their hope of eternal bliss. Let me see peace restored before I die (2—29). Remember that you too may die and suffer the loss of your soul (30—43). We grant that the folly of others was responsible for the beginning of the hostilities, but they have been punished by God. Be content with this, and do not grieve Christ by perpetuating the slaughter. His patience will once be exhausted (44—69). We trust in your wisdom and pray for you (70—85).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 707. Zlatarski, XII, 160—63.

*Date*: For *Eps.* 24—27 there is hardly anything to go by besides their place between 23 and 28. In *Ep.* 26.35—40 the threat of 23.2—21 is repeated.

*Ep.* 25. *To the Same*

*922/June 923*

Though my sins have prevented my appeals from being heard, I must continue to plead for peace (2—14). As the heir of your father's throne, you should also continue his policy of Christian brotherhood. How would he feel if he were alive to witness the present events? How must he feel now that he witnesses them from his place in heaven (15—66)?

25-27

You refer me to the example of Moses, but what have you done to resemble him? You also say that we Romans enjoy the fruit of our fathers' labors; this is true, and so should the Bulgarian nation enjoy the fruit of what your own father did for them (67—83).

Accept our offer of gold, silver, and land, as the Persians did before you, and your own ancestors as well. This is the way to arrive at a truce, not by claiming a throne (84—100).

One more thing: do not lower yourself to invective against our Emperor. Our contacts with the Persians and the Agarenes, even in wartime, have always been marked by courtesy on both sides. Our Emperor's letters to you, too, have always guarded your dignity, even if, under provocation, the tone had sometimes to be harsh (101—42). You will accept this fatherly rebuke in the spirit in which it was made. May God give you the glory that does not wither (143—54)!

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 708. Zlatarski, XII, 163—70.

*Date:* See *Ep. 24.*

*Ep. 26. To the Same*

922/June 923

Not discouraged by failure, I continue my attempts for peace, because it is my duty and also because I believe that the moment is now favorable (2—18).

Moved by the awful events we witness, I say to you in writing what I say to our Emperors by word of mouth (19—34). They are willing to seek reconciliation, although military success is now near. Do not put God's patience to the test any longer (35—50). The Romans may hope for God's help, while you, carried away by a semblance of success, are in danger of losing all. History is full of examples. Change your mind, before it happens to you (51—75).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 709. Zlatarski, XII, 170—74.

*Date:* See *Ep. 24.*

*Ep. 27. To the Same*

922/June 923

Every time I write to you, I am full of new hope, and every one of your answers is a fresh disappointment. It grieves me that the wise and noble man I have known you to be since that short meeting of ours [Aug. 913] should refuse to be guided by his own reason and by my unceasing appeals (2—40).

Listen to me at last and drop your excessive demands (41—57). Concessions cannot come from one side only; be content with the indemnities we offered: gold, silver, perhaps some land. We cannot permit you to enter the city nor concede to you the dominion of the West, which belongs

27-29

exclusively to the Empire. The Emperor and the Senate are willing to grant you advantages you never enjoyed before (58—83).

At your repeated requests we have sent you as an envoy the *skeuophylax* of the Church in Blachernae. After his return with a sincere offer for peace, prominent men of the Church and the State will follow. May Christ guide your thoughts toward peace (84—98).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 710. Zlatarski, XII, 174—79.

*Date:* See *Ep. 24.*

*Ep. 28. To the Same*

June 922/June 923

Despite your insincerity, we write again, this time partly at the initiative of the Pope, who, troubled by the reports of this terrible war, has sent the archbishops Theophylactus and Carus with a letter for you (2—24). They are to threaten you with excommunication in case of refusal. However, since it is your practice to arrest ambassadors, we have deemed it prudent to pass the letter to you, while keeping the messengers with us, to protect them from maltreatment or even death (25—41).

We know your reverence for the Pope and for the Princes of the Apostles, whom he represents. Scripture has taught you how fearful their wrath can be (42—57).

At the same time we announce to you that the papal envoys have, jointly with us, anathematized the fourth marriage and that the unity of the Church is now restored (58—65).

We must also protest against the discourtesy you have shown in writing to the Senate rather than to the Emperor. This is speaking to the servants while ignoring the master. If you really repent the evil you have wrought, the Emperor is the person to whom you should address yourself (66—88).

If you want to come in person, I shall be among those who come to meet you. But if all you have to offer are futile sarcasms, it is better not to write at all (89—105).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 712. Zlatarski, XII, 179—84. Gay, "Le patriarche Nicolas," 96—97.

*Date:* In the *Vita Euthymii* 72.30—37 (=135.29—36 Karlin-Hayter), Euthymius prophesies total and final peace for the (Constantinopolitan) Church in the tenth year of Constantine VII. Granting Grumel's assumption, that this coincides with the reconciliation with Rome, we can date the present letter between June 922 and June 923.

*Ep. 29. To the Same*

923/24

Discouraged, we have been silent for a long time. Now there is hope again (2—13). Think of the guilt with which you have burdened yourself; the time when you will have to appear before your Judge is not far away

(14—43). You must be approaching sixty and few of us live to be seventy. You will be answerable for what happened during your life and for its consequences after your death (44—54). Let it not be said that the prudent, the tranquil Symeon destroyed the peace sworn to by his father (55—70).

Our Emperors are willing to make amends for the misdeeds of others. Messengers are on their way; it is yours to come to an understanding with them (71—92).

Finally, we urge you to abstain from invective, which is unworthy of a prince and will injure your fame. A sober discussion of facts will serve you better than insults and sarcasms (93—114).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 713. Zlatarski, XII, 185—96.

*Date:* A "long time" after *Ep. 28*; possibly occasioned by Symeon's last great offensive in Sept. 924 (923? Grumel).

*Ep. 30. To the Same*

*Not long after Nov. 924*

Not having received word from you, we write ourselves, remembering the promises you made to us and to our Emperor when we met (2—20). Let posterity remember you as a peacemaker; do not be carried away by your anger. Even animals are pacified after a fight. We are brothers in Christ (21—46). I trust that you will keep your word (47—52).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 714. Zlatarski, XII, 195—97; *idem*, *Istoriija*, II, 464—69. Runciman, 246—48. Dölger, No. 604.

*Date:* Depends on the controversial date of the meeting between Symeon and Romanus: Thursday, Nov. 9, second indiction, according to the chronicles (the variants Sept. 9 and Nov. 19 are too weakly attested to deserve consideration); the two possible corrections are Thurs., Nov. 6, 12th ind. (923) and Thurs., Nov. 11, 13th ind. (924). In favor of 923 (Zlatarski, Grumel) it is argued that ind. 12 is an easy correction for ind. 2; but the dating to 924 (Ostrogorsky, Dölger, Runciman) is supported by *Ep. 31*, since Nicholas would hardly have returned to the subject of his altercation with Symeon after the lapse of more than a year.

*Ep. 31. To the Same*

*Jan./Apr. 925*

I write you this my last letter moved by sorrow and by the memory of the commitment you made, first when I saw you alone, later in the presence of the Emperor (2—23). What has become of your promises (24—33)?

I must answer the accusations you made against me before the Emperor. You had brought the horse that received a blow aimed at you, and you said that this was my doing. You added that I could have stopped the war, or at least excommunicated those responsible. Yet, weak-minded and simple though I am, I believe I can understand the meaning of that incident:

you were spared because the war was started by others; the animal was struck as a warning to you, not to yield to the impulses of unreason (34—69).

We exhort the Emperor to have patience even now, and to refrain from a total war; but, though he is willing to listen, the feeling among the Senate and the people is that we have borne all we can (70—92).

Listen to the prayers of an old man and a priest: only you can end the war; the Emperor has sought peace ever since his accession to the throne. He knows what war is, and that even the conqueror often suffers painful losses, as you yourself have experienced (93—119).

In spite of the pressure from both the civilian and the military side, the Emperor is still willing to pay a tribute in gold and clothing (120—32). State your conditions, and let us live in peace together (133—52).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 716. Zlatarski, XII, 197—211.

*Date:* See *Ep. 30*. Within months of the interview; not long before Nicholas' death.

*Ep. 32. To the Pope <Anastasius III>*

*Second half 912*

Having first thanked God for His mercy shown to this Church, we must explain to you, Holy Brothers, the causes of the evils that came to pass (4—19).

When the late Emperor contemplated a fourth marriage, using the birth of his son as a pretext, the unanimous opposition of the Church seemed at first to have averted the danger (20—44). We baptized the child on the condition that the woman was to be dismissed, but a few days later the Emperor married and crowned her (45—64). I tried to argue with him, explaining that his third marriage could perhaps be excused on pragmatic (the engagement of his daughter to the Frank, Berta's nephew) and canonical grounds, but that the fourth was not a marriage at all and set a dangerous precedent (65—97). I pointed out the importance of the Emperor's example (98—107).

Then I insisted that at least the marriage should be a morganatic one and that Rome and the other patriarchates should be consulted to prevent a schism. He refused the former and said that after the synod he would arrange the question as it suited him (108—28).

When after eight or nine months the delegation from Rome arrived, he let it be known that they had come to approve his marriage, ignoring our authority. He spread the rumor that I declined to meet the delegation, but I only proposed a private meeting in the Palace to clarify matters (129—53). Meanwhile he bribed some of the archbishops and bishops to support him. After a dinner on St. Tryphon's day I was arrested and banished, as were the other loyal archbishops; the circumstances defy description (154—80).

The Roman delegates confirmed the verdict of banishment without even hearing me, though it was their task to report in Rome; I do not say

they were bribed, but in any case they collected all the false rumors that had been put in circulation. It is surprising that these should have been accepted by an entire Church (181—212). Not only in Constantinople, but also in Rome, I was condemned without being able to defend myself (213—26).

However, I am of little importance; the worst is that you have introduced fornication into the Church, against the commandments of the first Apostolic Council, and especially of St. Paul (227—46). What authority do you have to use the word "marriage" for a relationship that is punished by the canons and described as "bestial" (247—61)? If the Church of Rome permits a fourth marriage, or indeed any number, on the ground of I Cor. 7: 9, "It is better to marry than to burn," this rests on a gross misinterpretation (262—80). This text would be applicable only on the assumption that there is such a thing as a fourth marriage; as it is, Clement calls it "fornication," the Fathers "bestial," "unnatural," and "swinish" (281—301).

Claiming special indulgences for an emperor is misunderstanding his position. An emperor must be obeyed only so long as his commands conform to the commandments of God (302—29). The ruler's example, because of its strong influence, has to be good. The higher a man's rank, the greater his responsibility and the heavier his punishment (330—55).

As for the dispensation by Rome, dispensation can never be permission to sin; its sole purpose is to save from sin (356—83). Therefore, since a fourth marriage is "worse than fornication," no dispensation can change its nature (384—405). The precedents that are cited were not approved in their own time and, secondly, there is no reason to make them examples for imitation (406—25). Valentinian's bigamy, even if approved by Damasus, cannot be made into a law, no more than Aaron's example in the making of the Golden Calf. Else what are laws and canons for (426—43)? What would you do, if your own servants excused their misconduct by that of others? You ought to apply the same rule to the Church, rather than seek support in the laws and customs of the Old Testament (444—64).

We urge you to return from your evil course before the fourth marriage becomes customary, as the third has. To recognize his fault honors a man; correct it by anathematizing the cause of the scandal (465—93). Pope Sergius and the Emperor Leo shall be exempt from the anathema, which will strike only the living (494—517).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 635. Popov, 178—79. Dölger, No. 571. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii* 196—99.

*Date*: After Nicholas' restoration in May 912.

*Ep. 33. To the Monk Tryphon*

*Feb. 914/15?*

We look forward to a meeting as much as you do, but at present we can only meet in the spirit. As for your sickness, we hope for speedy recovery,

if you will only use the medicine we sent you, before your condition gets worse. Pray for us in the terrible troubles that surround us.

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel.

*Addressee*: He may be the pious but illiterate monk in Opsikion who became patriarch in 927 (Theoph. Cont. 417.10). Other letters to him: 64, 120, 131.

*Date*: Critical situation of 914/18, probably early stage.

*Ep. 34. To the Military Governor of Hellas*

*<June 913>/March 919*

A man who cares for the Churches as you do, needs no advice (2—8). To end the fights between the clergy at Thebes, let those in communion with the archbishop use the cathedral, the rest the other churches, until it please God to end the schism (9—28).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 636. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii* 216.

*Date*: Beginning of the second patriarchate, according to Grumel, and the scenes of physical violence seem to support this dating; on the other hand, Nicholas' willingness to compromise and the way in which he expresses himself at 21—26 indicate a later stage.

*Note*: Grumel thinks that the archbishop was a Euthymian, but the wording points the other way: the archbishop and his clergy are to "perform the glorification of God" in the cathedral, the others "shall gather by themselves." Cf. *Ep. 116*.

*Ep. 35. To the Military Governor of Strymon*

*Feb. 914/18*

It is hardly necessary to encourage you in the care of the Great Church of God, where you received our blessing on your patriciate (2—11). Yet we would, at his request, recommend the Curator of Strongylizon to you and ask you to help him to ward off attempts to encroach on Church lands in his care (12—25). This endangers both the interests of the Church and the souls of those guilty of sacrilege. Do not become their accomplice by permissiveness (26—35). Show the zeal that may be expected from you (36—41).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 768. Guiland, II, 195.

*Date*: *Eps. 35—36* and *165—66* are linked by references to *Ep. 35* at 36.31—32 and (probably) *165.24—25*. The issue is the requisitioning of land (or of produce) belonging to St. Sophia by various persons, among whom is the young officer to whom *165* and *166* are addressed. As there is also the question of vessels being commandeered (*165.12—15*), a connection with the Bulgarian war seems obvious. The emperor, who is apparently unable to speak for himself (*165.18—24*), must be young Constantine; Nicholas is powerless (*166*).

36-39

*Ep. 36. To the Curator of Strongylizon*

Feb. 914/18

From your letter to the Oeconomus of St. Sophia we learned that you are troubled by the difficulties you experience as well as by his reprimand. Fatherly reproof, whether deserved or not, is no reason for anger, or for renouncing your ministry, for which God will reward you (2—30). We have written to the Military Governor [*Ep. 35*] asking him to help you (31—39).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 769.

*Date*: See *Ep. 35*.

*Ep. 37. To Stylian, Deacon*

915/18?

You need no guidance in the administration of the affairs of the Church, either as regards the status of the priests or in agricultural affairs (2—10). We write to you only at your own request, permitting you to open the archives and produce the document protecting the priests; we also want you to send us an inventory of all the sacred objects belonging to the metropolis (11—16).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 759.

*Addressee*: Perhaps the Deacon Stylian who wrote Moscow Gr. 231 for Arethas in 932, and Paris. gr. 781 for one Calocyrus in 939. He is arranging the affairs of an unknown vacant metropolis (Grumel), but must have belonged to the clergy of St. Sophia.

*Date*: The draft status of clergy became a crucial issue between the Church and the State as the Bulgarian war went on; cf. *Eps. 150* and *164*.

*Ep. 38. To Philetus the Monk*

Feb. 914/18

You know how highly I value the monastic life, and I would do anything to fulfill your wish, but you know that in the present situation I am powerless. Let that man who wants to live for Christ trust in Him, Who forbade us to worry about the things of this life. Encourage him and leave the rest to God.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 760.

*Date*: Nicholas helpless.

*Ep. 39. To Gregory of Ephesus*

Early 914?

I repeat what I told you already by word of mouth: the critical situation in the Church does not permit your absence. You must have heard rumors, as I have received reports. Do not follow the example of the metropolitan of Cyzicus, who seems to have forgotten us completely. What has become of filial piety?

39-42

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 604. Karlin-Hayter, "Quatre lettres."

*Date*: Grumel, May 906; Karlin-Hayter, 914/19 (with 41, 42, and 48; cf. also 50, 130, and 138, to Ignatius of Cyzicus). Probably at the very beginning of this period, since the dangerous situation is only just developing; perhaps even a little before Nicholas' expulsion from the Palace in Feb. 914.

*Ep. 40. To the Patrician Malacinus*

Feb. 914/18

We are not so much offended as grieved that a sensible man should let his judgment be guided, not by facts, but by his own desire. We showed before our willingness to fulfill your wishes; if this time circumstances prevent us from doing so, you have no right to be jealous or angry. As a friend, pray that we may be relieved of our troubles.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 770. Jenkins, VIII, 232—35. Guiland, II, 189.

*Addressee*: Guiland identifies him with the Patrician Malacinus who was killed in the battle of Gerace in Calabria in the spring of 952 (Gay, 212—14); this is possible, but not likely, because of the gap of ca. 36 years.

*Date*: Jenkins, early 907 (taking the "sensible man" to be Leo). But the letter is one out of many in which Nicholas professes himself unable to do anything for his friends during Zoe's government.

*Ep. 41. To Gregory of Ephesus*

After May 8, 914?

The news of your illness has added to our troubles (1—9). We know that you have your duties toward your diocese, but the situation here has so deteriorated that your presence has become vital. Therefore come as soon as you have recovered (10—21). If you have not received the promised document, this is not due to carelessness, but because of the rumor that you would return to the capital after the feast of the Apostle [May 8]. We have sent it now, however (22—30).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 606. Karlin-Hayter, "Quatre lettres."

*Date*: Grumel, July 906. See *Ep. 39*. The Apostle is not St. Peter, but St. John (May 8, cf. *Ep. 178.20*).

*Ep. 42. <To the Same?>*

Summer 914?

We hoped that your letter would bring good news about yourself and your Church (2—8). We must try to bear the bad news we received instead: illness, and continuing strife (9—16). Let us at least be comforted by what we hear of your care for your own flock (17—29).



*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 607. Karlin-Hayter, "Quatre lettres."

*Addressee*: According to Grumel and Karlin-Hayter, Gregory of Ephesus (as of *Ep.* 41); this is supported by the formula "my most holy Son" (17), which Nicholas seems to reserve for Gregory (see *Ep.* 176) as the second in rank in the hierarchy after the protothronos Arethas of Caesarea, whom he ignores. The hitch is that, while Nicholas was already acquainted with Gregory's illness, that of the present addressee comes as unexpected bad news; an alternative possibility is therefore Photius of Heraclea, the third-ranking metropolitan, in which case the light metaphors at 24—27 could be regarded as allusions to his name.

*Date*: Grumel, *ca.* Sept. 906. See *Eps.* 39 and 41. Some time after 41, if to Gregory; perhaps about the same time, if to Photius.

*Ep.* 43. *To Andrew of Patras*

<June 913/March 919>

You need no advice, but you may wish to act upon mine, if you find me well informed (2—6). The bearer of this letter reported to me the case of a widow who is in danger of being evicted by a bishop from the convent founded at her husband's grave (7—20). Prevent this and reprove the bishop (21—25).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 734.

*Date*: The two other letters to Andrew belong to 914/18 (*Eps.* 119 and 123).

*Ep.* 44. *To a General* <Nicholas Picingli?>

June 913/Feb. 914?

We thank God for your successes as a champion of the Christian faith and pray that they may continue (2—12). We have received your gifts and are sending you one hundred *alippta* in return (13—16).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 771.

*Addressee*: The war must be against Muslims, hence the most likely addressee is Picingli, who was sent by Nicholas himself (see *Ep.* 144; also 80).

*Date*: If to Picingli, probably during Nicholas' regency.

*Ep.* 45. *To Arsenius the Monk*

Feb. 914/18?

If we have not given you any tangible proof of our friendship, we deserve no reproach, for we have never refused you anything we were able to give (2—12). As for the quarrel that has arisen, we have sent a representative to investigate and judge it, together with the imperial agent (13—19). As regards the grants accorded by Bardas and Leo and promised by Alexander, we know that you would not lack worldly riches, if you cared for them (20—31).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 654.

*Addressee*: Possibly the Abbot Arsenius to whom Nicetas the Paphlagonian wrote a letter (Arethas, *Scripta minora* II [Leipzig, 1972], 175—77). All, or most, of Nicholas' "monks" are abbots; he rarely deals directly with persons of low rank.

*Date*: Nicholas' plea of helplessness (6—11) points to 914/18.

*Ep.* 46. <George II,> *Prince of Abasgia*

Ca. 916/17

While we mourn for the loss of your Father, we thank God for the son who has succeeded him (3—20). We are sending you a mantle as a gift. Help the archbishop of Alania in his salutary work (21—30).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 609. Toumanoff, 80—81. Jenkins, XIX, 166.

*Addressee*: If Toumanoff's chronology is (approximately) correct, only George II is possible (Constantine III, 898/99—916/17; George II, 916/17—960/61).

*Date*: See also *Ep.* 51.

*Ep.* 47. *To Constantine the Chamberlain*

914/18

I. Words of consolation fail me, when I realize how cruel is the blow that has struck you all: her husband, yourself, her old mother (who was longing for grandchildren); I was, at first, completely overwhelmed by grief myself (3—32). Then at last I began to reflect that this is the course of Nature and the common fate of man, that God governs everything for the best, and that our loved one now enjoys everlasting bliss (33—46). Let this console you too after your first natural grief. . . (47—52).

II. It is only natural that a loving heart should grieve over a loss such as yours is, but try to find comfort in your love of God (1—12). Your sister left us, but only to join her father and other loved ones and to find a happiness not marred by grief (13—26). Should we be unhappy because, in this journey that is life, she was the first to reach her destination? Is it for us to grudge her this joy (27—43)? Her fate is the common course of Nature, in which everything must grow and decay in its own time. Why should we demand to be exempted from this (44—65)? Let us find comfort in the knowledge that God conducts everything for the best, and thank Him for the happiness which is hers now (66—84).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 637. Jenkins, XIX. J. F. Mitchell, "A *Consolatio* of the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus: further remarks," *Byzantion*, 37 (1967), 136—42.

*Date*: The letter can be dated to 916 or later, if the sister was Leo Phocas' wife, which marriage must have taken place during Constantine's supremacy (Jenkins).

47-51

*Note:* P contains I+II, 60—84, V contains II, 1—84. Mrs. Mitchell has shown that II, 60—84 was joined to I by error, since the combined text (1) at the juncture neither construes nor makes sense and (2) repeats the same ideas, owing to the changed plan of version II. The first version, however, cannot be complete; it was probably left unfinished because of the negative tone of its first paragraph.

*Ep. 48. To Gregory of Ephesus*

*Summer 914?*

Your bad news almost caused us to despair; our only hope is in God (2—14). There is nothing I can do for you; I am powerless myself and need your help here. Come as soon as possible (15—24).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 608. Karlin-Hayter, "Quatre lettres."

*Date:* Grumel, about fall 906. See *Eps. 39, 41, and 42*. Soon after 41 (42?).

*Ep. 49. To the Metropolitans outside the Church*

*Feb. 914/March 919*

"We persuade men, but we stand revealed before God." Think of this word of the Apostle, you misbegotten sons, who should have fought for your Father, even if he were in the wrong—as by the grace of God he is not.

*Lit.:* Not in Grumel. Jenkins, VIII, 235—38.

*Addressees:* The "apostates" of Feb. 907, mentioned in *Vita Euthymii* 115.32—117.5 (Karlin-Hayter), and *Ep. 113.13—18* (Jenkins).

*Date:* Jenkins: June 912, the text being another (unfinished?) version of Grumel, No. 632 (=Arethas, *Scripta minora* II, 115—21). But (1) the metropolitans are already outside the Church, so that this can hardly be a preliminary to excommunication and (2) they are now in a position to argue effectively against the Patriarch (lines 2—5).

*Ep. 50. To Ignatius of Cyzicus*

*Early 914?*

At last we have received word from you. We pray for your complete recovery.

*Lit.:* Not in Grumel. Karlin-Hayter, "Quatre lettres," 494.

*Date:* See *Ep. 39*, where Nicholas complains of Ignatius' neglect.

*Ep. 51. To <Constantine III,> Prince of Abasgia*

*914/16*

We greet you as a son beloved for his piety and goodness—piety shown especially in what you did for the conversion of the Alans; goodness in the hospitality extended to the Archbishop. God bless you for it, as well as for what you will do further, if the opportunity arises.

51-53

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 599; *idem*, "La date de la conversion des Alains," *Echos d'Orient*, 33 (1934), 57—58. Toumanoff, 81.

*Addressee:* See *Ep. 46*; as Nicholas wrote to George immediately upon his accession, the present letter, a first contact, can only be to George's father, Constantine (898/99—916/17).

*Date:* According to Grumel, *ca.* 902, because Ibn Rusta mentions the Prince of Alania as a Christian about 903, his people still being pagans at the time. But in the *Encycl. of Islam* (new ed., III, 920—21), 903/13 is given as the probable date of Ibn Rusta's work, and *Ep. 133* shows that the first Archbishop, Peter, did not leave Constantinople before Feb. 914. This letter was written not long after his arrival, in recognition of hospitality on the way.

*Ep. 52. To Peter, Archbishop of Alania*

*914/16*

You accuse us of having forgotten you, which we never could; nor did we forget to write, though apparently you have not received our letters. But even if we had, we would be excused by troubles far worse than yours (2—20). What trouble is lighter to bear, what honor is greater, than sharing in Christ's work of salvation? While my pains are of no avail, you find many willing to listen to you (21—59). If you compare yourself with the Apostles, your only complaint can be that your sufferings are less than theirs, and so consequently will be your reward (60—74). As for the illicit marriage, oppose it as much as you can, but with patience, since the person concerned belongs to the ruling class, while the ruled should be judged with greater strictness; we must in this case consider the salvation of a whole people. A physician, a captain, a general, a teacher, sometimes cannot but yield to circumstances (75—98).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 619.

*Date:* See *Ep. 133*, which apparently did not reach its destination and was replaced by this one.

*Ep. 53. To Pope John <X>*

*Feb. 921/Jan. 922*

The scandals in the Church (about which you need not be told) have now, in their fifteenth year, come to an unexpected end (2—24). We therefore wish to reestablish contact with you through correspondence and messengers and to have your name restored with ours in the diptychs. This will become possible once you have consented to recognize that the fourth marriage, though permitted out of consideration for an emperor, was improper and should not be allowed again (25—49).

The Emperor has sent Basil the Protospatharius and we have sent Eulogius, the presbyter and *kouboukleisios*, with the written and oral request that you should accept our ruling and thus restore unity. This does not

mean the condemnation of those who took the action, but only of the practice as such, in accordance with the views of the late Pope Sergius, as a copy of his letter to us will prove (50—70).

If you accede to this request, unity will prevail and your name will be entered in the diptychs again. Those of the archbishops and bishops here who persist in the schism will have no pretext left, once your envoys have joined us in a statement to this effect. As such we should like to receive bishop Jacob (who performed the same task before) and another of the same high qualities (71—94).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 675. Salaville, *Dict. Théol. Cath.*, art. Léon VI, IX, 377—78. Dölger, No. 590.

*Date*: *Eps.* 53—55 are all three dated to the fifteenth year of the "scandals," i.e., of Nicholas' deposition; 54 and 55 were dispatched simultaneously with, or immediately upon, the mission of 53. Grumel thinks that 53 was written before Romanus' coronation because of the singular at line 53, but this would apply to *Ep.* 54.57 also; Jenkins, XVIII, 78—79, lists several more cases of Romanus being referred to as "the Emperor." Here, in particular, Basil is his personal envoy.

*Ep.* 54. <To a Relative in Italy>

Feb. 921/Jan. 922

At least from one's relatives one might expect comfort and help. This is not a reproach, but an attempt to reestablish friendly relations. You, being so close, should have gone to Rome and explained things to the Pope and persuaded him to send envoys to his wronged brother, so that the scandal of the fourth marriage could be ended and our names be joined together in the diptychs (2—23).

Now that, in the fifteenth year, unity has been restored, we want to inscribe the Pope's name again in the diptychs, as soon as it has been recognized that the fourth marriage was permitted only in deference to the Emperor and is to be rejected henceforth (24—48). We discussed this with the cleric Adeodatus, who was on his way to Jerusalem, but consented to return and deliver this letter to you. What he told us about you encouraged us to ask you to go to Rome and urge the Pope to act on the Emperor's letter and on mine (49—58).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 696.

*Addressee*: Identified by Grumel as the imperial Protospatharius Gaidon (84.14—20 and, very probably, 77.13—21). However, the instructions of *Ep.* 77 are materially different from those given here, and Gaidon acts for the Emperor as well as for the Patriarch, whereas this letter rather seems to be a personal initiative of Nicholas. The correspondent, who resided in (Byzantine) Italy as early as the beginning of

54—57

907, must belong to the Italian side of Nicholas' family and is important enough to have influence in Rome.

*Date*: See *Ep.* 53.

*Ep.* 55. <To a Roman Official>

Feb. 921/Jan. 922

It is hardly necessary to inform your Honor of the humiliation I underwent at the hands, partly of my own people, partly of the Church of Rome. Now, in the fifteenth year, the scandals have been eliminated (1—18). This being so, we want to be reunited with you also, which will become possible once it has been acknowledged that the fourth marriage was allowed only out of deference to an emperor and will not be admissible in the future. The usual exchange of envoys can then be resumed and the Pope's name restored in the diptychs (19—39). The wrongs done to me by the Church of Rome... (40—42; incomplete).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 697.

*Addressee*: The form of address used at line 1 is reserved for secular rulers and magistrates (see index).

*Date*: See *Ep.* 53.

*Ep.* 56. To the Pope <John X>

Soon after July 9, 920

Many times we have urged you, though not by letters, yet through travelers returning from here to Rome (monks, priests, laymen), to send envoys in order to end the schism which had its origin, partly here, partly in the attitude of the Popes. Now, in the ninth year after our reinstatement, nothing has been achieved (2—14). However, peace in our own Church has been restored, and only a few still resist. Therefore it is all the more important that you should send your representatives to ban fourth marriages forever (15—28).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 671.

*Date*: First letter to John X, followed later by *Ep.* 53, when no answer was received (Grumel).

*Ep.* 57. To the Metropolitan of Synada

925?

We were grateful for your letter and for the news of your good health brought by our son John (2—9). Your handling of the affair of the monastery seems all right, unless other, undisclosed arguments are brought forward (10—13).

Come to us, for the end is drawing near (14—16).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 729.

*Date*: Either in the last months of Nicholas' life, or during an earlier severe illness, on which see *Ep.* 104.

58-61

*Ep. 58. To the Metropolitan of Iconium*

Ca. 916?

The tribute exacted from the churches is oppressive, and I resent it as much as you do, but I can do nothing. As for Cataphloron's charges against you, try to forgive him and pray for him.

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 690.

*Date:* Grumel's date (fall 921) rests on the assumption that the levy is that under Romanus (*Eps. 92 and 94*), in which, however, Nicholas cooperated with the government. There was another one under Zoe's regency, which he protested passionately (*Ep. 183*). The angry resignation of this letter fits the earlier occasion much better.

*Ep. 59. <To a Civil Executive>*

914/18?

In spite of an imperial order, you have not yet inspected the estate which provides the Renowned Church of God with bread for the Holy Sacrament and for the subsistence of its clergy. Report on this immediately, for we risk losing these supplies.

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 772.

*Addressee:* If there is a connection with *Ep. 60*, he must be the minister of livestock (*CMH*, IV, 2 [1967], 25) or one of his subordinates; the object of the visit would be, in that case, to grant an exemption from tribute in kind.

*Date:* Depends on this possible connection.

*Ep. 60. To the Oeconomus of St. Sophia*

914/18?

We had hoped to see you after the feast of the Prophet [July 20], and to find some comfort for our troubles in your presence, but in view of the arrival of the Saracens we grant your request for a longer absence. We have written to the minister of livestock [*Ep. 59?*], but do not know as yet what he has done.

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 758.

*Date:* Can be tentatively assigned to the period of Nicholas' greatest difficulties.

*Ep. 61. <To a Civil Executive>*

Ca. 916?

Your impression that we are angry with you is quite unfounded. We know your love and respect for the Churches of God, and your awareness of the danger of offending Him.

*Lit.:* Not in Grumel.

*Addressee:* The occasion is the threat of encroachment upon rights of the Church, possibly the levy of *Ep. 183* (and *58*); if so, the addressee may be Constantine the Chamberlain or one of his officials.

*Date:* Based on this surmise.

62-66

*Ep. 62. To Peter the Monk*

917/19?

The Archenemy has tried to disturb your holy flock, using that man Hilarion as his instrument. We thank God that peace has been maintained and advise you not to reject Hilarion, in spite of his unauthorized absence.

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 761. Jenkins, VIII, 237-38.

*Date:* Jenkins suggests that Hilarion may be the deposed metropolitan of Hierapolis (*Vita Euthymii* 62.14-15 [=117.2-3 Karlin-Hayter]); a similar situation in *Ep. 137*. The most likely time, in view of Nicholas' leniency, would then be the last years before the Union.

*Ep. 63. To Epiphanius the Monk**Date?*

Though absent in the body, you are with us in the spirit (2-12). As for the point on which you wrote to the *chartophylax*, though not to us: the separation has been effected and those on the spot will act according to our directions (13-18).

*Lit.:* Not in Grumel.

*Ep. 64. To Tryphon the Monk*

Feb. 914/15?

We are grateful to you for sharing in our cares. Meanwhile the tempest continues unabated.

*Lit.:* Not in Grumel.

*Date:* See *Ep. 33*.

*Ep. 65. To John, Bishop of Amisus*

Feb. 914/18?

We regret to hear that you lost your suit against violence and avarice. Yet the pains you took and your difficult journey will not go unrewarded. Let us not heed insults and sarcasms.

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 753.

*Date:* Nicholas and the Bishop are on the same side in a heated conflict (presumably the Metropolitan of Amasea is on the other side, since Nicholas hardly ever deals directly with suffragans; only other exception *Ep. 122*). A connection with the Euthymian schism is likely.

*Ep. 66. <To Constantine the Chamberlain>*

915/16

The recent conclusion of a treaty with the slaughter of animals was in fact a pagan sacrifice. The choice of cattle, dogs, and sheep is deliberate, and the formula "Thus may my blood be shed" is not a mere metaphor (1-21). Since the action was contrary to the faith and the canons, a penance should be imposed, lest permanent blame should rest on me, on you, and on

66-68

the other magistrates. What happened could not be avoided (the Bulgarians are responsible for this); we must, however, do what is necessary to correct it (22-49).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 658. V. Beševliev, *Izvestija na Istoričeskoto Družestvo v Sofija*, 13 (1933), 176-77. Grumel, *ibid.*, 17 (1937), 82-91. F. Dölger, *BZ*, 38 (1938), 232. Jenkins, XIX, 164 note 2.

*Addressee*: Identified by Jenkins.

*Date*: Treaty with Pechenegs, Theoph. Cont. 387.4-7; Bogas, who negotiated it, probably returned in 915 (Grumel).

*Ep. 67. <To the Same>*

915/16

We thank you and the other lords of the palace for your obedience to the Church (1-10). Since we cannot receive all the magistrates together, we will send three metropolitans to inform you of the penance imposed, which, without being overly severe, will take away any occasion from those who seek to harm the Church (11-21).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 633.

*Addressee and date*: Jenkins, see *Ep. 66*; Grumel overlooked the connection between the two letters.

*Ep. 68. <To the Military Governor of Cherson?>*

919/first half of 920

Reading your letter, we shared your anguish, but were reassured by the news of your safe arrival in Cherson (1-9). With regard to the Bishop of Cherson remember what we told you by word of mouth: since a delegation from Chazaria asked for a bishop to ordain presbyters and teach the true faith, we sent the Archbishop appointed to Cherson to accomplish these purposes, then to return to the see to which he was appointed. We want you to help him both in fulfilling his task in Chazaria and in taking charge of his see in Cherson, and pray for your safe return (10-23).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 680. H. Ahrweiler, "Les relations entre les Byzantins et les Russes au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin d'Information*, 5 (1971), 44-70 (56-65).

*Addressee*: Grumel's suggestion is almost certainly correct, though it seems strange that, so soon after a governor's departure, there should already be question of his return.

*Date*: Grumel places this letter after *Ep. 106*, in which Nicholas, while commending the Archbishop's work in Chazaria, reproaches him for not appearing to congratulate him on the Union. Since obviously (in spite of the word "return" at line 18) the Archbishop is going to Cherson for the first time, the present letter must be prior to the Union (July 9, 920), while not much earlier than *106*. If the addressee is the

68-71

immediate successor of Bogas, whose quarrel with Romanus brought about the defeat of Achelous (Theoph. Cont. 389.20-390.15), the appointment must have been made soon after March 919.

*Ep. 69. To David Camulianus, Protospatharius*

Feb. 914/Aug. 920

We have submitted your report on the atrocious event to Their Majesties, who were already informed. They have instructed you to inquire into the matter with the assistance of the Archbishop of Ephesus (2-8). Be assured of our high regard and our prayers (9-15).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 616.

*Addressee*: Blinded for a conspiracy against Romanus, then still basileopator, between May 919 and Sept. 24, 920 (Theoph. Cont. 397.4-9).

*Date*: Grumel dates *69* and *70* to the reign of Leo and Alexander because of the plurals at *69.6* and *70.23-24*; but in both cases these plurals refer back to a singular abstract noun, the "imperial government" (or "majesty") and "imperial scrutiny," which looks like a diplomatic way of designating either Zoe with Constantine or Romanus with Constantine. As the affair has a religious aspect (*69.7-8*), Nicholas may have been consulted even under Zoe, though Romanus remains the more likely candidate. In this case, the slander against Camulianus mentioned in *Ep. 70* may have something to do with his conspiracy; it is unlikely that the "atrocious event," which took place at or near Ephesus, can have.

*Ep. 70. To the Same*

Feb. 914/Aug. 920

You need not mind slander against yourself, since your conscience is clear. We hope that your true merits will sometime be acknowledged (2-20). What you have reported on the persons under inquiry has been passed on to Their Majesties for consideration, and they have sent you instructions for their proper punishment (21-30).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 617.

*Date*: See *Ep. 69*.

*Ep. 71. To Alexander of Nicaea*

921/25

It is unnecessary to repeat in detail the instructions which you will receive directly from Jacob. Petronas has promised to be the required third person; if he is found to prevaricate again, he will be expelled (2-9). Jacob was received by the Emperor and found him siding with the other party. This being so, our only course is to yield as far we can without entirely betraying the churches. In this, too, Jacob will direct you (10-16).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 726.

*Addressee*: The well-known scholar, professor of rhetoric at Constantinople after ca. 945 (see Darrouzès, *Epistoliers*, 27—32; his correspondence, *ibid.*, 67—98). Jacob is very probably his brother, the later metropolitan of Larissa, known from the Lucian MS Vat. gr. 90 (Grumel).

*Date*: The Emperor whose opinion is decisive can hardly be anyone but Romanus. The conflict is primarily a local one, affecting the arch-diocese of Nicaea (since Nicholas is not present at the proceedings), but it is also relevant to the churches generally. An obvious guess is that the issue was a controversial see after the pacification, but other possibilities (church property) cannot be excluded.

*Ep. 72.* <To Constantine the Chamberlain?>

914/18

Do not let the *roga* for the support of the clergy of the Church, which it has received from its very beginnings, be withheld in the days of the Emperor Constantine. If your predecessors cut it off, this is no reason to follow their example. Forty pounds either way make little difference to the Treasury, but much to the poor people for whom they provide a living.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 652.

*Addressee*: Either the parakimomenos or a Treasury official.

*Date*: Under Constantine, but not while Nicholas was in power (Grumel).

*Ep. 73.* <To a Tax Official>

Date?

The bearer of this letter told me that the monastery of the Holy Apostle [which?] is being subjected to the tax called "grain," which was never the case before. It is your duty to prevent this.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 773.

*Ep. 74.* <To a Patriarchal Exarch?>

Ca. 913?

The annual contribution in wax should be exacted with such moderation that neither the Church nor the contributors suffer (1—9).

The bishop who engages in illegal business should be admonished by word of mouth, if close at hand, by letter, if too far. If he refuses to listen, he must face the consequences (10—17).

Let the man who has illegitimately raised the metropolitan see of Chaldia to the status of an archbishopric be sent here for a hearing (18—21).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 774.

*Addressee*: Not the strategos of Chaldia (Grumel), but, as the form of address and the contents prove, an ecclesiastic on inspection in Trebizond and vicinity.

*Date*: The person responsible for the unauthorized promotion of the Metropolitan of Chaldia (Trebizond) can hardly have been anyone but the Metropolitan himself. In the first years of Nicholas' second patriarchate this was the Basil of *Eps. 114* and *128*, who in 913/14 restored the episcopal thrones in the cathedral and in St. George's church (G. Millet, "Les monastères et les églises de Trébizonde," *BCH*, 19 [1895], 419—59 [422]). In the inscriptions commemorating the fact he calls himself (still, or again) "metropolitan." The cold, impersonal tone in which Nicholas refers to his own appointee suggests that he hardly knew him; the letters to Basil are friendlier. This could be a reason (an inadequate one, though) to date the episode to the beginning of Basil's episcopate.

*Note*: On the title of archbishop see Beck, 67; it is borne not only by archbishops in the strict sense, who have no suffragans and rank below the metropolitans in the order of precedence, but also (as an honorary appellation) by the titularies of some of the older metropolitan sees. Used in this way, it is often combined with the claim of apostolic origin, as in the case of Ephesus and Thessalonica, but also of Constantinople (Andrew) and of Caesarea in Cappadocia (Peter: see Arethas, *Scripta minora* I, 298.9—13); this may apply even to Trebizond, which, roughly about this time, begins to be considered a foundation of Andrew. Nicholas uses the title in this sense very sparingly: only for himself and once for Gregory of Ephesus (69.8; perhaps also 107.7).

*Ep. 75.* <To Romanus>

March 25, 919/July 9, 920

What we write, we do not write in view of any worldly gain (since death is drawing near), but on your behalf (1—15). You said yesterday that the argument of the adversaries of the Church is: We do not want to sign a written statement because a following emperor's behavior might bring about the same situation. However, if priests do not enforce divine law, who is to do so? You, who have risen from the ranks to the highest command, should know that no deserter can be accepted without a guarantee. The ruler remains responsible; whether he is obeyed or not, he is free from blame, if he prescribes the right course (16—42).

As for the contention that our military failures are due to the dissent in the Church: after the deposition of Photius, Basil achieved great things in Italy; after the reconciliation, Sicily was lost through the negligence of the admiral Adrianus. Under Leo, when Mapas had returned to the Church, Thessalonica and Tauromenium were lost, once more owing to the negligence of those responsible (43—69). This is not to say that I reject peace, but I seek an honorable peace, which will be approved of by future generations (70—79).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 665; *idem*, *Echos d'Orient*, 33 (1934), 266—68.

*Addressee*: Identified by Grumel.

*Date*: After Romanus' coup d'état and before the Union. The allusion to the high command at lines 23—24, if taken to refer to his position as Chief Hetaeriarth, would limit it further to March 25/April 27, 919, but this is rather on the early side, since Nicholas has already compromised to the extent of readmitting the Euthymian bishops; he is now holding out for a written affidavit against fourth marriages.

*Ep. 76.* <To an Abbot?>

914/18?

Your sincere affection is a comfort to us in our afflictions, which is not diminished by your absence (1—14). The brother who has sinned through ignorance must be forgiven; measure his penance by his penitence (15—24).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 762.

*Addressee*: A metropolitan or bishop is also possible.

*Date*: Only clue the "tribulations."

*Ep. 77.* <To Pope John X>

Feb. 921/May 923

It is unnecessary to repeat what we wrote before to you and your predecessors. To you we sent letters through the cleric Adeodatus, and Peter, born in Rome but our representative since our return to our see, proposing to reestablish relations. We further wrote to \*\*\* the Protospatharius, who received orders also from the Emperors to see you, offer you presents, and return to the capital with delegates sent by you (1—21). If they have not reached you, the bearer of this letter will inform you and ask you to send delegates with him to reunite the whole of the Church, now that unity in ours has been restored (22—35). I need not expand upon the troubles of my patriarchate, which you know as well as I do (36—44).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 711.

*Date*: After *Eps. 54* and *84*, before union with Rome (see *Ep. 28*).

*Note*: The Protospatharius is the Gaidon of *Ep. 84* (Grumel), not the Basilius of 53.53, who was sent from Constantinople.

*Ep. 78.* <To some Monks>

Date?

I thank God, Who elected you and gave you strength to choose the angelic way of life (1—11). Pray for me (12—17).

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel.

*Ep. 79.* <To some Missionaries>

Summer 912

Rumor may have informed you already of our return to our see (1—8). Continue your salutary work, in spite of the loneliness of the land, the

strange ways of the people, and all those troubles which I can imagine myself and on which your messenger reported. Having confirmed the new converts in the faith you will leave them to your appointed successors and return to us in due time to rejoice with us (9—32).

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel.

*Addressees*: Not a bishop and his clergy (in which case the bishop would be the sole addressee), but a group of monks. The only known mission fields are Chazaria and Alania. In Chazaria the situation as described in *Eps. 68* and *106* is a different one (danger of total relapse; no monks involved). Alania, on the other hand, fits perfectly: the monks would be Euthymius and his fellow-workers, apparently sent out already during, or before, the first patriarchate; in 914 or 915 Nicholas fulfilled his promise of relieving them by the appointment of an archbishop, Peter (*Ep. 133*). Euthymius became an abbot on Mt. Olympus and reappears as Nicholas' envoy to Symeon of Bulgaria in Aug./Sept. 917 (*Ep. 9.264—69*); later (?), he was sent back to Alania to assist Peter (*Ep. 135.82—101*).

*Date*: Soon after Nicholas' reinstatement.

*Ep. 80.* <To a General>

June 913/Feb. 914

What you write about the destruction of the fortresses was known to us; we want to learn that you have rebuilt them and deserve to be rewarded as a good servant of your Emperor (1—10). With God's help you will conquer the impious enemy, even if they outnumber you (11—15).

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel.

*Addressee*: Very probably Nicholas Picingli, see *Eps. 44* and *144*: war against unbelievers, promised reward, date.

*Date*: Nicholas is dealing personally with military affairs. Before *Ep. 44*.

*Ep. 81.* <To an Enemy>

914/18

They say that you are hostile to us; the truth is that you are hostile to the Church. Your conspiracy cannot hurt us, who must die now or shortly, but only yourself.

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel.

*Addressee*: The allusion to "this much envied seat" may indicate a fellow-bishop; συνασπισμός for a faction within the Church, see Arethas, *Scripta minora*, index. The "they say" does not agree very well with a feud of long standing (Arethas or Euthymius).

*Date*: The likeliest time is early 914. Cf. also *Ep. 187*.



*Ep. 82. To Landulf, Proconsul*

Summer 921

The news of the death of the patrician and governor Ursoleon, of which we had learned before your letter, has grieved us deeply, since you are accused of being responsible, despite the oaths you swore to the Emperor Leo (4—15). Your letter and that of the community add some extenuating circumstances, but even if all this is true, you should not have taken the law into your own hands. If he refused to listen to your admonitions, the right course would have been to report to the Emperor. As it is, you have even seized some towns that never belonged to your province (16—36).

Though after this it will be difficult for you to prove your loyalty, we have yet besought the Emperors to overlook what has happened, to hold Ursoleon responsible, and to consider your deed as over-reaction (37—48). We have proposed to the Emperors to appoint you as governor of Longibardia. They are willing to do so, on the condition that you evacuate the towns and send your wife to the Peloponnesus as a hostage, or else your other son to the capital (49—67). It is now for you to make your choice (68—72).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 698. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 204—6. Runciman, 188. Jenkins, XX, 206 note 24. Guiland, II, 188.

*Addressee:* Landulf I, Prince of Capua and Beneventum, who, joining forces with the Apulian rebels, defeated and killed Ursoleon, the Byzantine Governor of Longibardia, at Ascoli in April 921.

*Ep. 83. To the Archbishop of Otranto*

Summer 921

We thank you for your congratulations on the peace in the Church; however, you should have come to offer them in person. Since circumstances prevented you, come now that you can (2—14).

Your news about Ursoleon came to the Emperors from other sources as well; they have decided to offer an amnesty to the guilty, if they will behave loyally in the future. We commend the assistance you gave to our envoys on their way to Rome, while disapproving of their slowness. Still, if you can, continue your help (15—25).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 700.

*Date:* See *Ep. 82*.

*Ep. 84. To Gaidon, Imperial Protospatharius*

Summer 921

Both from you and from the local community we learned about the terrible events. Since, however, our Emperors have decided to be merciful, you must support their policy (4—13). As regards the affairs of the Church, if you can, go to Rome and act according to your instructions (14—22).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 701. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 204. Runciman, 187. Jenkins, XVIII, 76.

*Addressee:* A Lombard noble (Gay); mentioned (with name left blank) at 77.13; not the addressee of *Ep. 54*. Jenkins identifies him with the Godinus of *Ep. 103*, in which case, however, the unknown Gaidon would have to yield to Godinus, who is attested elsewhere. Two imperial protospatharii, both Italian vassals of the Empire, both on the same side in the conflict, and with names so similar, would be a curious coincidence; on the other hand, the names are not very close palaeographically, and the main objection is that Gaidon was already in contact with Constantinople on the matter of the Union with Rome, whereas *Ep. 103*, judging by its preamble, is the first official notice taken of Godinus.

*Date:* See *Ep. 82*.

*Ep. 85. To the Clergy and People of Longibardia*

Summer 921

The Emperors have decided to leave the judgment on Ursoleon's death to God, and to pardon the guilty persons, if they will be faithful and obedient in the future (4—19). The proconsul Landulf will be appointed Governor, as you and he requested, if he consents to the conditions imposed upon him (20—30).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 699. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 204—6. Runciman, 188.

*Addressees:* The "community" of 82.16 and the "inhabitants of your country" of 84.5—6, i.e., the rebelling population of Apulia. The two references are to the letter answered here.

*Date:* See *Ep. 82*.

*Ep. 86. To the Emperor <Romanus>*

Soon after Dec. 17, 920

Since God has raised you to imperial rank, you must show the wisdom and clemency befitting that rank (2—10). We have admonished the Oeconomus and are confident that he will not offend you again by his language. Restore him to his office (11—19).

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 679.

*Date:* Both the opening formula and the behavior of the Oeconomus suggest the beginning of Romanus' reign.

*Ep. 87. <To Gregory of Ephesus?>*

Shortly after March 25, 919?

You know me well enough to be aware that I harbor no grudge against anyone, least of all against a friend of long standing, who shared all my troubles. I need you more than ever, now that I am going to face an unfriendly audience. Consider that little incident as forgotten.

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel.

*Addressee*: Among all Nicholas' correspondents, Gregory is the only one whom the description really fits; still, it might be used, under circumstances, to conciliate another faithful supporter.

*Date*: Touchiness between Nicholas and Gregory appears in one other letter, 94, to which this one, however, cannot be a sequel, because in *Ep. 94* Nicholas' star is on the rise. The "unfriendly audience" might be Zoe or her ministers after Feb. 914; but since all the datable items in the series *Eps. 82-111* belong to Romanus' time, it is possible to think of the first meeting with Romanus after Nicholas' forcible removal from the Palace on March 25, 919.

*Ep. 88. <To a Government Official>* (919/25)

The bearers of this letter have always contributed to the support of the Patriarchate; do not burden them with services to the state in addition.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 775.

*Ep. 89. To Gregory of Ephesus* Soon after July 9, 920

The order of precedence, now that Christ has wrought this great work for the Church, will be: first, the old appointments; second, your new ones; and third, those of the days of Constantine and John (2-12). Let it be understood that your appointments of a protopresbyter and archdeacon, as well as of a *deutereuon*, are to stand (13-19).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 634.

*Date*: Not after Nicholas' restoration in 912 (Grumel), but after the Union, for the following reasons: (1) the acceptance of the Euthymian appointments; (2) the fact that otherwise Gregory would hardly have had the time to make any new ones; (3) the insistence that there is to be no compromise as regards the position of the protopresbyter and the *deutereuon* appointed by Gregory—this is expressed in the form of an order to make it clear that Nicholas himself takes the entire responsibility; (4) the reference to the times of Constantine and John as a not so recent past; (5) the terms in which the change is announced, especially "this great work," used of the Union also by Arethas, *Scripta minora* I, 230.1-2.

*Ep. 90. <To the Metropolitan and Archbishops>* Soon after July 9, 920

Brothers and Sons, it has pleased Christ to restore unity in this Church. It is not for me to refute those who do not want to accept it; as for the charges against my administration, though I am ready to answer them, I am also willing to step down on behalf of unity.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 670.

*Addressees*: Those absent, or hesitating, or unwilling (Grumel), though probably all received a copy.

*Ep. 91. To the Curopalate <of Iberia>* 923/25?

We were aware that difficult circumstances prevented you from communicating with us and have always prayed for you. Support our prayers by a life pleasing to God. Rule as a father, not as a despot, knowing that your power comes from God.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 776. Jenkins, XVIII, 76.

*Addressee*: The only vassal princes who bear the title at this time are those of Iberia: Adarnase IV, 891/922 (or 923) and Ashot II, 922 (or 923)/54. The plea of "difficult circumstances" could be advanced with equally good reason by the father and by the son, but the didactic content of the Patriarch's answer is better suited to a beginner.

*Date*: Ashot's visit to Constantinople in order to receive the rank of Curopalate (*De adm. imp.* 46.162-65 [=p. 213 Bonn]) is dated to Feb. 922 by Theoph. Cont. 402.12-21 (at the time of the coronation of Sophia, the wife of Christopher Lecapenus); the dating to 923 is based on Georgian sources (see Runciman, 168 note 4; *idem*, in Const. Porph., *De adm. imp.* II, 179).

*Ep. 92. <To the Metropolitan>* Sept./Dec. 920

The common emergency of the Bulgarian war requires common measures. We ask you therefore to contribute a quantity of gold for this purpose, first from your own church, then also from the monasteries and bishoprics under you, bringing it or having it brought by the month of March (1-26). The urgency of the matter compels us to place you under a bond, to contribute as much as you can without unduly burdening the churches. If you fail to do so, imperial agents will be sent to collect the money, and you know what that means (27-40).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 689.

*Date*: A few days after *Ep. 94*.

*Ep. 93. To Theoctistus of Claudiopolis* 919/25

We write to you because the bearer of this letter gives us no respite, either in the church or in the palace, claiming that he has been driven out by you, his own people, though on several occasions imperial officials have pronounced judgment in his favor; further because we hear that Basil the protospatharius has been sent to your theme to inquire into the matter. Therefore, if there is any ground in his claim, do what is right; if not, have the matter decided either in Claudiopolis or here.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 736.

*Date*: Nicholas makes it clear that he is dividing his time between the church and the palace; this can apply either to end 918/March 25, 919, or to the rule of Romanus, especially its early phase. The Protospatharius Basil acts as Romanus' emissary to the Pope in 921 (*Ep.* 53.53).

*Ep. 94. To Gregory of Ephesus*

Sept./Dec. 920

While we rejoiced at the success of your praiseworthy efforts, we were saddened by your complaint that we neglected you now that we have risen to higher things (2—17). The letter which occasioned your complaint was not sent to you alone, but to all as a reminder of our joint synodical decree on the subject of ordination (18—28).

Lest you should feel neglected in this matter also, we inform you that imperial agents have been sent to exact a contribution from the churches. We have secured that this should be handled through the intermediary of the bishops. Please levy from the monasteries and bishoprics whatever contribution you think reasonable and bring or send it before March (29—40).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 688.

*Date*: Nicholas is "associating with the great" (11—12), and instead of an emperor or emperors there is the intentionally vague "those who govern the commonwealth" (31). The two facts together point to Romanus' rule before his coronation, Dec. 17, 920. The synod regulating ordinations, if it fell within this period, can be only the synod of the Union, July 920 (Grumel), but there is no reason to assume a long lapse of time between the making and the breaking of the rules: in many cities the situation after the Union must have been chaotic. It follows that the gold levy was decided upon toward the end of 920, presumably after Romanus became Caesar (Sept. 24), and the deadline is March 921.

*Ep. 95. To the Caesar Romanus*

Sept. 24/Dec. 17, 920

There are rumors of a Bulgarian raid on Lampsacus; whether they are true or not, it is wise to prevent such a thing by home-based ships or a couple of galleys from Constantinople.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 674.

*Ep. 95A. <To the Same>*

Sept. 24/Dec. 17, 920

May God, Who raised you to your high dignity, also grant you success and fame. To this end I remind you that the scribes, especially the older ones, should be raised in rank (without a raise in salary), after which greater conscientiousness in administering justice can be expected from them.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 674 (as a part of 95).

*Date*: Same time as preceding, the "rank" of line 1 being that of Caesar.

*Ep. 96. To Ignatius of Nicomedia*

March 25, 919/Dec. 17, 920?

We have raised the point of the monasteries and "they" let us know that they had instructed Monomachus to make a settlement; what it will be, the cleric who accompanies the nuns will tell you, and we write it now. "They" said that if the monasteries have acquired lands from the *allagai* or taken over people working on them, they will be responsible for those services; if not, the monasteries will of course be free. It is up to you and the monks to prove your case (2—12).

As for the rest of your letter: so long as you are not here, nothing I can say to the rulers will be any use, since the *basilikos* in question was recommended by you, and cannot be disavowed until you have explained why (13—21).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 694.

*Addressee*: The successor of Gregory, who was deposed in 912 (see *Ep.* 113).

*Date*: Under Romanus, because belonging to the group 82—110; probably before his coronation because of the imprecise "they" in the first paragraph and the οἱ κρατοῦντες at line 14 (only occurrence in Nicholas).

*Note*: Grumel: compulsory employment by monasteries of dismissed state personnel. Jenkins: land belonging to imperial mail taken over by monasteries (this could happen once, but not often enough to justify a general statement of policy). Present translation: taxable land acquired by monasteries through reallocation.

*Ep. 97. To the Same*

<919/25>

Since it was you who judged the affair of Theosterictus, the *semeiosis* (or *krisimon*) also has to be in your name, not, as you suggest, in ours, though you may state in it that you inquired into the matter by our order.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 727.

*Ep. 98. To a Brother and Fellow Minister*

Soon after July 9, 920

Though we cannot share your dangers, we share your pain; our anguish is all the greater because we cannot bear our part of your burden (3—21).

It will comfort you to hear that the unity of the Church has been restored and that the fourth marriage has been jointly anathematized by us all (22—41).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 678.

*Addressee*: Patriarch of Alexandria, Antioch, or Jerusalem; trouble with Muslims (Grumel).

*Date*: After Union of 920; Grumel's alternative suggestion (after return of the last dissenters in 922/23) is not borne out by the wording of 28—30.

*Ep. 99.* <To a Metropolitan or Archbishop>                      *After Easter* <919/24>

We were happy to hear of the reverence your people and clergy are showing you. Needless to exhort you to even greater love and care. Come to us soon, now that Easter is over.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 754.

*Ep. 100.* *To the Metropolitan of Nicaea*                      *March 25, 919/July 9, 920*

We thank God for the turn the affairs of the Church are taking. Do not be upset by rumors; even here it is difficult to get reliable information. We wrote to you asking you to come, but the letter was not delivered; we repeat our request, and those who have come into power also have expressed the wish to see you.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 668.

*Addressee*: Alexander, no doubt; see *Ep. 71*.

*Date*: Between Romanus' coup and the Union; beginning 920 (Grumel), possibly even earlier.

*Ep. 101.* <To a Vassal Prince>                                      <919/25>

You can show your gratitude for the benefit you received from the Emperor, through our mediation, by your willingness to obey him in your office. We send you a cloak as a gift.

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel. Jenkins, XVIII.

*Addressee*: Jenkins suggests that *Ep. 101* may be addressed to the King of Armenia, and *Ep. 101A* to the Catholicus, the occasion being the recognition by Byzantium of the new title of Prince of Princes (ca. 922). This is possible, but there are objections: the cold perfunctoriness of the two notes, the designation "friend and servant," whereas the rulers of Armenia and Abasgia are simply "friends," and the fact that the mere recognition of a non-Byzantine title (if such a thing ever happened) could hardly be considered a signal favor bestowed by the Emperor. The Curopalate of Iberia must be eliminated because he received his rank under different circumstances (*Ep. 91*). Unless a suitable candidate can be found among the assortment of Caucasian tribes

listed by Runciman, 171—72, the only remaining possibility is Italy. The term "servant" is used of two Italian lords, Gaidon (84.11) and Godinus (103.24), both of whom had the rank of imperial Protospatharius, but there is only one who could be described as the "ruler" of a Greek archbishopric (101A.2—3): Landulf, Prince of Capua-Benevento, after the revolt of Apulia and the death of Ursoleon (*Eps. 82—85, 103*). The honor granted would then obviously be the governorship of Longibardia. Gay (203—6) argues that Landulf was unacceptable to Constantinople in this function, and points out that by 925 he had discarded his Byzantine title. Nevertheless, the appointment had actually been approved, subject to certain conditions (82.49—67; 85.20—25), which Landulf may have professed himself willing to accept, though eventually the precarious compromise did not work out.

*Date*: Both 101 and 101A consistently refer to "the Emperor" in the singular, which, taken strictly, could apply only to Constantine from June 913 to Dec. 920; but cf. *Ep. 139*, in an equally formal context (Jenkins 78—79). If the addressee is Landulf, the time is slightly later than *Eps. 82—85* (summer 921).

*Ep. 101A.* <To an Archbishop>                                      <919/25>

The Emperor has granted your request and given your ruler the honor he desired. We want both of you to prove your gratitude by your loyalty.

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel. Jenkins, XVIII.

*Addressee*: The title "Your Perfection" is given to prelates. Possibly the Archbishop of Otranto; see *Ep. 101*.

*Date*: See *Ep. 101*.

*Ep. 102.* *To the Caliph* <Al-Muqtadir>                                      *July 922*

As you excel all your fellow countrymen in rank, so you should excel them in virtue. We mention this because we have heard you have ordered the destruction of the churches in your realm as a reprisal for the alleged destruction of a mosque and forcible conversion of Saracens here (4—21). Since the Roman Empire is famous for its humanity, you should at least have inquired into such rumors before acting (22—42).

Now that you have finally sent a delegation, they will report, together with some of your faith who were prisoners here, on the real situation. I will add some words of my own (43—56). The policy of our Empire has always been that prisoners of war should be well housed and well provided for and should have their own place of worship; this in strict contrast with the fate of Christians in Saracen captivity (57—80). Why should the present Emperors have changed this policy? You cannot cite any instances of the cruel executions that are customary on your side. Such slander was

prompted by hatred of Christ and of His mercifulness (81—107). The crude insolence of these lies is only too obvious (108—24). Your mosque is carefully maintained; no Saracen has been forced to renounce his faith by the Emperor's or his ministers' orders, whatever some underlings may have done without his knowledge. If anything of the kind happened, you should have protested, but not acted against the rules laid down by your own Prophet. It is not just that your own subjects should suffer for it even if we admit (merely for the sake of argument) that such an order was given out by the Emperor. Not only are you neglecting the written guarantees given by your Prophet, but you are also damaging your own fame, for you know very well that no man can be held responsible even for crimes committed by his father, or brother, or friend (125—73).

However, to prove that there is no truth at all in these allegations (as far as the Emperor himself is concerned), we are sending you some of the Saracens in this city, as well as letters from others, to convince you of the falsehood of those rumors. Do not be misled by liars and mischief-mongers; rather think of the judgment of posterity on your reign (174—201).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 659. Jenkins, XV.

*Date*: The letter is dated: July (not June), tenth indiction. The Arabic version of the events (Vasiliev-Canard, II, 2, pp. 286—90) ascribes to the famous vizier 'Ali ibn 'Isa an action undertaken between his two vizierates (Aug. 913/June 917 and March 926/Jan. 929).

*Ep. 103. To Godinus, imperial Protospatharius and Lord* Summer 921

The circumstances have put you to the test and proved your love and loyalty. Thanks to these you have at least been able to check the advance of the rebels. The Emperors have therefore granted your request and other rewards will follow if you handle the rebellion well.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 777. Jenkins, XVIII, 76.

*Addressee*: Somewhere between 886 and 890, an imperial Protospatharius Godinus, son of Radelchis, resident of Matera in Apulia, received land belonging to the Benedictine abbey of St. Vincentius in lease for a period of twenty-nine years (Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 177—78). He, or his son, must be the recipient of this letter. See also *Ep. 84*.

*Date*: Same time as *Eps. 82—85*, or somewhat later.

*Ep. 104. To Constantine, Metropolitan of Laodicea* 924/25?

In spite of my illness, from which recovery is even now uncertain, I was glad to receive your letter. I wish that your journey may be prosperous (2—10). As for your question about prayer, you have teachers better than I can ever hope to be, Christ, and St. Paul, who tells us to pray without

worldly, idle thoughts (11—25). May the Spirit guide you in this. Pray for us, whether we live or have already left this vain world (26—33).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 718.

*Date*: *Eps. 104, 107, 109*, and *110* all belong to the same period of acute illness and (temporary?) recovery. The only other references to serious sickness and death (discarding those to old age, poor health, weakness, and the prospect of death generally) are found in *Eps. 31, 57*, and *153*. *Ep. 109* must be dated a considerable time after the Union, and though 922/24 is not impossible, Nicholas may have been right in thinking that the improvement in his condition would not last.

*Ep. 105. <To a Novice>* <919/25>

You told us that you wanted a room in your father's monastery, and we instructed some monks from it who came here accordingly. Since both you and the monks complain about the abbot, we shall have him replaced if the complaints are true. Continue the upward course you have begun.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 784.

*Ep. 106. To the Archbishop of Cherson* Second half 920

You should have come, in spite of the hardships of the voyage, to congratulate us on the Union, but there is no ill-feeling on our part (2—13). We are grateful for what you did to save that unhappy nation [the Chazars], which had almost been snatched from the Church. We leave it to you to choose an archpriest for them and send him to us (14—33).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 724. Cf. *Ep. 68*.

*Date*: See *Ep. 68*.

*Ep. 107. To <Demetrius,> Metropolitan of Cyzicus* 924/25?

I do not know what inspired the attempt to annul the verdict in the matter between you and Blachernae. When the Archbishop arrives here, if we are still alive, we will try to find a peaceful solution.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 724.

*Addressee*: *Ep. 157*. Since Ignatius held the see from the beginning of the second patriarchate to at least shortly before the Union (*Eps. 50* and *137*), Demetrius must belong to Nicholas' last years. Allusion to his approaching end, line 8.

*Date*: See *Ep. 104*.

*Note*: It is difficult to see what an archbishop in the strict sense of the word could have to do with a suit between the Church of Blachernae and the see of Cyzicus. The archbishop whose arrival Nicholas expects may be the Metropolitan of Ephesus, see note on *Ep. 74*.

108-111

&lt;919/25&gt;

*Ep. 108. To the Metropolitan of Pessinus*

Your letter only adds to our anxiety about the daily harassment of the churches, all the more outrageous as the guilty person exchanged the monastic life for a military career. A letter from us as well as an imperial order was sent to the person to whom you asked me to write, and he will no doubt keep that man in check (2—14).

We have accepted the huge animal you sent us, but when you come here we shall ask you to contribute to the cost of its food. We have sent you a *kalypterion* (15—20).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 739.

*Date*: There is no action against the churches generally, but some trouble between the local churches and a military commander, in which the government backs the Patriarch. Apart from the place of the letter in the MS, any date is possible. The only other letter to the Metropolitan of Pessinus (110) is late.

*Ep. 109. <To Constantine of Laodicea>*

924/25?

At the beginning of our illness the bishop who carries this letter contacted us through others to ask forgiveness for his error. Now that there seems to be some hope of recovery for me, he has repeated his request (1—15).

The peace in the Church has been my greatest concern all my life and is so still now that I am dying; I suggest therefore that, as he requests, his diocese be returned to him and that the present incumbent wait until a suitable diocese has been found for him. It is for you to make the decision (16—47).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 740.

*Addressee*: At 11—12 there is a clear reference to *Ep. 104.2—3*.

*Date*: See *Ep. 104*.

*Ep. 110. To the Metropolitan of Pessinus*

924/25?

We were glad to receive the news of your recovery; we were ill ourselves, but feel better for the moment. Whatever the outcome, praised be Jesus Christ!

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel.

*Date*: See *Ep. 104*.

*Ep. 111. <To a Bishop or a Monk>**Date?*

We are grateful for your letter; however, we need your prayers more than your praises.

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel.

112-115

*Ep. 112. To Theoctistus of Claudiopolis*

Feb. 914/18

We rejoice at the news, brought by our fellow presbyter, of your good health. However, in these turbulent circumstances we should have preferred to have you with us. If there is nothing that prevents you, come.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 737.

*Date*: "Crises that allow no respite."

*Note*: The "fellow presbyter" may be a metropolitan.

*Ep. 113. To Nicetas of Athens*

Ca. 914

A good captain or physician knows when to yield; you, however, in these troubled times, are dismissing bishops appointed by your predecessor Sabas, whom we have not even formally deposed, the only ones being Demetrius, Gabriel, Gregory, and Cosmas (the latter on account of his slander in Rome). Spare us further untimely actions and restore the bishop to his see, until the Church has decided on the treatment of those at fault.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 706. Jenkins, VIII, 237 note 26.

*Date*: Grumel places Nicetas after Sabas (died Dec. 3, 913: *CIG*, 9358) and George (died Sept. 9, 921: *ibid.*, 9359). But cf. V. Laurent, *Mémorial L. Petit* (Bucharest, 1948), 277—80 (Athens synodicon with Nicetas before George); the despondent tone is inconceivable after 920 (Jenkins).

*Note*: According to *Vita Euthymii* 115.32—117.5 (Karlin-Hayter), the four deposed metropolitans were Demetrius of Heraclea, Gregory of Nicomedia, Gabriel of Ancyra, and Hilarion of Hierapolis, while Peter of Sardes had disappeared. Cosmas' see is unknown.

*Ep. 114. To Basil, Metropolitan of Chaldia*

&lt;914/19&gt;

We do not think this letter necessary (as its bearer does), since you would certainly not hurt a man without, or even with, reason (2—11). He says he has been expelled from the monastery where he had been abbot for many years. We want you to restore him to his place; do not be afraid that this will entail the loss of the monastery for your diocese (12—20).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 741.

*Addressee*: See *Ep. 128*.

*Date*: Another letter to Basil (128) is datable to 914/18.

*Ep. 115. To Euthymius, Metropolitan of Antioch <in Pisidia>*

&lt;914/19&gt;

We heard that illness has prevented you from returning to us. Whether this report be true or (as we hope) false, this letter will afford you some consolation (for my absence).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 743.

*Addressee*: Cf. *Ep.* 182.

*Date*: Cumulative evidence of P (*Eps.* 112—35 Regency) and Q (Alexander and Regency).

*Ep.* 116. *To Philip of Larissa*

<913/19>

We gather that you are hurt and hold us responsible; but the man who acted wrongly with regard to your diocese did not do so at our instigation, nor could we have instructed the archbishop of Thebes to consecrate a church under your jurisdiction, if we had not been told that this was a patriarchal privilege; also we did not know the exact distance and thought that the trip would mean less inconvenience to him than to you. Be assured that there will be no infringement upon your rights.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 745.

*Date*: See *Ep.* 115. The archbishop was an appointee of Nicholas (see *Ep.* 34). If the "error" was deliberate (which Nicholas denies), he was strong enough to infringe on the rights of Larissa, but not strong enough to insist when challenged, which might point to May 913/Feb. 914.

*Ep.* 117. *To Leo of Sylaeum*

<913/19>

We frankly avow that we are disappointed in the hopes we had of you when we appointed you; monks, laymen, and clergymen come to us with complaints that they have been expelled from their rightful property (2—16). Now the abbot of the Bema has come with the same complaint; even if there was a just cause for the expulsion, the fact that the monastery belongs to the patriarchal jurisdiction should have restrained you. Your behavior will be ruinous to your reputation as well as to mine (17—36). We know that your church is subject to attacks on its property, but these things should be handled with wisdom and discretion; let the competent local judge decide them (37—51). I trust such a thing will not occur again (52—56).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 746.

*Addressee*: Appointed by Nicholas, apparently not long ago (lines 8—9).

*Date*: The attacks on church property are motivated (partly) by ill-will against the Metropolitan (37—39); Nicholas is confident that the difficulties can be solved through the civil authorities. This would fit the situation of May 913/Feb. 914. Sequel: *Ep.* 129.

*Ep.* 118. *To Peter, Archbishop of Alania*

914/16?

Do not be discouraged or depressed because of your separation from us. Merchants, for mere worldly gain, bear gladly with the same things that

you have to bear. If God wills, we shall meet again; if not, He will give us a greater, lasting joy instead.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 620.

*Date*: After *Eps.* 52 and 133 (closely following Peter's departure); contents comparable to *Ep.* 134 and *Ep.* 135.34—39.

*Ep.* 119. *To Andrew of Patras*

914/18

You know that my difficulties are great enough already, and they should not be increased by frustrated persons from your diocese. If you have to dismiss somebody, you should find some kind of compensation for him rather than let him come to me with his complaints (2—16).

One of these is Gregory the monk, who says that he was expelled from the monastery where he took his vows and of which he is qualified to become abbot because of his relationship with the founder; and that you have appointed an outsider. If the bearer of this letter was right in declaring that there was no compelling reason for this, let him have his office back; if not, let him at least have some comfort in compensation (17—33).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 735. Jenkins, VIII, 241.

*Addressee*: See *Eps.* 43 and 123.

*Date*: Schism (Jenkins).

*Ep.* 120. *To Tryphon the Monk*

914/15?

Thank you for your gift and your letters. Pray for us in the troubles that beset us from without and within.

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel.

*Addressee* and *date*: See *Ep.* 33.

*Ep.* 121. *To Leo, Governor of the Anatolic province*

<914/19>

We have thanked Christ for your news; He will continue to protect you if you continue to be just (2—11).

We will comply with your request, trusting that the man you recommend will be worthy and bring neither blame on us nor a judgment upon himself (12—20).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 778.

*Ep.* 122. *To Bishop Ambrose*

914/18

Your sickness has added to our troubles, also because it deprives us of your valued services (2—12). As regards the difficulties in the Church, they get worse daily and show no sign of abating. Pray to God, Who alone can help (13—19).



122-126

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 755.*Addressee*: Presumably a bishop whose metropolitan belonged to the other party (cf. *Ep.* 65).*Date*: Schism; the first years (914/15)?*Ep. 123. To Andrew of Patras*

914/18

We are aware of the assaults made on the Church, but we are helpless. All we can do is make it clear to the assailants that our aim is not power, but the preservation of the churches and their own salvation, which is jeopardized by the destruction of the churches (2-19).

As for the attacks on the monasteries: we have written to those guilty persons who are on the spot; you must come here and deal with the ones that have come to the capital (20-25). Take good care of the monastery we assigned to you (26-29).

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel. Jenkins, VIII, 241. Karlin-Hayter, "Quatre lettres," 495 note 1a.

*Ep. 124. To Gregory of Ephesus*

&lt;914/19&gt;

We are moved to write this letter, first by our conscience, secondly by the tears of the man we ordained on your recommendation, thirdly by the crowd of those who come to us and swear they are speaking the truth. We urge you not to be led by rumors, but only by the testimony of those from the province where he was born and bred. You know what rumors are worth. Be scrupulous and do not expose us to the criticism of man, or to the judgment of God.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 748.*Ep. 125. <To Ignatius, ex-Magister and Monk?>*

914/18

We understand your feelings, but what else can one do in the circumstances but bear and forbear? Try to improve things gradually and do not make them worse by tactless intervention.

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel. Karlin-Hayter, "Quatre lettres," 495 note 1.

*Addressee*: A bishop or monk (17); according to V, in which *Ep.* 125 follows *Ep.* 126, "the same," i.e., Ignatius. Yet it can hardly be a sequel to *Ep.* 126, the situation being somewhat different and the contents less specific. The correspondent's implied opportunities for drastic action suggest a metropolitan rather than a monk.

*Ep. 126. To Ignatius, ex-Magister and Monk at the Great Farm* Ca. 919?

We are greatly comforted in our distress by your loyalty and love, now that almost all others have forsaken us (3-11).

126-129

I appreciate your solicitude for the Church and share it, but I can achieve nothing, since those who have betrayed the Church, so far from showing contrition, try to justify their conduct, while the ones who have suffered for it harden their hearts. I cannot desert them even though their attitude makes peace impossible. Only prayer can help (12-36).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 656. Jenkins, VIII, 241.

*Addressee*: Cf. *Eps.* 125 and 143. The Great Farm monastery, east of Cyzicus, was founded by Theophanes the Confessor in 786 (Menthon, 198-99, 205-8).

*Date*: Toward the end of the schism, when Nicholas was already under pressure (very probably from the side of Romanus) to reach a compromise, but found neither party willing to yield.

*Ep. 127. To Leo, Protospatharius and Judge of Paphlagonia* <914/19>

Your most valuable gift to us was the news of your well-being; we are also grateful for the sheep cheese you sent us.

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel.*Ep. 128. To Basil of Chaldia*

914/18

We are concerned about your troubles; we have not only prayed for you but also taken such measures as were possible; we asked for a letter ordering the military governor to check the assaults on the churches (2-15). Do not mind the invective of the "heretics"; by answering them with blessings we will share in Christ's way of life (16-30).

As for the bishops and priests who have been maltreated, we shall ask those in power to take action; however, the most important thing is patience, by which you should try to conciliate the authorities also (31-39). Let us remember the sufferings of our fathers and of our brothers; suffering is the proper characteristic of the Christian. I wish that this could be said of my own troubles too (40-49)!

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 742. Jenkins, VIII, 241. Karlin-Hayter, "Quatre lettres," 495 note 1c.

*Addressee*: *Eps.* 74 and 114. See *Ep.* 74; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem*, 12 (1906), 142-43.

*Date*: The only "heretics" who could permit themselves to maltreat clergy were the Euthymians; the government is hostile to Nicholas (36-39).

*Ep. 129. To Leo of Sylaeum*

&lt;913/19&gt;

Our first letter [*Ep.* 117] was the result of the information we repeated to you; now that we have read your account, we can only be sad at what

129-132

that wretch has done to his own soul. I would have had to charge you and a few others with the inquiry into this matter, but it is better to leave it to others so as to avoid the reproach of partiality. As for yourself, never forget what you owe to your position.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 722.

*Addressee and date*: See *Ep. 117*. "That wretch" is the abbot of the Bema monastery.

*Ep. 130. To Ignatius of Cyzicus*

*First half of Sept. 914?*

At last we received your letter and were reassured at least on this point. You remember you promised to join us after the Exaltation of the Cross (Sept. 14). Come without further delay, for the situation makes your presence here imperative.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 722. Karlin-Hayter, "Quatre lettres," 494.

*Date*: See *Ep. 39*. Later than *Ep. 50*, after a new period of silence.

*Ep. 131. To Tryphon the Monk*

*914/15?*

We are grateful for your letter, but we want you to come yourself to share our troubles. We have done what we could under the present circumstances with regard to your request.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 763.

*Date*: See *Ep. 33*.

*Ep. 132. To Gregory of Ephesus and Photius of Heraclea in exile*

*Feb. 914?*

We suffer with each other; let us rejoice in being persecuted. God works wonders even now to save His servants (3-14).

Bear your fate in a manner befitting your high office; I trust that God will help us, forgetting my sins, or at least that He will allow me to atone for them alone and that the wicked will receive punishment exceeding their enjoyment (15-27).

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel, but see under No. 634. Karlin-Hayter, "Quatre lettres," 494; "Le synode," 71 note 28.

*Date*: Photius must have been appointed by Nicholas in 912, after the deposition of Demetrius (*Ep. 113*), who had been in office at least since 902 (Arethas, *Scripta minora* I, 305). As the Union of 920 was carried through without recourse to arrests or deportations (*Ep. 53.15-20*), the only remaining possibility is an action by the Zoe administration, the victims being the two highest-ranking metropolitans after Arethas, the leader of the anti-Nicholas party. It must have been short and ineffectual, and most probably took place soon after Nicholas' political downfall.

133-135

*Ep. 133. To Peter, Archbishop of Alania*

*914/16*

We sympathize with your difficulties, but we prefer to think of the compensations. What really grieved us was your reproach that we had forgotten you. How could we forget you and the nation for whose salvation you are responsible (2-25)?

When you left us, we were in a situation worse than death, and it has not improved since. You should banish those unkind thoughts from your mind. You, and the people entrusted to you, are foremost in our mind. If you receive no letters, this is, first, because few people come to see us now, and second, because to ourselves writing is not without risk (26-53).

Fulfill the task to which you have been called, and have no anxiety as to our feelings (54-60).

The illicit marriage should be dissolved, if possible; if not, prevent the evil from spreading further, by appealing to the chief of the nation and to the person involved (61-67).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 610. Jenkins, VIII, 235.

*Date*: Cf. *Ep. 52*, of which this is a duplicate. Peter's departure on what was apparently his first journey to Alania must have taken place before 916/17 (see *Ep. 46*). The terms in which Nicholas describes his own plight do not fit the situation of 906/7, when he was surrounded by his metropolitans, who had pledged their word to stand by him. It is true that in Jan. 907 things took a turn for the worse, but the remaining time until the Patriarch's arrest and deposition was then too short to account for Peter's complaints of being forgotten. On the other hand, there is nothing against the assumption that Peter left in the early part of 914, and that this letter was written about a year later.

*Ep. 134. To the Same*

*914/16*

Nothing can separate those united in the Spirit. If you only attend to your ministry, we will feel that you are with us.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 621.

*Date*: See *Ep. 133*.

*Ep. 135. To the Same*

*Ca. 916 or 918*

It is not true that we cannot understand your position; though we have not lived in foreign lands ourselves, we have shared the experience of those who have (2-15). We knew that your lot would be hard and we told you so when we ordained you. But farmers and merchants bear similar pain for less (16-39). You have part in the work of the Apostles and suffer with them. Do not heed the talk of those who envy you. Imagine a *strategos*

135-137

resigning his post for such a motive (40—64)! Consider your rewards in this world and in the hereafter (65—81).

Let there be no discord between yourself and Euthymius, who, before you, brought the Gospel to that nation, and who is now on his way to assist you (82—101). I have no reason to foresee difficulties, but we must beware of the wiles of the Devil (102—14).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 622.

*Date*: Euthymius acted as Nicholas' envoy to Symeon of Bulgaria ca. Sept. 917 (*Ep.* 9.264—69). His second mission to Alania may be dated either before this (in which case he must have found it impossible to work with Peter, as Nicholas already fears he may), or after it.

*Ep. 136. To Stephen, Michael, and Constantine, Brothers* *Ca. 919*

We are sure that you can be believed without any oath, and are willing to take the risk. I, too, long for peace and would willingly go to perdition to attain it, but this ill-considered proposal means losing those with us to gain those not with us.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 638.

*Addressees*: The singular forms at 6 and 13 prove that the letter was sent to each of the addressees individually. The three metropolitans (apparently representing a moderate group in Nicholas' party) may have offered to swear continued allegiance to the Patriarch if the proposed reinstatement of the Euthymians were to come through. Stephen may be Nicholas' successor, who was metropolitan of Amasea before he became patriarch in Aug. 925; his conciliatory attitude would have made him a suitable candidate in Romanus' eyes. Constantine may be the metropolitan of Laodicea (*Eps.* 104, 109, 158); Michael is unknown.

*Date*: Early stage in the negotiations, cf. *Ep.* 126.

*Ep. 137. To Ignatius, Metropolitan of Cyzicus* *917/18?*

Your predecessor came to us asking us to write to you. His only wish is to be allowed to live in peace. Allow him to live with his attendants, in the monastery into which he retired after his removal from office. He promises (and I believe him) to cause no trouble either to you or to the monks.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 723. Karlin-Hayter, "Quatre lettres," 493—94.

*Date*: Probably toward the end of the schism, when Nicholas' attitude had become more flexible.

*Note*: The unnamed predecessor was an appointee of Euthymius; he cannot, as Grumel suggested, be the Cosmas of *Ep.* 113.16, for until Feb. 907 the see was held by Christopher, who then became syncellus to Euthymius (*Arethas, Scripta minora* II, 109.18—20).

138-141

*Ep. 138. To the Same* *Ca. 914?*

We thank God that you are safe and sound. As for us, we see no light, and death seems preferable.

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel.

*Date*: Probably the first, darkest year after Feb. 914.

*Ep. 139. To the Prince of Princes* *924/25*

Piety is the foundation for happiness, in the individual, the home, the city, the nation. Prejudice, however, prevents many from distinguishing between true piety and the most pernicious of superstitions. The intelligent man will test his beliefs and is willing to abandon them if he finds them unorthodox (2—25).

Your envoys say that after the death of your Catholicus you want, as a friend of our Emperor, the successor to be ordained here and be in communion with us. We propose therefore that you send the candidate to this city for instruction before we ordain him, so that you may be also one in the faith with the Emperor. Our Father Photius endeavored to achieve this by his writings and by envoys, but circumstances prevented him from attaining his end, perhaps so that this glory might be reserved for you (26—54).

If you do as we propose, complete unity between yourself and our Emperor will result. You cannot deny that the difference in doctrine is against the orthodox faith (55—74).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 717. Jenkins, XVIII, 79.

*Date*: Death year of John VI Catholicus 924/25 (Grumel, Jenkins). Though only one emperor is mentioned, it is impossible to go back as far as 920.

*Ep. 140. To Michael, Patrician and Governor of Thessalonica* *Date?*

We are convinced that you will give us a truthful answer to the question we shall ask you: we impose upon you a bond to tell us the truth. Some people state they have heard you declare that the monk and presbyter Paul has renewed his relations with his former wife. Since the man has been made presbyter and is considered for further advancement we are very much shocked by this allegation. Give us the answer that you will give on Judgment Day.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 779. Guiland, II, 191.

*Ep. 141. To the Abbot of the Altars of Elijah* *Date?*

Your letter unfortunately confirms what we had already heard about your health (2—16).

141-144

The devil does his work sometimes by the intermediary of man, through persecution and maltreatment, sometimes by direct attacks, as in your case; but God will either cure you or turn it to your profit. Soldiers are proud of their wounds (17-44).

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel.

*Addressee*: The well-known monastery of the Altars of Elijah was situated north of Broussa, on the Sea of Marmora (Menthon, index and second map). Menthon distinguishes it from the Elegmon monastery (p. 215), with which, however, it is formally identified in a typikon of the twelfth century: A. Dmitrijevskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnogo vostoka*, I, *Τυπικά*, Pt. I (Kiev, 1895), 715-69.

*Date*: No clue, unless at 18-21 Nicholas is alluding to his own case (914/18).

*Ep. 142. To Antony, Metropolitan of Sardes*

Ca. 914

We were relieved to hear from Sabas, our common son, that you have recovered from your illness (2-11). Do not delay to return to us, before we succumb to oppression and ill-usage (12-15).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 730.

*Addressee*: See *Ep. 180*.

*Date*: Early part of Zoc's administration.

*Ep. 143. To Ignatius, ex-Magister and Monk at the Great Farm*

Date?

We thank you for your report on the exarch's misbehavior; however, since he persists in denying, though we cannot disbelieve a man of your status and character, we want to collect further evidence to confront him with.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 764.

*Addressee*: See *Ep. 126*.

*Ep. 144. To Nicholas, Military Governor of Longibardia*

Fall 915 or 916

We thank God for your victory over the enemies of His glory; we fully expected this result when, much against your will, we urged you to accept the mission. We meant to reward you generously, but things having taken a different turn, all we can do is pray for you.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 657. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 161-63; *idem*, "Le patriarche," 98. Runciman, 185 note 1.

*Addressee*: Nicholas Picingli; other letters that might conceivably be addressed to him are 44, 80, and 173; further Nicetas the Paphlagonian, *Ep. 89* (Arethas, *Scripta minora* II, 178-82).

144-147

*Date*: Picingli received his command from the Patriarch between June 6, 913 and Feb. 914; this letter was written under much changed circumstances after the victory of Garigliano (Grumel). The year of the battle is controversial (Aug. 915 or 916); see Gay and Runciman.

*Ep. 145. To the ruler of Amalfi*

June 913/Aug. 915 (916)

We appreciate your filial feelings and, on our part, pray for you and try to help you where we can. In the present matter of the prisoners of war, though we have not been entirely successful with our request, we have at least achieved something. We have also sent you on our own account one pound of gold for their redemption from the impious Agarenes. We hope that God will bless our action and bring them home to their families and friends.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 651. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 250 note 4.

*Addressee*: Mastalus I, Prefect of Amalfi, ca. 914/52 (Gay, *ibid.*, 249-51).

*Date*: Before Garigliano, according to Grumel; though the Amalfitans are not mentioned among the allies of Byzantium, the place of this letter after 144 seems to confirm the connection.

*Ep. 146. To Constantine, Protoasecretis*

Second half 913?

It is said that after the Emperor's death you are expelling the Archbishop of Neapolis and replacing him by a nominee of the man who usurped my see. I shall condemn whoever does this to eternal punishment.

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel. Jenkins, VIII, 239-41.

*Addressee*: Constantine Malelias, cf. Theoph. Cont. 395.6, where he is mentioned as involved in the conspiracy of Leo Phocas against Romanus in 919 (Jenkins). The protoasecretis Constantine, however, who was once saved by John the mystikos according to Nicetas Magister, *Ep. 22*, is the addressee of that letter, Constantine Combis.

*Date*: After Alexander's death (Jenkins); it may be worth considering whether Nicholas would have limited himself to the threat of eternal damnation when he still had political power.

*Ep. 147. <To an Abbot>*

Date?

We welcome the opportunity to communicate with you. The bearer of this letter told us you were his spiritual guide, the best he could ever have found. However, because of the trouble that certain people are making for him, it is better that he should go away. Give him your blessing and let him go where he can live in peace.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 765.

148-151

*Ep. 148. To the Monk Euthymius*

Date?

Though separated from each other, we are together in the spirit.

*Lit.*: Not in Grumel. Konstantinides, 95 note 3.

*Addressee*: Possibly the Euthymius of *Ep. 135* (Konstantinides). The commonplace does not necessarily mean, of course, that he is in Alania; still, Nicholas happens to use it also when writing to Peter of Alania, *Ep. 134*.

*Ep. 149. To the Governor of the Thrakesian province*

Date?

Being a just man, you know your duty of protecting the poor against those who wrong them. However, we recommend the case of the bearer of this letter to your attention, because he asked us to do so.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 780.

*Ep. 150. To Philotheus the Patrician*

915/18?

Clerics from Nicaea (presbyters and deacons) have come to me to tell me that they were being drafted for the army. My emotion was so strong that at first I could hardly write. No one dedicated to the service of the Church can be claimed for any other purpose, how much less those who perform the liturgy that God requires from us here on earth. Even consecrated objects may not be used for profane ends (2—31). The privileges granted by the Christian emperors to the metropolis because of the councils held there must not be infringed (32—43).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 781. Guiland, II, 193—94.

*Addressee*: Probably (in view of his rank) the Comes of the theme of Opsikion.

*Date*: During the critical phase of the Bulgarian war? Cf. *Eps. 37* and *164*.

*Ep. 151. To Gregory of Ephesus*

914/18

From day to day my troubles increase, no doubt because of my sins (2—11). What I am referring to is this: the Metropolitan of Dyrrhachium has decided to detach himself from the Church, and I cannot persuade him to change his mind. I have therefore sent him to you, where he will be free from the influence of disruptive elements and will be guided by your example and the awareness of what you have done for him (12—29).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 639.

*Date*: The dangerous influences in Constantinople must be those of the Zoe administration. The Metropolitan's decision to defect is most easily imaginable in the early years.

152-156

*Ep. 152. <To a Tax Collector>*

Date?

The people who hand you this letter have the task of supplying cabbage for the Great Church. This would be impossible if they were to have other fiscal duties imposed upon them.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 782.

*Ep. 153. To Theodosius, Monk and Kouboukleisios*

Early 925?

We had expected the monks to show more gratitude to you. They will get their reward, sooner or later; you, however, should not be discouraged, but trust in God (2—20).

We expected to see you at Christmas, as requested; be sure at least to be here on Palm Sunday, if God grants us to live (21—27).

As to the lawsuit of the monks, let them come and present their case either to me or to the Emperor(s) (28—31).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 766.

*Date*: Perhaps during last illness (cf. *Ep. 104*), unless the words at lines 25—26 are a mere apotropaic formula.

*Ep. 154. To Gregory of Ephesus*

June 913/Feb. 914?

We already informed you [*Ep. 160*?] that the plot against us has progressed no farther than the planning. We are content to wait and hope and do not worry too much about the future, praying only that whatever happens may be for the good of our soul.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 750.

*Date*: See *Ep. 160*, to which lines 2—5 seem to refer.

*Ep. 155. <To a Metropolitan>*

Date?

Thank God for the news of your recovery (1—6).

Though it is true that some of the *kouboukleisioi* will be dismissed by imperial decree, this affects neither yours nor mine (7—14).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 691.

*Addressee*: Must rank high in the hierarchy; possibly Gregory of Ephesus, but Nicholas never uses the rather neutral "Your Holiness" in addressing Gregory, except in the doubtful item *Ep. 190*.

*Date*: Grumel thinks of a retrenchment plan under Romanus (ca. 921); but a measure of this kind is conceivable at any time.

*Ep. 156. To the Emperor Romanus*

End Feb. 922

Though the blow that has struck you in the loss of your wife is a painful one, you should consider that one of you two had to die first and

156-158

you as the stronger one are more able to bear this loss. God knows what is best for us (2-22).

You are familiar with David's words on the death of his son; but let me cite the examples of Aemilius the Roman and of that Greek who said "I knew my son was mortal" (23-39).

Grief and dejection mean that we think we have suffered harm or wrong, but God can never do harm to anybody. Think of what you have already received from God and of the boons still to follow if your actions are pleasing to Him (40-59).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 703.

*Date*: Theodora died on Feb. 20, 922 (Theoph. Cont. 402.8-11).

*Ep. 157. To Demetrius of Cyzicus*

920?/25

We are grateful to hear that you are well (2-7).

In the matter of the clerics who refuse to appear in court, we advise you to use patience and persuasion; if this is of no avail, we shall give order for the decision to be executed in their absence, as you requested (8-15).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 725.

*Addressee and date*: See *Ep. 107*.

*Ep. 157A. <To Gregory of Ephesus?>*

Ca. 919?

I, too, Brother and most loved and loving of Sons, suffer from old age and poor health and, in addition to this, from those miseries which may well end with my deposition or death. Though I should prefer to continue my voyage to the island, I cannot refuse your invitation to visit you and receive some comfort and some advice.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 725 (as part of 157).

*Addressee*: Almost certainly Gregory, cf. index *s.v.* ἀδελφός. The island, which was the object of the Patriarch's only known journey, can only be guessed at: Samos? Patmos? Rhodes? And for what purpose?

*Date*: The complaint of old age and poor health (ἀσθενεία) appears for the first time in *Ep. 11* (winter 919/20), then in 14, 15, 20, and 28. The "miseries" may be those of the preliminary steps to the Union, when Nicholas had not yet resigned himself to compromising with the Euthymians.

*Ep. 158. To Constantine, Metropolitan of Laodicea*

Date?

We did not want to hurt you, but to reassure you with respect to those evil rumors about you. Those slanderers are like dogs who bite the stone thrown at them. Do not worry about them, if you care for my peace of mind. We repeat it: our only motive was to silence those clerics.

158-162

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 720.

*Addressee*: Cf. *Ep. 104*.

*Ep. 159. <To a Metropolitan>*

Date?

With regard to the affair of that bishop who insulted his metropolitan we do not question your decision, which was entirely canonical; we only want to point out that clemency is not forbidden, so long as it is only ourselves who are wronged, and the Holy Altar is not compromised.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 721.

*Date*: If the conflict is between a Nicholaan metropolitan and a Euthymian bishop, the plea for forgiveness would point to a time not long before the Union, but this is quite uncertain.

*Ep. 160. To Gregory of Ephesus*

June 913/Feb. 914?

For the other difficulties of the Church we are given only one reason, the weakness of the State. There may or may not be some truth in the further rumors that worry you; however, nothing more serious has happened now that the Devil's plot to subvert both the Church and the Empire has failed. This is all I can tell you in a letter.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 751.

*Date*: The only time when the State is both willing and too weak to support Nicholas against the Euthymians is his own regency. The plot may be either a sequel to the revolt of Constantine Ducas, or an early attempt to restore Zoe. Cf. *Ep. 154* (and 176?). Another possibility is that the "weakness" of the State is the financial trouble of 916/18, which led to the seizing of Church property (*Ep. 183*).

*Ep. 161. To the Military Governor of Peloponnesus*

923/25?

We write this to support the request of our beloved Brother and Fellow Archpriest, the Metropolitan of Caesarea, your old friend and fellow-countryman: permit a son to return to his dying father for a last meeting.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 783.

*Addressee*: A native of Patras.

*Date*: After the final reconciliation in 923? This is the most difficult letter to date to the second patriarchate; however, since Nicholas could prevail upon himself to visit Euthymius, he may have been capable of a friendly gesture toward Arethas on behalf of a common friend.

*Ep. 162. To George, Despot of Abasgia*

924/25?

We have every reason to hope that you will continue to rule as befits your noble descent (2-12). The Bulgarian war, about which you write,

162-165

unfortunately continues, and we count on your loyal support, as required in the imperial order, if necessary (13-19).

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 715.

*Date*: After 915/16, see *Ep.* 46; not improbable, after the promising negotiations of Nov. 924 (923) (Grumel).

*Ep.* 163. *To Antiochus the Monk*

*Date?*

Our request on behalf of the *kouboukleisios* who brings this letter is that you let him defend himself against his accusers without any insult or humiliation on your part. He is not only a monk and a *kouboukleisios*, but has been entrusted with other important services. If he has done wrong, let him be punished, but do not humiliate him, as you have often done to others.

*Lit.*: Grumel, No. 767.

*Date*: The connection with *Ep.* 153, suggested by Grumel, seems extremely doubtful, though not out of the question.

*Ep.* 164. *<To a High Official>*

915/18

Being a wise man, you will not forget what is due to God, while executing imperial orders (1-8). The churches need the lands, laborers, and clergy assigned to them since the earliest times. God's help is worth more than any endeavor of our own (9-20). The clerics registered in the imperial "seal" and in the Church, as well as the laborers, should be left alone; clerics as soldiers and the poor of the Church as serfs will be of no use to the State (21-32).

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 115.

*Addressee*: Cf. *Ep.* 183, to Constantine the Chamberlain, which is very similar. This one, however, may be to any other high executive.

*Date*: Under the pressure of the Bulgarian war. See *Ep.* 165.

*Ep.* 165. *<To an Officer?>*

Feb. 914/18

At first I accepted your report on your treatment of the guilty person as it stood; now there are ugly reports of torture. It is also said that you have confiscated lands belonging to the Great Church as well as the vessels that serve its needs (1-15). Be careful; the Emperor cannot approve of this. We have submitted the matter to the Patrician [*Ep.* 35?], who has written to you. Your pride may be your undoing (16-28).

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 116.

*Addressee*: An officer and ex-monk, if the affair is the one dealt with in *Ep.* 35; the Patrician is then the Military Governor of Strymon.

165-170

It should be observed, though, that it was usual for *strategoï* to have this rank.

*Date*: See *Ep.* 35.

*Ep.* 166. *<To the Same?>*

Feb. 914/18?

Your fine rhetoric will not count before God, even though our threats are powerless. You accuse us of anger, but how about your own outburst of cruelty? Your second account does not tally with your first, but I shall not quarrel with you. Remember that flesh is grass.

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 117.

*Addressee*: The letter seems to be a sequel to the preceding (cruelty, contradictory accounts). Nicholas meanwhile has lost his case.

*Date*: See *Ep.* 165.

*Ep.* 167. *<To a Monk>*

<912/18>

The devil always tries to ensnare those who have chosen the spiritual life, but God will not desert you (1-10).

Go where you said you would, trusting in Him. We expect you to return to us in a more cheerful mood (11-18).

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 118.

*Ep.* 168. *<To an Abbot>*

<912/18>

Thank you for the produce of your fields; but you should not have sent so much.

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 119.

*Ep.* 169. *To a Military Commander*

915/18?

The bearer of my letter, knowing your love for me, has asked me to write you on his behalf. Since he has neither the courage nor the age to be a soldier, you should have no difficulty in granting him exemption. Let his long journey (to me) not be in vain.

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 119.

*Date*: Draft in Bulgarian war?

*Ep.* 170. *<To a Military Commander>*

914/<918>

My sister-in-law, the widow of John the Patrician and Droungarios of the Watch, complains that your soldiers rob her of the produce of her country estate, on which she and her children depend for their living. We



170-173

know that soldiers too must live, but let them use restraint and not be as bad as the Bulgarians.

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 120. Jenkins, VIII, 235 note 19.

*Date*: Bulgarian war.

*Note*: In 867 a Nicholas Androsalites, prosmonarios of St. Diomedes at least since 856 (Ps.-Symeon 656.2-3; Georg. Cont. 819.18-19), becomes oconomus and syncellus, while his brother John becomes Droungarios of the Watch (Ps.-Symeon 691.10-12; Georg. Cont. 842.19-843.2) (Darrouzès). This must be a coincidence: the prosmonarios cannot be the Patriarch for chronological reasons (Jenkins); nor, on the other hand, can the present letter be attributed to the prosmonarios, since in his days there was no Bulgarian war. One John, Droungarios of the Watch, was deposed after the plot of the relatives of Zaoutzes against Leo in 897 (Theoph. Cont. 361.5-7; Georg. Cont. 856.8-10); he may be the Patriarch's brother.

*Ep. 171. <To an Official?>*

&lt;912/18&gt;

The monks of St. Anthes, as we told you here already, have left their monastery out of fear for your threats. We send them back with this letter. The dispute between them and their adversaries should be settled by law and justice, not by intimidation. If they should come to grief, you will be responsible before God.

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 121.

*Addressee*: Or an officer?

*Ep. 172. <To a Patriarchal Exarch?>*

&lt;912/18&gt;

We are grateful for your letter and especially for the satisfactory solution of the affair on which you report. The bishop will have no claim to the monastery, since it falls under the patriarchal jurisdiction. We leave the appointment of an abbot (either the present one or a new one) to you.

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 122.

*Addressee*: Suggested by Darrouzès; the local metropolitan is also possible.

*Ep. 173. <To a Military Commander?>*

912/18

Though your predicament was known to us, the confirmation in your letter causes us new grief. Since human help fails, we pray God to rescue you from those unjust attacks against your person and to save His own people (1-14). We regret that you have neither acted yourself to preserve order in the local church nor reported to us (15-19).

173-176

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 122.

*Addressee*: This is a typical "bipartite" letter, the first paragraph dealing with the correspondent's personal difficulties (unjust accusations) and the ensuing danger for the Christian community, the second with conflicts in the local church, of which the addressee, being on the spot, ought to be aware. This does not sound as if he is the bishop or metropolitan. He might be a general fighting the Muslims (Nicholas Picingli?) and in some kind of trouble with the central government; apparently Nicholas does not consider the trouble serious enough to suppress the rebuke.

*Date*: During the schism.

*Ep. 174. <To a Monk>*

912/18

We are happy to think of you for the sake both of old friendship and of your present state of life. Pray for us and the Church; you know what pain this conflict causes me (1-10).

I cannot grant your request as if I were a private person; I feel accountable to my successors, who would resent the precedent (11-17).

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 123.

*Date*: During the schism.

*Ep. 175. <To a Clergyman or Monk>*

&lt;912/18&gt;

We were saddened at the news of your protracted illness. Let us thank God, Who works for our salvation both through sickness and through health.

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 124.

*Ep. 176. <To Gregory of Ephesus?>*

912/18

Bad as your other news was, that of your illness pained us most. We trust that God will grant you recovery; as regards the other troubles, there is hope (1-14). Arrange the problems of the home for the aged as you deem best. We hope to see you here in due time (15-23).

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 124.

*Addressee*: With only one possible exception (42.17), the superlative "most holy Son" is reserved for Gregory (41.29; 48.3, 22; 151.12; 154.4; 178.1).

*Date*: If the brightening prospects are for an end of the schism, probably 917/18; if the reference is to the "plot" of *Eps. 154* and *160*, rather 913/14.

177-180

*Ep. 177. <To a Metropolitan or Archbishop>*

912/18

Your office obliges you to show compassion. Before going to secular courts ask your own conscience whether it is right that our indigent brothers should be robbed by their own father (1-12).

Pray for peace in the Church (13-16).

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 125-26.

*Date*: Schism.

*Ep. 178. <To Gregory of Ephesus>*

915/18, ca. March

The arrival of your letter proved that you had returned home safely, though the news it contained about the journey was bad enough (1-13). The action against the Church about which you learned here seems to have calmed down at least for the moment; I do not know whether this is due to the situation or to a change of mind of the initiator. Come after Easter or at least after the Feast of the Apostle [May 8] (14-21).

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 126.

*Addressee*: The Metropolitan of Ephesus (20-21); the Apostle is therefore St. John (Darrouzès).

*Date*: A few weeks before Easter; in view of the reassuring character of the news, the turbulent spring of 914 (Easter: April 17), as well as the equally turbulent weeks preceding Easter 919 (April 25) must be discarded. The situation differs from that in *Ep. 41* (where Gregory has been ill; here he has just returned from Constantinople) and from that in *Ep. 160*, assuming that the tentative dating for that letter is correct.

*Ep. 179. <To an Official>*

&lt;912/18&gt;

We ask you (though in your case this is hardly necessary) to provide justice for the bearer of this letter and, by setting an example, to discourage other wrongdoers.

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 127.

*Ep. 180. <To the Military Governor of Thrakesion>*

Second half 912

Help the Metropolitan of Sardes, who is leaving for the diocese entrusted to his care.

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 128.

*Addressee*: See lines 17-18.

*Date*: The newly appointed Metropolitan (the Antony of *Ep. 142*) must be the successor of Peter, who in May 912 escaped arrest by disappearing (*Vita Euthymii* 117.1-2 [Karlin-Hayter]). Nicholas clearly expects trouble; see *Ep. 181*.

181-184

*Ep. 181. <To the Judge of Thrakesion?>*

Second half 912

The Metropolitan of Sardes has asked me for a letter of introduction to you. Help him in court affairs, or wherever help is needed.

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 128.

*Addressee and Date*: See *Ep. 180*.

*Ep. 182. <To the Metropolitan of Antioch in Pisidia?>*

&lt;913/18&gt;

We were worried when we remained without news from you for so long a time; now that you have informed us of your illness and recovery, we are reassured (1-8). As for the subject of your letter, human nature being what it is, we can only counsel patience (9-18). Come as soon as you can; the difficulties that you experienced and feared are now solved. Before leaving look into the affair of the Bishop of Bindios, who has turned a monastery into a private mansion (19-29).

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 129.

*Addressee*: The metropolitan to whose diocese the see of Bindios belongs or an exarch (Darrouzès); the first suggestion is supported by *Ep. 115*, to which this may well be a sequel. The metropolitan's name is then Euthymius.

*Ep. 183. <To Constantine the Chamberlain>*

915/16

Listen to a father's reproof (1-15). When you were young, unimportant, and poor, everybody praised you; now it is only complaints and protests (6-13). Of course it is true that the treasury has suffered by the war, but we should rather sell the Emperor's purple cloak than allow the Church to suffer. It is foolish to try and win the Turks and Pechenegs and lose the support of God (14-30). You would be angry if your servant were robbed. I write this out of love for you, and also for our beloved Lady—though she may not believe me (31-39).

*Lit.*: Darrouzès, 138. Jenkins, XIX, 164 note 2.

*Addressee*: Identified by Jenkins, who also points out that "our beloved Lady" is Zoe.

*Date*: Time of negotiations of Bogas.

*Ep. 184. <To a Metropolitan?>*

914/18?

A man who is discouraged by the tyrannical decisions of men shows that he has no faith in God's judgment.

*Addressee*: Apparently a defeatist in Nicholas' own party.

*Date*: The last letter in this small collection (190) is the only one that justifies the later dating of the entire group; the others could equally well belong to be the crisis of Feb. 907.

*Ep. 185. <To a Metropolitan?>*

185-190

914/18?

We are waiting for you impatiently. The advice we gave you was inspired by concern for you. If you can, do something for us both; if you are afraid, do not worry about me.

*Addressee:* Invitations of this kind are almost without exception to metropolitans.

*Date:* See *Ep. 184*.

*Ep. 186. <To a Monk>*

914/18?

It seems normal in these days for sons to despise their fathers, even for those who live in holiness. But in rejecting me you reject the heavenly Father.

*Date:* Cf. *Ep. 39*, with the same complaint.

*Ep. 187. <To an Enemy>*

Feb. 914?

You have won. Later, or perhaps even now, you will repent your victory.

*Addressee:* Cf. the very similar *Ep. 81*.

*Date:* Nicholas' most signal defeats are in Feb. 907 and Feb. 914.

*Ep. 188. <To a Monk?>*

*Date?*

Health is damaged not only by poison, but also by spices. Let us beware of pleasure.

*Ep. 189. <To a Politician>*

914/18?

The wheel of the world will not stop turning and though you are high in the air now, you will end at its lowest point—the grave.

*Addressee:* Constantine the Chamberlain is possible. Cf. *Ep. 183*.

*Date:* Written in a mood of bitter frustration: same time as 187?

*Ep. 190. <To Gregory of Ephesus?>*

914/18

Your intrepid resistance is a great comfort to us. May Christ give you strength to continue your faithful watch over His flock.

*Lit.:* Grumel, No. 756.

*Addressee:* The only reason for the identification are what might seem to be allusions to the name Gregory at 11 and 13—14. The possibility of similar allusions to the name Photius has been pointed out at *Ep. 42*, but it remains uncertain, since it cannot be supported by examples from letters to known addressees.

*Date:* The circumstances described here can have occurred only during the schism; in the crisis of 906/7 there was no question of attacks on provincial churches.

## INDICES

## I: PROPER NAMES

- 'Ααρών (bibl.) 32.435, 436.  
'Αβαροι, Avars 10.34.  
'Αβασγία 46.2; 51.1; 162.1.  
'Αβελ (bibl.) 11.36.  
'Αγαγ (bibl.) 32.463.  
'Αγαρηνοί, Arabs 25.122; 32.86; 145.22. -ός (adj.) 23.159.  
'Αδεάδατος, Adeodatus, Italian cleric, Nicholas' envoy to Pope John X 54.49; 77.6; <83.20—23?>.  
'Αδριανός, droungarios of the fleet 75.60.  
'Αθῆναι 113.1.  
Αἰμίλιος, Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus 156.28.  
'Αλανία 46.22; 51.10; 52.1; 118.1; 133.1; 134.1; 135.1.  
'Αλανοί 9.267; 23.19, 68; 51.7; <79.19>.  
'Αλέξανδρος, emperor <32.508>; 45.21; <146.3>.  
'Αλέξανδρος, metropolitan of Nicaea 71.1; <100.1>.  
'Αμάλφη, Amalfi 145.2.  
'Αμβρόσιος, bishop 122.1.  
'Αμισός, suffragan see of Amasea in Pontus 65.1.  
'Ανανίας (bibl.) 28.48.  
<'Αναστάσιος>, Anastasius III, Pope 32.1.  
'Ανατολικοί, theme 121.1.  
'Ανδρέας, metropolitan of Patras 43.1; 119.1; 123.1.  
<'Αννα>, daughter of Leo VI 32.77—84.  
'Αντιόχεια, in Pisidia 115.1.  
'Αντίοχος, monk (abbot) 163.1.  
'Αντώνιος, metropolitan of Sardes 142.1; <180.6—19; 181>.  
<'Αρέθας>, metropolitan of Caesarea 161.7.  
'Αρκάδιος, emperor 5.131, 135; 20.95.  
'Αρμένιοι 139.65.  
'Αρσένιος, monk (abbot) 45.1.  
Βάρδας, caesar (under Michael III) 45.20.  
Βάρις, Bari, city in Longibardia 75.55.  
<Βασίλειος>, Basil I, emperor 75.54.  
Βασίλειος, metropolitan of Chaldia (Trebizond) <74.18—21>; 114.1; 128.1.  
Βασίλειος, protospatharius and *epi tou chrysotriklinou* 53.53; 93.12.

- Βέρτα, wife of Adelbert, king of Italy 32.80.  
 Βῆμα, monastery in the diocese of Sylaeum 117.17.  
 Βίνδιος, bishopric in the diocese of Antioch in Pisidia 182.23.  
 Βλαχέρναι, church in Constantinople 27.88; 107.4.  
 Βουλγαρία 3.2; 4.2, 36; 5.1; 6.1; 7.1; 8.1; 9.1, 108; 10.1; 11.1; 12.1; 19.7; 28.28; 30.18.  
 Βουλγαρικός 9.21; 17.65; 18.69; 31.146; 92.6.  
 Βούλγαρος 14.1—31.1; 31.89; (plur.) 4—31 *passim*; 66.40; 95.3; 162.13; 170.15.  
 Βωγᾶς, governor of Cherson 9.99, 136, 148.  
 <Βώγωρις>, Boris I Michael, Prince of Bulgaria, father of Symeon 25.15—66, 78—83; 27.30, 66—67; 29.64—65.  
 Γαβριήλ, metropolitan of Ancyra 113.16.  
 Γαίδων, imperial protospatharius <77.13>; 84.1.  
 Γαῦνᾶς, army commander in the reign of Arcadius 20.95—126, 130, 142.  
 Γεώργιος, George II, Prince of Abasgia <46.1>; 162.1.  
 Γοδῆνος, imperial protospatharius 103.1.  
 Γρηγόριος, metropolitan of Ephesus 39.1; 41.1; <42?>; 48.1; <69.8>; <87?>; 89.1; 94.1; <107.7?>; 124.1; 132.1; 151.1; 154.1; <155?>; <157A?>; 160.1; <176?>; <178>; <190?>. .  
 Γρηγόριος, metropolitan of Nicomedia 113.16.  
 Γρηγόριος, monk in diocese of Patras 119.17.  
 Δάμασος, Pope 32.430.  
 Δαμιανός, renegade admiral 1.<73—74>, 110, 161, 177.  
 Δαυίδ (bibl.) 32.459; <25.87>; 156.23.  
 Δαυίδ Καμουλιανός, protospatharius 69.1; 70.1.  
 Δεβελτός (ή), city in Bulgaria 6.31.  
 Δημήτριος, metropolitan of Cyzicus <107.1?>; 157.1.  
 Δημήτριος, metropolitan of Heraclea 113.16.  
 Δυρράχιον, city in theme of Delmatia 9.181; 151.14.  
 Ἑλλάς, theme 34.1.  
 Ἑλληγνες, pagans 66.5; 117.36; 156.35.  
 Ἑλληνικός, pagan 66.7.  
 Ἑλύμας (bibl.) 28.50.  
 Ἐπιφάνιος, monk (abbot) 63.1.  
 <Εὐθύμιος>, patriarch of Constantinople 146.6—9.  
 Εὐθύμιος, metropolitan of Antioch in Pisidia 115.1; <182?>. .  
 Εὐθύμιος, apostle of Alania, abbot on Mt. Olympus <9.266—69>; <79?>; 135.87; 148.1(?).  
 Εὐλόγιος, presbyter and kouboukleisios 53.55.  
 Ἐφέσιοι 178.20.  
 Ἐφεσος 39.1; 41.1; 48.1; 69.7; 89.1; 94.1; 124.1; 151.1; 154.1; 160.1.  
 <Ζωή>, Leo VI's fourth wife 32.30, 33, 40, 48, 52, 114, 124, 130; 183.37.  
 <Ἡλιάς>, prophet (feast of) 60.2.  
 Ἡλιοῦ Βωμοί, monastery 141.1.  
 Ἡμέριος, admiral 1.118, 124, 127, 129, 134, 141, 144, 151, 153.

- Ἡράκλεια, city in Thrace 19.42; <113.16>; 132.1.  
 Θεοδόσιος, Theodosius II, emperor 5.132.  
 Θεοδόσιος, monk and kouboukleisios 153.1.  
 Θεόκτιστος, mtp. of Claudiopolis 93.1; 112.1.  
 Θεοστήρικτος, bishop(?) 97.2.  
 Θεοφύλακτος, bishop, envoy of Pope John X 28.15.  
 Θεσσαλονικεῖς 75.64.  
 Θεσσαλονίκη 9.181; 23.139; 75.63; (theme) 140.1.  
 Θῆβαι, Thebes 34.10; 116.13.  
 Θράκη, theme 9.90, 135.  
 Θρακήσιοι, theme 149.1; <180; 181>. .  
 Ἰακώβ (bibl.) 32.461.  
 Ἰάκωβος, brother of Alexander of Nicaea(?) 71.3, 10, 15.  
 Ἰάκωβος, bishop, envoy of Church of Rome 53.91.  
 Ἰγνάτιος, patriarch of Constantinople 75.57.  
 Ἰγνάτιος, metropolitan of Cyzicus <39.12>; 50.1; 130.1; 137.1; 138.1.  
 Ἰγνάτιος, metropolitan of Nicomedia 96.1; 97.1.  
 Ἰγνάτιος, ex-magister, monk at the Great Farm 125.1(?); 126.1; 143.1.  
 Ἰδρούς, Otranto, city in Apulia 83.1; <101A?>. .  
 Ἰερεμίας (bibl.) 17.47.  
 Ἰεροσόλυμα, Jerusalem 54.51.  
 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός 15.6, 45; 24.76; 110.11.  
 Ἰκόνιον, Konya, city in Anatolikon 58.1.  
 Ἰλαρίων, former metropolitan of Hierapolis(?) 62.5.  
 Ἰουδαῖοι 32.221; 117.35.  
 Ἰούδας (bibl.) 151.27.  
 Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος τὸ ἐπώνυμον 20.105.  
 Ἰωάννης, John X, Pope <28.6, 26, 30, 40, 54, 57>; 53.1; <54.15, 34, 56>; <55.36>; <56.1>; <77>. .  
 Ἰωάννης, metropolitan of Ephesus under Euthymius 89.12.  
 Ἰωάννης, bishop of Amisus 65.1.  
 Ἰωάννης, bishop or monk in the diocese of Synada 57.4.  
 Ἰωάννης, patrician and droungarios of the watch, brother of Nicholas 170.4.  
 Κάϊν (bibl.) 11.35.  
 Καισαρεῖς, inhabitants of Caesarea in Cappadocia 161.7.  
 Καμουλιανός cf. Δαυίδ K.  
 Κάρος, bishop, envoy of Pope John X 28.17.  
 Καταφλώρων, an official 58.7.  
 Κλαυδιούπολις, city in theme of Bucellarion 93.1; 112.1.  
 Κλήμης, Clemens Romanus 32.282, 284, 290.  
 Κοσμάς, a metropolitan (deposed in 912) 113.16.  
 Κρήτη, Crete 1.1; 2.1.  
 Κύζικος, city in theme of Opsikion 39.12; 50.1; 107.1; 130.1; 137.1, 4; 138.1; 157.1.  
 Κύπριοι, Cyprians 1.45—172.  
 Κωνσταντῖνος, Constantine VII, emperor 72.7; 75.54. Further <5.18, 24, 92, 147; 7.12; 9.221; 14.115; 32.32, 45, 46; 66.30; 72.4, 15; 80.9(?); 165.18, 21, 22(?); 183.19>. Romanus and C., cf. Ῥωμανός.

- <Κωνσταντῖνος>, Constantine III, Prince of Abasgia <46.3, 6, 17>; 51.1.  
 Κωνσταντῖνος, parakimomenos 47.1; <61?>; <66>; <67>; <72?>; <164?>; <183>; <187?>; <189?>. On his government, cf. 9.30—31, 80—189; 11.45, 50—54; 12.68—72; 13.35—39; 14.97—105, 112—18; 16.73—75, 86—87; 18.54—66, 75—76; 24.44—49; 29.79—80; 31.56—57.  
 <Κωνσταντῖνος Δούξ>, usurper 5.109—15.  
 Κωνσταντῖνος <Μαλελίας>, protoascretis 146.1.  
 Κωνσταντῖνος, metropolitan of Ephesus under Euthymius 89.11.  
 Κωνσταντῖνος, metropolitan of Laodicea 104.1; <109>; <136.1?>; 158.1.  
 Κωνσταντινούπολις 1 title; 32.2, 208; 77.12; 82.3; 84.3.  
 Κωνσταντινουπολίται 28.65; 77.20.  
 Λάμψακος, city in theme of Opsikion 95.3, 9.  
 Λανδοῦλφος, Landulf I, proconsul, Prince of Capua-Benevento 82.2; <83.19—20>; <84.6—10>; 85.20; <101?>; <101A.2—3, 10?>.
- Λαοδίχεια, city in Phrygia 104.1; 158.1.  
 Λάρισσα, city in Thessaly 116.1.  
 Λέων, Leo VI, emperor 16.86; 45.22; 75.61; 82.15. Further <9.225; 32.20, 47, 60, 77, 131, 145, 154, 496; 53.39, 64; 54.40; 55.25, 31>.
- Λέων, patrician and governor of Anatolikon 121.1.  
 Λέων, protospatharius and judge of Paphlagonia 127.1.  
 Λέων, metropolitan of Sylaeum 117.1; 129.1.  
 Λέων ὁ Τριπολίτης, renegade admiral 23.138.  
 Λῆμος, island in the Aegean 23.146.  
 Λογγιβαρδία, theme in Italy 75.55; 82.49, 66; 85.2; 144.1.  
 <Λοδότικος>, Louis the Blind, Frank 32.78, nephew of Berta 32.80.  
 Μακεδονία, theme 9.89, 135.  
 Μαλακινός, patrician 40.1.  
 Μάπας, Stylianus Mapas, metropolitan of Neocaesarea 75.61.  
 Μάρτιος μὴν 92.26; 94.39.  
 Μέγας Ἄγρος, monastery on Mt. Olympus 126.2; 143.1.  
 Μεσημβρία, Misivria, city in theme of Thrace 14.144.  
 Μιχαήλ, patrician and governor of Thessalonica 140.1.  
 Μιχαήλ, a metropolitan 136.1.  
 Μονομάχος, an official 96.3.  
 <Μουχοῦμετ>, Mohammed 102.143, 156.  
 Μωσῆς (bibl.) 25.67, 69.  
 Νεάπολις, city in Pisidia 146.5.  
 Νίκαια, city in theme of Opsikion 71.1; 100.1, 17; 150.2.  
 Νικήτας, metropolitan of Athens 113.1.  
 Νικόλαος, Nicholas I, patriarch of Constantinople 1 title; 32.2; 82.2; 84.2; 85.2.  
 Νικόλαος, Nicholas Picingli, governor of Longibardia <44?>; <80?>; 144.1; <173?>.

- Νικομήδεια, city in theme of Optimaton 96.1; 97.1.  
 Ὀλυμπος, mountain range in Bithynia 9.266.  
 Οὐαλεντινιανός, emperor 32.426.  
 Οὐρσολέων, patrician and governor of Longibardia 82.4, 47; 83.15; <85.5—6>.
- Πατζηνακία, country of Pechenegs 9.137.  
 Πατζηνακῖται, Pechenegs 9.101, 106, 111, 144, 152; 23.19, 69; Πατζινακῖται 183.22.  
 Πατζηνάκοι (or -ες), Pechenegs 9.149.  
 Πάτραι, city in Peloponnese 43.1; 119.1; 123.1.  
 Παῦλος, apostle 28.50; 32.254, 271, 370.  
 Παῦλος, monk and presbyter in theme of Thessalonica 140.13.  
 Παφλαγονία, theme 127.1.  
 Πελοπόννησος, theme 82.60; 161.1.  
 Πέρσαι, Persians 5.128, 129, 137; 25.122.  
 Περσικός, Persian 10.30.  
 Πέτρος, apostle 28.48; 32.370.  
 Πέτρος, Roman, envoy of Nicholas 77.6; <83.20—23?>.
- Πέτρος, archbishop of Alanina <46.21>; <51.14, 22>; 52.1; 118.1; 133.1; 134.1; 135.1.  
 Πέτρος, monk (and abbot) 62.1.  
 Πετρωνᾶς, bishop or cleric 71.5.  
 Πισσηνοῦντες, Pessinus, city in theme of Anatolikon 108.1; 110.1.  
 Ῥωμαϊκός 1.131, 146; 6.30; 9.21, 24, 147, 181, 182; 10.28, 33, 55; 14.111, 112, 140; 15.39; 16.26, 98; 17.65; 18.69, 105; 19.23; 20.95, 185; 23.44, 76, 143; 25.100, 132; 27.73, 76; 28.73; 31.145; 102.17, 27, 31, 34, 82, 154; 156.27; (of republican Rome) 156.26; (of the church of Rome) 32.356; 54.36, 39; 77.12.  
 Ῥωμαῖοι 1.17, 147; 5—31 *passim*; 102.42, 58, 69, 151; (of the church of Rome) 28.26, 43, 58, 68; 32.3, 131, 144, 147, 149, 181, 208, 243, 358, 472, 516; 53.93; 55.11, 12, 27, 42; 56.26.  
 Ῥωμανός, Romanus I, emperor 16.68; 156.1; καῖσαρ 95.1; <95A.1>; basileopator <75>. Further <17.56, 161; 18.31, 94; 19.22; 21.212; 23.118; 25.142; 29.96; 30.12, 18, 49; 31.17, 37, 72, 74, 81, 98, 110, 121, 138; 54.57; 71.10(?)>; 86.1, 4, 8, 14; 100.15; 101.5, 7, 10(?)>; 101A.1, 4(?)>; 102.151, 179; 139.29, 36, 44, 62>; (with Constantine) <18.88, 98; 19.39; 22.47; 23.28, 30, 41, 54, 74; 25.106, 132; 26.28, 35; 27.78; 28.72, 87, 92; 29.78; 69.4, 6; 70.23, 24; 77.14; 82.8, 10, 23, 27, 32, 33, 40, 42, 44, 50, 54; 83.17; 84.8, 11; 85.6, 10, 17, 21; 94.31; 96.3, 5, 14; 102.17, 27, 81, 133, 136; 103.15, 23>.
- Ῥώμη, Rome 32.182; 54.14, 55; 77.7; 83.21; 84.16; 113.17; ἡ πρεσβυτέρα Ῥ. 32.1, 115, 129; 53.1; 56.1; ἡ ὑμετέρα Ῥ. 32.223; 56.3.  
 Ῥως, Russians 23.18, 69.  
 Σάβας, metropolitan of Athens 113.13.  
 Σάβας, bishop or monk in diocese of Sardes 142.6.

- Σαμουήλ (bibl.) 32.462.  
 Σαρακηνός 102.131; (plur.)  
 1.17, 46, 49, 59, 63, 68, 70, 74, 82,  
 111, 117, 123, 128, 135, 137, 147,  
 152, 176; 10.41; 60.7; 75.57;  
 102.2, 4, 17, 18, 57, 70, 76, 96, 100,  
 112, 129, 152, 159, 161, 176, 181,  
 184, 188, 191.  
 Σάρδεις, city in theme of  
 Thrakesion 142.1; 180.7; 181.1.  
 Σέργιος, Sergius III, Pope  
 32.495; 53.66.  
 Σηλυμβρία, city in Thrace 19.43.  
 Σικελία, Sicily 75.59.  
 Σκυθικός 23.69.  
 Στέφανος, metropolitan  
 (of Amasea?) 136.1.  
 Στρογγυλίζων (ὁ), property of  
 St. Sophia in theme of Strymon  
 35.13; 36.1.  
 Στυρών, theme 35.1.  
 Στυλιανός, deacon 37.1.  
 Σύλαιον, city in theme of  
 Cibyrraeots 117.1; 129.1.  
 Συμεών, Prince of Bulgaria 3.2;  
 5.1—11.1; 13.1; 14.1, 60; 15.1—  
 28.1; 29.1, 61; 30.1; 31.1;  
 <183.15>.  
 Σύναδα (τά), city in theme of  
 Anatolikon 57.1.  
 Συράκουσα (ή), Syracuse 75.58.  
 Συρία 1.141, 154.  
 Ταυρομένιον, Taormina, city in  
 Sicily 75.63.  
 Τερεντώ, Taranto, city in Italy  
 75.56.  
 Τεφρική, Divrigi, city in theme of  
 Armeniakon 75.55.  
 Τοῦρκοι (οἱ ἐκ τῆς δύσεως) 23.20,  
 68; 183.23.  
 Τριπολίτης cf. Λέων.  
 Τρύφων, martyr 32.166.  
 Τρύφων, monk 33.1; 64.1; 120.1;  
 131.1.  
 Φιλητός, monk 38.1.  
 Φίλιππος, metropolitan of Larissa  
 116.1.  
 Φιλόθεος, patrician, comes of  
 Opsikion theme(?) 150.1.  
 Φραγκία, Francia 32.81.  
 Φράγκος (ὁ) cf. Λοδοίκος.  
 Φώτιος, patriarch of  
 Constantinople 2.18; 75.52, 58;  
 139.49.  
 Φώτιος, metropolitan of Heraclea  
 <42?>; 132.1.  
 Χαζαρία, Chazaria 68.12, 16, 19,  
 21.  
 <Χάζαροι>, Chazars 106.14—15.  
 Χαλδία, theme = diocese of  
 Trebizond 74.18—19; 114.1;  
 128.1.  
 Χερσών (ή), city in Crimea 9.99;  
 68.10, 15, 18; 106.1.  
 Χερσωνῦται, inhabitants of  
 Cherson 68.7.  
 Χοσρόης, Chosroes, King of Persia  
 (erron. for Iezdegerd) 5.137.  
 Χριστιανικός 12.62; 17.10, 66;  
 18.46, 112; 21.116, 141; 24.19, 20;  
 25.21; 26.25; 54.45; 55.26; 66.2;  
 102.53; (superl.) 5.13, 165;  
 27.36.  
 Χριστιανοί 1.73, 109, 154, 155;  
 2.62; 3.29; 5.15, 119, 120; etc.;  
 (sing.) 3.25; 5.121, 160; 18.44;  
 21.78; 23.114; 29.108.  
 Χριστός *passim*.  
 Χρυσόστομος cf. Ἰωάννης.

## II: TERMS

- ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα, monastic habit  
 22.39.  
 ἄγγελος: (1) ζῶν τὴν τῶν ἀ.,  
 monastic life 78.4; (2) "envoy"  
 15.40; 32.187.  
 ἄγιος: ἐν ταῖς ἀ. εὐχαῖς σου (mtp.)  
 42.28; ἐν τῇ ἀ. σου ψυχῇ (emp.)  
 86.16; ἀγιώτατος (Pope) 28.6,  
 26, 30, 40; 32.1, 430; 53.1; 54.14,  
 34; 55.36; (patriarch) 98.1;  
 139.49.  
 ἀγιότης: ἡ ὑμῶν ἀ. (Pope) 53.79,  
 89; 77.17; (patriarch) 98.3, 18,  
 24, 36.  
 ἀγιωσύνη: ἡ σὴ ἀ. (Pope) 53.4;  
 77.16, 29; (mtp.) 142.3.  
 ἀδελφός: (1) of Nicholas: (Pope)  
 28.7; 53.2, 29; 54.18, 34, 57; 56.5;  
 77.44; (patriarch) 98.1, 39;  
 (abp. of Bulgaria) 12.43; (proto-  
 thronos) 161.7; (Gregory of  
 Ephesus) <42.3?>; <157A.1, 9?>;  
 in plur.: (Pope and Roman bps.)  
 32.4, 222, 444, 468; (mtps.) 90.1,  
 4, 16; 136.1; (2) of emperor:  
 (czar of Bulgaria) 23.118; 25.137;  
 30.49; 31.127.  
 ἀδελφότης: ἡ σὴ ἀ. (Pope) 77.2.  
 ἀθλιότης: ἡ ἡμῶν ἀ. 31.38.  
 αἰδέσιμος (mtp.) 180.18.  
 ἀκρόδρυα 12.111.  
 ἀλειπτὰ, vials of holy oil 44.14.  
 ἀλλαγαί, "re-allotments" 96.6.  
 ἀλλάγιον, exchange of prisoners  
 20.169, 186, 187, 191.  
 ἄλοργίς (of emperor) 183.19.  
 ἄμαρτία (of Nicholas, in formulas  
 of self-depreciation) 5.3, 55;  
 11.16; 13.15; 21.2; 23.139; 25.5;  
 32.11; 33.9; 34.21; etc.  
 ἄμαρτωλός (Nicholas) 5.192;  
 9.229; 10.6; 11.136; 15.3; 17.6;  
 18.100; 20.17; 21.25; 22.24; 38.2;  
 57.7; 66.28; 67.3; 69.11; 89.19;  
 90.2, 10; 91.9, 13; 102.52, 196;  
 135.24; 146.7, 11; 167.16; 180.13;  
 181.13.  
 ἀμηρᾶς (of Crete) 1.1; 2.1.  
 ἀναδεικνύναι, appoint 82.66.  
 ἀνάθεμα 28.61; 32.491, 495, 498;  
 75.76.  
 ἀνακήρυξις, commemoration (of  
 name in diptychs) 53.78; 55.36.  
 ἀνακηρύττειν, commemorate  
 54.22.  
 ἀνάξιος (Nicholas) 3.31; 5.191,  
 204; 6.7, 43, 59; 8.85, 122; 11.16;  
 14.33; 15.54; 16.7; 17.8; 20.19,  
 158; 25.88; 31.95; 77.40; 83.8;  
 102.53; 145.4; 173.7.  
 ἀναξιότης: τῆς ταπεινότητος ἡμῶν  
 καὶ ἀ. 5.7.  
 ἄνθρωπος (1) vocat. 1.120;  
 32.298; 165.16; ἀγαθὲ καὶ καλῆ  
 ἀ. 81.4; καλῆ καὶ ἀγαθῆ ἀ.  
 186.5; (2) ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ  
 (high clergy) 2.21; 36.3; 109.29;  
 124.26; 128.16; 155.2; 158.21;  
 (monks) 33.4; 147.3; 153.13, 17;  
 (secular rulers) 14.8; 18.50; 19.28;  
 25.60; 26.51; 51.3; 183.10, 14;  
 (3) ὁ πρῶτος ἀ. τοῦ Συμεών 13.1;  
 τῶν Σαρακηνῶν 102.161, cf.  
 102.57; (4) envoy, agent 6.32;  
 12.130; 21.204, 209; 22.35, 38, 44;  
 27.86, 91; 28.14, 40; 53.56; 77.8;  
 105.12; (βασιλικὸν ἀ.) 6.34;  
 92.36; 93.10.  
 ἀνθύπατος, proconsul 82.2;  
 85.20, 22.  
 ἀντιγραφεῖς, scribes 95A.6.  
 ἀξία, "rank" 95A.12.  
 ἀξίωμα, "rank" 95A.1, 7;  
 124.18.

- ἀξίωσις: τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀ. τε καὶ δῆλωσιν 162.15.  
 ἀοίδιμος (of Photius) 2.18.  
 ἀποκρισιάριος 9.91, 106, 108, 137; 14.140; 18.6, 11; 19.2; 21.201; 28.35; 55.33; 79.20; 139.27.  
 ἀπόστολος: τὸ τοῦ ἀγίου ἀ. κτῆμα 73.9.  
 ἀπόστολος, envoy 1.11; 28.30; 53.27, 85, 89, 93; 56.5, 22; 77.17, 18, 23, 29.  
 ἀρετή: ἡ σὴ ἀρετή as a form of address: (Czar of Bulgaria) 3.64; 5.46, 62, 96, 182; 14.134; 20.132; 25.29; (Prince of Abasgia) 51.23; (parakimomenos) 66.28; (strategos) 35.37; 44.6; 121.13; 150.34; (protospatharius) 70.19; (a relative) 51.23; (mtp.) 93.15; 116.16; 129.2, 7; 158.6, 8, 19; 159.13; 172.7, 14; (abp.) 135.86; (bp.) 65.8, 12; (monk) 126.9; 141.24; 143.2; 163.5. (τῆς σῆς μεγαλοτίμου ἀ. 3.64; τῆ σῆ μεγαλοδόξω ἀ. 20.132; 25.29; τὴν σὴν στρατηγικὴν ἀ. 44.6; τὴν σὴν τελειοτάτην ἀ. 126.9; τὴν ὑμῶν ἐνθεον ἀ. 143.2; σου ἡ θεοφιλῆς ἀ. 172.14).  
 ἀρχή, in forms of address: (Symeon of Bulgaria) τῆς σῆς μεγαλοδόξου ἀ. 21.210; 27.11; 29.94; τῆς ὑμῶν θεοτιμῆτου ἀ. καὶ ἐξουσίας 24.36.  
 ἀρχηγός: τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχηγέ 1.46; Βουλγάρων ἀρχηγός 10.57.  
 ἀρχιδιάκονος, archdeacon 89.15.  
 ἀρχιεπισκοπή (of metropolitan see with title of archbishopric) 74.19.  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, archbishop: (of Alania) 46.21; 51.14, 22; 52.1; 118.1; 133.1—135.1; (of Bul-

- garia) 4.1; 12.1; (of Cherson) 106.1; (of Neapolis) 146.4; (of Otranto) 83.1; (of Thebes) 34.15, 17; 116.13; mtp. with title of abp. (the Patriarch) 1 title; 32.2; 82.3; 84.3; 85.3; (of Ephesus) 69.8; <107.7?>. Cf. ἀρχιερεὺς and deriv.  
 ἀρχιερατεύειν (of patriarchate) 8.5; 14.34; 17.143; 20.18.  
 ἀρχιερατικός (of patriarchate of Cp.) 31.44; 77.41; (of Rome) 53.71; (other) 32.115; (Catholicus) 139.60; (mtps. and abps.) 32.62, 176; (mtp.) 117.8; 176.17; 180.18; in forms of address: ἡ σὴ ἀ. τελειότης (abp.) 4.78; 12.2; (mtp.) 41.3; 42.1; 124.10; 132.18.  
 ἀρχιερατικῶς (ref. abp.) 4.25.  
 ἀρχιερεὺς: (gener.) 2.17; 53.67; (Patriarch) 3.58; 6.59; 15.54; 17.130; 20.17, 33, 35, 148; 21.25; 27.43; 31.50; 32.174, 190; 89.19; 146.11; (Pope) 28.26, 44; (Catholicus) 139.30, 38, 70; (mtps., abps.) 20.103, 109, 121, 125, 134, 137; 22.40; 28.14; 32.46, 60, 147, 159; 53.80; 58.11; 85.1; 99.2; 109.30, 41; 119.31; 124.12; 129.22; 158.21; 159.2; 177.1, 11; 180.3; (abp. of Chazaria) 106.26.  
 ἀρχιερωσύνη 32.116, 117; 109.31; 139.58; ἡ σὴ ἀ. (Patriarch) 31.126; (mtp.) 89.8; 117.15, 43; 130.10; 142.8; 151.25; (abp.) 4.67; 12.95.  
 ἄρχων: (of Armenia) ἀ. τῶν ἀ. 139.1; (of Alania) 51.10; (of Amalfi) 145.2; (of Bulgaria) 3.2; 4.38, 42, 52, 83; 5.1, 34, 64, 88, 100; 6.1—11.1; (Gaias) 20.116; (Godinus) 103.1; (a strategos) 180.16; ἄρχοντες of Longibardia 85.1; of the Empire (the Palace)

- 9.81; 19.23; 32.83; 66.29, 32; 67.3, 12, 14; 102.133; 128.36.  
 ἄσκησις 147.16.  
 ἀσκητής: τῶν ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ ἀ. 9.266.  
 ἀσυλία (of St. Sophia) 3.30, 59.  
 ἀσφάλεια, "guarantee" 1.48; 75.32; 94.21; 102.145; ἐνορκος 6.27; ἔγγραφος 102.157; (milit.) 95.5.  
 ἀσχετός (Nicholas) 3.26; 4.45, 63; 5.40; 17.14; 18.5; 20.104; 27.38; 77.40; 79.7; 154.9.  
 ἄχυρα, "straw" 32.175.  
 βαθμός, "rank" 43.16; 159.6.  
 βαίων ἑορτή 153.26.  
 βάπτισμα 5.27; 9.35, 236; 18.117; 29.32; 32.45, 52; 51.11; 79.30.  
 βασιλεία 5.103, 128; 8.47; 14.151; 16.67, 78; 17.161; 18.31, 94, 105; 19.22; 21.44, 142; 23.76; 25.100, 107, 132; 27.73, 76; 28.87; 31.111; 32.303, 310, 312, 338; 86.3; 102.18, 27, 72; 156.5, 49; 160.11; (as a title) τὴν ἡμῶν β. 23.54; ἡ σὴ β. 32.77; 86.4, 8; τὴν σὴν τιμωτάτην β. 86.14; ἡ β. 82.32, 33; 84.11; 85.10; ἡ ὑψηλὴ καὶ μεγάλῃ β. 82.10; cf. 82.40; ἡ κοινὴ δεσποτεία καὶ β. 82.23; ἡ αὐτοῦ β. 101.7; ἡ β. αὐτῶν 82.44, 50, 54.  
 βασιλεία (τὰ) 5.112; 9.80; 32.53, 165; 93.4, 14.  
 βασιλεύειν: ὁ βασιλεύων 71.10; οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλεύσαντες 102.58; 164.10; οἱ πρῶην βεβασιλευκότες 102.84; οἱ β. λαχόντες etc. 18.88; 19.39; 22.47; 23.31; 27.78; 28.72; 102.81; cf. 164.10.  
 βασιλεύς (gener.) 16.74, 76, 81, 97; 32.89, 302, 310, 346; (Leo VI)

- 32.20; (Alexander) 32.508; 146.3; (Constantine VII) 5.18, 24, 92, 147; 7.12; 9.221; 14.115; 66.30; 72.4, 15; 80.9(?); 165.18, 21, 22(?); 183.20; (Romanus) 17.56; 21.212; 23.118; 25.142; 29.96; 30.12, 18, 49; 31.17, 37, 72, 74, 81, 98, 110, 121, 138; 54.57; 86.1; 101.5, 10(?); 101A.1, 4(?); 102.151, 179; 139.29, 36, 44, 62; 156.1; plural (gener.) 37.13; 102.68; 165.19; (Romanus and Constantine) 18.98; 23.28, 41, 74; 26.28, 35; 28.92; 29.78; 77.14; 82.8, 28, 42, 65, 69; 83.17; 84.8; 85.6, 17, 21; 102.133, 136; 103.15, 23.  
 βασιλικός 5.151; 23.17, 66; 25.136; 32.57, 313, 317, 320, 323, 473; 53.39, 64; 54.40; 55.25, 31; 75.19; 82.63; 86.6; 153.30; ἡ β. ἐξουσία 84.13, 19; 102.140; τὸ β. κράτος 69.4; β. ἀξιώσις τε καὶ δῆλωσις 162.15; β. γράμμα 22.12; 25.129; β. ἐπίσκεψις 70.23; β. κέλευσις 45.17; 108.9; β. πρόσταξις 59.6; 102.132; 155.8; 164.4; τὸ β. σιγγίλιον 164.23; (imperial agent) β. ἄνθρωποι 6.33; 92.36; 93.10; (noun) 93.17; 94.32, 35; 96.16. β. πρωτοσπαθάριος 84.2; 103.1.  
 βασιλίς, empress 32.127; (of Constantinople) 23.141, 143; 102.48.  
 βεβαίωσις ἔγγραφος 1.52.  
 γαλήνη (of peace in Church) 16.91; 53.15, 76, 84; 55.18; 56.21; 98.39.  
 γάμος (second) 32.275; cf. 32.278; (third) 32.76, 83, 84; cf. 32.289, 475; (fourth) 28.60; 32.86; <cf. 32.21, 25, 30, 112, 250, 281, 302>;



- 53.38, 63; 54.20, 28, 31, 37; 55.25, 28; cf. 32.249, 479; 98.26; cf. τετραγαμία; ἄθεσμος γ. (in Alania) 113.61; cf. 52.75.  
 γέννησις: τὴν γ. Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν 153.23.  
 γεώργημα 168.5, 10.  
 γεωργία 168.8.  
 γεωργικός: ἐπιμέλεια γ. 37.10.  
 γεωργιον 168.11.  
 γηρωκομεῖον (in Ephesus?) 176.15.  
 γραμματεῖον, "document" 109.1.  
 γραφή, "charter" 1.58.  
 δεῖνα: ὁ δ. (indecl.): τῷ φίλῳ ἡμῶν ὁ δεῖνα 102.2; ὁ δ. καὶ ὁ δ. 14.113; 32.417, 426.  
 δεσμεῖν, "bind, censure" (eccl.) 3.66; 9.230.  
 δεσμός, "bond, censure" (eccl.) 3.62, 66; 5.191, 193, 203; 9.231; 22.60; 28.29, 31; 31.133; 92.27, 29; 140.10; 146.14.  
 δεσπότης (ref. czar of Bulgars) 12.77, 91, 105; 20.151.  
 δέσποινα: (Zoe) τῆς δ. ἡμῶν 183.37; (Constantinople) 10.36; (Mary) 7.42; 27.87.  
 δεσποτεία, "ownership" 35.21; "sovereign power" 25.18; (as title) τῆς κοινῆς δ. καὶ βασιλείας 82.23; cf. 85.12.  
 δεσπότης, "owner" 170.14; "sovereign" 13.23, 44; τῆς αὐτοῦ κληρονομίας δ. καὶ κύριον 5.26; 156.50; as form of address (emperor) 156.20, 40; δ. καὶ τέκνον 86.2 (cf. 6); 156.2, 47; (Romanus caesar) 95.2; (patriarch) πάτερ καὶ δ. 9.89, 120.  
 δευτερεύων (ὁ) (eccl.) 89.16.  
 δηλοῦν (of imperial δῆλωσις) 85.23; 96.3.  
 δῆλωσις (imperial) 162.16; "communication" 9.113; 91.6.  
 δημόσιος 88.7, 9, 13; τὸ δ. (treasury) 96.8; 152.7, 8; 165.14; 183.16.  
 διαίτημα (of monasteries) 12.114; (convents) 14.69.  
 διακονία (any office or service) 9.125; 12.13, 18, 23; 17.26; 36.19; 52.39; 68.15; 100.12; 102.196; 119.11; 121.17; 134.7; 163.9.  
 διάκονος, deacon 37.1; 150.9.  
 διάταξις (apostolic) 21.115; 32.252; (imperial) 93.13; 96.4.  
 διατάττεσθαι 96.3.  
 διγαμία 32.287.  
 δικάζειν: τοῖς κατὰ τόπον δ. λαχοῦσι 117.46.  
 διοίκησις, "rule, administration" 1.15; 2.65; 5.134; 12.20; 16.89; 29.110; 32.135; 37.9; 38.14; 43.6; 71.4; 96.3; 119.19; 123.29; 125.6; 131.9; 153.31; 174.14; 181.8; "diocese" (ἐν τῇ πατριαρχικῇ δ.) 88.6.  
 διορίζεσθαι (of patriarchal διορισμός) 94.22.  
 διορισμός, patriarchal ordinance 89.13.  
 δίπτυχα (τά), diptychs 53.37, 78; 54.22, 35; 55.37.  
 δόξα (in titles): παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν θεοδωρήτου δ. (czar) 18.24; ὃ τῆς Σαρακηνῶν δόξης καλλῶπισμα 102.159.  
 δοξάζειν: δεδοξασμένος 6.43; 32.75; in titles and forms of address: ἡγαπημένε μου υἱὲ καὶ δ. (czar) 15.23; cf. 29.106; δέσποτα καὶ τέκνον δ. ὑπὸ θεοῦ (Romanus) 86.2 (cf. 86.5); 156.2.  
 δοξολογία, liturgy 29.33; 32.6, 10; 34.16; 72.3; 150.20; (plur.) 24.59.

- δουλεία, labor service 96.8, 9; 164.31; military service 169.6; condition of prisoners of war 2.39; tributary status 1.71, 148.  
 δρογγάριος = δρουγγάριος 75.59.  
 δρουγγάριος: δ. τῆς βίγλας 170.5; δ. τοῦ πλωτμου 75.59.  
 δύσις: τῶν ἐκ τῆς δ. Τουρκων 23.20; τῆς πάσης δ. ἡ κυριότης 27.73.  
 ἔγγραφος: βεβαιώσει ἐ. 1.53; δηλώσειν ἐ. 9.113; ἐ. ἀσφάλεια 102.157; (τὸ) ἔγγραφον 75.18.  
 ἐγκαινίζειν, dedicate (church) 116.15.  
 εἰρκτή 32.177.  
 ἐκκλησία: (of Constantinople) ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐ., etc., 53.5, 11, 23, 28, 59; 54.19; 55.20; 56.17, 26; 77.3, 9, 10, 32; 98.23; 139.45, 66; (St. Sophia) ἡ μεγάλη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐ. 35.8; 36.3; 152.4; ἡ μεγάλη ἐ. 60.1; ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐ. 35.37; 37.4; 59.15; 72.3; 88.12, 14; 164.23; 165.13; ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀγιωτάτη ἐ. 4.35; ἡ ἱερωτάτη ἐ. 35.25; ἡ ἐ. 37.9, 13; 74.4—7; 86.1; (of Ephesus) 178.3; (of Armenia) 139.57, 71; (churches destroyed by Bulgarians) 14.69; 18.71; 23.79; 24.58; 26.44; 28.11; 29.36; cf. 11.40—41; 12.112.  
 ἐκκλησιαστικός 32.66, 185; 53.84; 84.15; 126.20; 139.40; 165.13; 174.13.  
 ἐλάχιστος (ἀρχιερεύς, etc., of Nicholas) 3.59; 5.189; 10.5.  
 ἐλευθερία, exemption 96.10, 12.  
 ἔνδοξος 54.46; as a title (Lords of the Palace) 67.2; ἔνδοξότατος (Curopalate of Iberia) 91.1; (Prince of Amalfi) 145.2.  
 ἐνίδρουσις (of an abp.) 68.20.  
 ἔνορκος: (ἀσφάλεια) 6.27; (πληροφορία) 32.49.  
 ἔνταλμα (patriarchal) 45.16.  
 ἔνωσις (of Constantinopolitan Church) 75.71, 72; 136.19; (with Rome) 53.26, 81; (with Armenia) 139.69.  
 ἔξαρχος (patriarchal) 143.4; possibly also Eps. 74, 172, and 182.  
 ἐξέτασις, inquiry (eccl.) 70.22.  
 ἐξορία 32.183.  
 ἐξουσία (1) power = nation, empire 1.47, 147; 6.5; 9.21; 10.28, 55; 13.2; 14.111; 15.46; 20.19; 21.128; 23.17, 44; 31.146; 102.34; 139.43; (2) territory 5.195; 6.32; (3) imperial power: οἱ τῆς ἐ. τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπειλημμένοι 100.15; (4) ἡ ὑμῶν ἐξουσία, etc., "Your Majesty" 3.25; 23.120; 29.95; 102.101, 130, 146; ἡ θεόδοτος ὑμῶν ἐ. 1.27; ἡ σὴ θεοτίμητος ἐ. 9.270; 19.6, 10; 24.37; ἡ σὴ μεγαλότιμος ἐ. 6.82; ἡ σὴ μεγαλοφυής ἐ. 11.90; (5) ἡ βασιλικὴ ἐξουσία, "His Majesty" 84.13, 19; 102.140; ἡ κυβερνώσα τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐ. 17.161.  
 ἐξουσιαστής (God) 1.5; (Prince of Abasgia) 46.2; 51.1; 162.1.  
 ἑορτή: (of St. Tryphon) 32.166; (of Elijah) 60.2; ἡ σωτήριος ἐ. 99.12; ἡ τῶν βαίων ἐ. 153.26. Cf. πανήγυρις, πάσχα, ὕψωσις.  
 ἐπαρχία, church province 32.135; 42.23; 94.33, 36; 116.11, 20; 117.27; 124.15; 180.8.  
 ἐπίθεσις (τῶν χειρῶν) 35.9; 135.21.  
 ἐπίσκεψις, judicial inquiry 69.8; 70.23; 85.9; 93.9; (eccl.) 129.15.

- ἐπισκοπεῖον, bishop's residence 23.80; 26.26, 45; 29.35; 92.15, 23; 94.36.
- ἐπισκοπή (of bp.) 113.24; (of abp.) 106.30; (of mtp.) 74.19.
- ἐπίσκοπος (gener.) 94.34; (the Patriarch) 9.83; 10.5—7; 11.136; (abps.) of Chazaria 68.13; of Cherson 68.10; (suffragans) of Amisus 65.1; of Bindius 182.23; others 43.14, 21; 74.10; 109.2, 39, 46; 113.11; 122.1; 128.31; 172.9; (Roman) 28.15—16; 53.92.
- ἐπιστασία (ref. abp.) 139.60; (of monastery) 114.15; 119.23; 172.12, 14.
- ἐπιτιθέναι (χεῖρα) 135.24.
- ἐράσμιος: υἱέ μου ἐρασμιώτατε (Symeon) 17.128.
- ἐτασμός (eccl.) 108.6.
- εὐαγγής: τὸν εὐ. κληρον 99.2.
- εὐγένεια (title): ἡ ὑμῶν εὐ. (Emir) 2.11, 19, 55; (Prince of Amalfi) 145.3; ἡ ὑμετέρα λαμπροτάτη εὐ. (King of Armenia) 139.42.
- εὐγενής: ὁ εὐγενεστάτη τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κορυφή 102.4.
- εὐκλής: εὐκλεέστατος (of protospatharii) 53.53; 84.1.
- εὐκτήριον, mosque 102.17, 67, 127, 130.
- εὐλάβεια (abstract, ref. monastic life) 105.10; 124.18; (title) ἡ εὐ. σου (exarch?) 74.1; (mtps.) 76.1; 114.6; (monks) 126.13; 163.3, 7, 14.
- εὐλαβής: εὐλαβέστατος (presbyter) 53.55; (cleric) 54.49; (bp. or monk) 57.4; (abbot) 135.86.
- εὐλογεῖν 147.28; τέκνον μου εὐλογημένον (Romanus) 95.2.
- εὐλογία: blessing upon patriciate 35.10; gifts εὐλογίας χάριν: (ἐλειπτὰ, to Governor) 44.14; (ἱμάτιν, to Princes) 46.21; 101.13.
- εὐνοῦχοι (Zoe's ministers) 18.54, 56, 76; cf. Index I, Κωνσταντῖνος, parakimomenos.
- εὐσεβής (of emperors) 31.71, 110; 164.24, 28; 165.11; 183.21; τέκνον μου εὐσεβέστατον (Symeon) 17.24.
- ἐφορεία (of mtp.) 117.7.
- ἡγεμών: (of Roman army) 1.131; (of Alania) 133.65.
- ἡγουμενεία, office of ἡγούμενος 43.15; 105.13; 119.27.
- ἡγούμενος (of a monastery) 105.9; (of Altars of Elijah) 141.1.
- θέμα (of Bucellarion) 93.13. Cf. στρατηγός.
- θεοδώρατος: ἡ ὑμῶν θ. δόξα (czar) 18.23.
- θεόσδοτος: τὴν θ. ὑμῶν ἐξουσίαν (caliph) 1.27.
- θεοσέβεια: ἡ σὴ θ. (mtp.) 92.4; 93.2.
- θεοστεφής (of emperors) 9.221; 21.212; 26.28; 29.78; 31.16, 37; 77.14; 82.8, 27, 42, 65; 101.4; 101A.1; 139.29; 183.19.
- θεοτίμητος (czar) τὸ θ. ἡμῶν τέκνον 4.58; 25.2; θ. ἡμῶν υἱέ 15.2; 24.40; 25.67; 27.2, 21; ἡ σὴ θ. ἐξουσία 9.270; 19.6, 10; ἡ ὑμῶν θ. ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐξουσία 24.36.
- θεοφίλεια: ἡ ὑμῶν θ. (mtp.) 119.26.
- θεοφιλής 3.5; 125.1; 180.16; (in titles) ἡ σὴ θ. ὁσιότης (abp.) 4.21; τὸ ἔμον θ. τέκνον (czar) 5.75; ὁ θ. οὗτος ἄνθρωπος

- (monk) 147.7; σου ἡ θ. ἀρετὴ (exarch?) 172.14; θεοφιλέστατος (mtp.) 69.7; 112.3(?); 180.7, 18; 181.1; (abp.) 4.1; 51.14, 22; (bp.) 53.91; (monk and presbyter) 140.13.
- θεοφρονητος: τέκνον ἡμῶν θ. (czar) 14.86; υἱέ μου θ. (*idem*) 16.2; ὁ θ. ἡμῶν βασιλεύς 139.36.
- θεραπεία, penance 66.41, 45, 47.
- θεράπων (ref. czar's minister) 13.17; (vassals) 84.11; 101.1; ἱεροὶ τοῦ θεοῦ θ. (monks) 78.2.
- θεσμοί, canons 32.256; 53.65.
- θρόνος, "see" 31.44; 32.116, 228; 68.17, 21; 77.8; 81.5; 113.14; 117.8.
- ιερατεία, sacred office, liturgy 34.19.
- ιερατεῖον, clergy 150.20.
- ιερατεύειν 4.21.
- ιερατικός, episcopal 14.47; 29.40; 32.63; 53.87; (noun) 56.4.
- ιερεύς: (patriarch) 4.63; 5.190; (suffragan bps.) 32.46, 160; 53.80; 85.1; 159.1; (clergy) 12.117; 23.80; 26.46; 29.39; 31.109; 75.22; 90.10; 183.12; (lower clergy) 37.10, 13; 128.31.
- ιερολογία, blessing (in coronation ceremony) 32.59, 61.
- ιερόν (τὸ), church 3.29; τὸ ἱ. τοῦ θεοῦ (St. Sophia) 3.44; 4.37.
- ιερός: see κανών, νόμος, παλάτιον. In titles and forms of address: ἡ σὴ ἱ. σύνεσις (mtp.) 128.34; τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν (mtps., abps.) 43.2; 50.3; 52.9; 58.2; 87.1; 94.2; 96.10; 97.2; 99.1; 100.3; 104.27; 107.5; 108.20; 109.45; 110.4; 117.34; 128.24; 133.56; 135.3; 138.3; τέκνον ἱερώτατον (Gregory of Ephesus) 41.29;
- 42.17(?); 48.3, 22; 151.12; 154.4; 176.3(?); 178.1; ἀδελφὲ ἡμῶν ἱερώτατε (Pope) 56.5; τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱερώτατον ἄνθρωπον (oeconomus) 36.3. Cf. also τοῦ ἱ. ὑμῶν ὀνόματος (Pope) 53.35; τοῦ ἱ. ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πάπα 55.36; αἱ ἱ. (ὑμῶν) εὐχαί, προσευχαί (monk) 120.5; (mtp.) 154.10; (mtp.?) 172.16; ἡ ἱ. κεφαλή (mtp.) 108.20.
- ιεροῦν, consecrate (church) 116.14, 21.
- ιεουργία 12.25; 34.22.
- ιερωσύνη (of Patriarch) 17.7.
- ικανότης: ἡ σὴ ἱ. 103.19.
- ἱλαστήριον: τὸ ἅγιον (πανάγιον) ἱ. 3.28, 38; 4.43.
- ἱμάτιν (as a gift) 46.21; 101.13; ἱμάτια (as tribute) 18.39, 48; 19.26; 31.129, 135, 139.
- καθαίρειν, depose (bps.) 113.15.
- καθαίρεσις 113.12, 15, 18.
- καθηγεμών (of monastery) 182.29.
- καθηγούμενος (of monastery) 9.266; 117.17.
- καθιστάναί, appoint: (eccl.) 27.16; 76.22; 77.41; 106.31; 124.12; 135.40; 139.31, 38; (sec.) 1.29; 16.80; 101.12; 162.11.
- καθολικός (of Armenia) 139.28.
- καθολικός: ἡ κ. ἐκκλησία (cathedral) 34.16.
- καῖσαρ, caesar 95.1.
- καλυπττήριον, head-covering (of mtp.) 108.20.
- κανονικός: κ. ἐπιτροπή 32.142.
- κανών 32.137, 140; 74.10; 159.3; θεῖοι κ. 32.28, 440; 75.76; ἱεροὶ κ. 32.84, 231; 66.23; θεῖοι καὶ ἱεροὶ κ. 32.502.
- κάστρον 75.56; 80.2; 82.34, 57.

- καταλέγειν, draft (milit.) 150.10.  
κατάστασις: appointment (eccl.) 37.9; 68.20; rank (eccl.) 89.16; 163.8; (sec.) 102.137.  
καταφύγιον (St. Sophia) 3.60.  
κέλευσις (imperial) 45.17; 77.14; 82.56; 84.20; 85.24; 108.9.  
κεφαλή (of Church) 90.19; (of states) 5.38; 102.191; ἡ σὴ τιμία ἐμοί κ. 14.10.  
κηρός: τὸ ἐτήσιον τοῦ κ. τέλος (for St. Sophia) 74.2.  
κήρυγμα (missionary work) 135.69.  
κλειδίον: τὰ κ. τοῦ οἰκονομείου 86.16.  
κληρικὸς 34.10; 54.49; 77.6; 96.4; 158.18; (clerics in danger of being drafted) 150.2, 17; 164.13, 30; cf. 37.10, 13.  
κλῆρος, clergy 32.238; 72.2; 99.2; 117.13.  
κοινόν (τὸ), the commonwealth 92.13; 138.7; 164.30.  
κοινός: τὰ κ. πράγματα 95A.2—3; 160.6; οἱ τὰ κ. πρ. διοικήσαντες 16.87; οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν κ. πρ. καθήμενοι 94.31.  
κοινότης (ἡ), the community: (Empire) 92.19; (of Longibardia) 82.16.  
κόκκος, a grain tax 73.7.  
κομβέντον: τὸ λεγόμενον κ. (tribute paid to the Bulgarians by the Empire) 6.30.  
κορυφή (of state) 32.104; 102.5.  
κουβουκλείσιος, cubicularius (of Patriarch): πρεσβύτερος καὶ κ. 53.55; μοναχὸς καὶ κ. 153.1; <cf. 155.10>; (of others) 155.7, 9; 163.2.  
κουράτωρ, of estate of St. Sophia at Strongylizon <35.12—13>; 36.1.  
κουροπαλάτης (κοροπαλάτης), euiropalate of Iberia 91.2.  
κράμβη: ἡ τῆς κ. συντέλεια (for St. Sophia) 152.5.  
κρατεῖν: οἱ κρατοῦντες (Romanus and Constantine) 96.14.  
κράτος (title): τὸ κ. σου 32.111, 114; τὸ βασιλικὸν κ. 69.4; τὸ θεοστεφές κ. τῶν βασιλέων ἡμῶν 82.27.  
κρίσιμον: τὸ λεγόμενον κ. (written verdict) 97.6, 9.  
κριτήριο, civil court 177.8; 181.9.  
κριτής (of theme) 127.1, 7; <181>.  
κτῆμα: τὰ κ. αὐτῆς (of St. Sophia) 35.12; τὸ τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστολίου κ. 73.9.  
κτῆνος, horse 31.55, 60, 66; horse or mule (gift to Patriarch) 108.15, 19.  
κυβέρνησις, government 14.65; 102.161; τὴν κ. λαχόντα 18.34.  
κυριότης, "sovereign power" 1.16, 17; 21.96; 25.110; 27.73; 84.13; 91.22; 102.3, 147; οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν κ. ἐγκειρισμένοι (Zoe's government) 31.57.  
κύρις (gen. κυροῦ, acc. κύριν): ὁ κ. followed by first name: (emperors) Λέων 16.86; 45.22; 75.61; 82.14; Ἀλέξανδρος 45.21; Κωνσταντῖνος 72.7; 75.54; Ῥωμανός 16.68; (caesar) Βάρδας 45.20; (patriarchs) Ἰγνάτιος 75.57; Φώτιος 75.52, 58; (bp.) Θεοστήρικτος 97.2; (abbot) Εὐθύμιος 135.87.  
λαϊκός 31.109; 32.239; 56.4; 117.13.  
λαμπρότατος: in titles (emir of Crete) 1.1; (king of Armenia) 139.42.

- λαός (of Empire) 19.24; 28.73, 87; 102.53; 139.68; (opp. clergy) 83.4.  
λειτουργεῖν: τῷ ἀγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ 27.38; 140.20; sim. 22.57; (in mission) 9.268; (of levy) 88.13.  
λειτουργία: (eccl.) 6.7; 22.57; 89.8; 140.22; (levy) 92.29; 152.8; (military service) 150.26; 169.10; (of boats owned by St. Sophia) 165.12.  
λειτουργός: τοῦ ἀγίου θυσιαστηρίου—θεοῦ—etc.: (Patriarch) 3.31; 6.6, 42; 8.85, 122; (bps.) 27.39; 43.23; 122.6; (clergy) 89.7; 150.8.  
λίβελλος, written indictment 32.215.  
λίτρα, pound of gold 72.14; 145.20.  
λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγγελῶν 60.12; <59?>.  
μάγιστρος 32.511; 126.1; 143.1.  
μακάριος, "late" 25.19; 105.2; 156.7; 170.4; cf. 53.67; μακαριώτατος, in titles: (Pope) 53.2, 29; 54.56; 77.1; (a patriarch) 98.1; (Leo VI) 82.14.  
μακαριότης: ἡ σὴ μ. (Pope) 56.15, 22; 77.6.  
μεγαλειότης: ἡ σὴ μ. (czar) 5.126.  
μεγαλόδοξος, in titles: (czar) 3.1; 11.4; 13.13; 17.4; 20.131; 21.210; 25.28; 27.10; 29.12, 93, 105; (caliph) 102.1; (a governor) 149.12; μεγαλοδοξότατε (caliph) 1.45.  
μεγαλόμαρτυς (Tryphon) 32.166.  
μεγαλόνοια, as a title: ἡ σὴ μ. (czar) 20.42(?); (a patrician) 150.19.  
μεγαλοπρέπεια, as a title: ἡ σὴ μ. (czar) 18.98; 25.128(?); (a governor) 35.14; (caliph) 102.15.  
μεγαλοπρεπέτης, in title: ἡ σὴ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτη σύνεσις (caliph) 102.167.  
μεγαλότιμος, in titles: (czar) 3.64; 6.82.  
μεγαλοφροσύνη, as a title(?) (emperor): τῆς σῆς μ. 156.41.  
μεγαλοφυής, in title (czar) 11.90.  
μεγαλωσύνη, as a title: ἡ σὴ μ. (caliph) 1.26.  
μέγας, in titles (of emperor) 80.9; μ. καὶ ὑψηλός 82.39, 68; 83.17; 84.8; 85.6, 21; 101.9; ὑψηλός καὶ μ. 82.10; 85.17; 139.62; μ. καὶ θεοστεφής 101A.1; 139.28; (of caliph) 102.57; μ. καὶ ὑψηλός 102.28; μέγιστος 102.190.  
μεγιστᾶνες (of Empire) 102.132.  
μετριότης: ἡ ἡμῶν μ. 39.13, 15; 41.30; 54.58; 60.15; 65.18; 76.1; 84.19; 98.29; 105.15; 112.16; 113.24, 28; 116.3; 117.55; 128.49; 130.15; 131.12; 133.67; 140.5; 150.3; 154.13; 175.14.  
μητρόπολις: (Cyzicus) 137.11; (Nicaea) 150.2, 37; (Sardes) 181.10; (unknown) 37.14.  
μητροπολίτης: (of Amasea) <136.1?>; (of Ancyra) <113.16>; (of Antioch) <115.1; 182(?)>; (of Athens) 113.1, <13>; (of Caesarea) <161.7>; (of Chaldia) 74.19; 114.1; <128.1>; (of Claudiopolis) <93.1; 112.1>; (of Cyzicus) 50.1; <107.1; 130.1>; 137.1, <4>; 138.1; <157.1>; (of Dyrrhachium) 151.14; (of Ephesus) 39.1; 41.1; <42?>; 48.1; <69.8; 87(?)>; 89.1, 11, 12; 94.1; 107.7(?)>; 124.1; 132.1; 151.1;

- 154.1; 155(?); 157A(?); 160.1; 176(?); 178; 190(?)>; (of Heraclia) <113.16; 132.1>; (of Hierapolis) <62.5?>; (of Iconium) <58.1>; (of Laodicea) 104.1; 158.1; (of Larissa) <116.1>; (of Nicaea) <71.1>; 100.1; (of Nicomedia) <96.1; 97.1; 113.16>; (of Patras) 43.1; <119.1; 123.1>; (of Pessinus) <108.1; 110.1>; (of Sardes) 142.1; 180.7, 14; 181.1; (of Sylaeum) <117.1; 129.1>; (of Synada) <57.1>; (others) 49.1; 67.11; <113.16; 136.1>.
- μοναδικός, monastic 43.11; 105.10; 108.7; 140.15.
- μονάζων 11.41; 12.114, 117; 23.81; 24.58; 26.46; 29.38; 31.109; 33.1; 38.1; 45.1; 56.3; 62.1; 63.1; 105.3; 117.13, 19; 120.1; 131.1; 148.1; 153.2; 163.1, 8; 183.12; μονάσας 126.1; 143.1; μονάζουσαι 96.4.
- μοναστήριον 14.70; 18.72; 23.80; 26.26, 45; 29.35; 43.16; 92.14, 22; 94.36; 96.2, 6, 9, 11; 105.2, 6, 8, 16; 114.19; 119.18, 20, 22, 25; 123.20; 137.11; 182.25; (τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνθῆ) 171.2, 7, 8, 14; (τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀποστόλου) 73.9, 11; (Βῆμα) <117.17>; (Ἡλιοῦ Βωμοί) <141.1>; (Μέγας Ἀγρός) <126.2; 143.1>. See διαίτημα, μονή.
- μοναχός 19.2, 7; 64.1; 78.1; 105.7, 11; 119.17; 123.29; 143.11; 153.28; 171.2; 172.11; 182.24, 28; μ. καὶ πρεσβύτερος 140.13; μ. καὶ κουβουκλείσιος 153.1. See ἀσκητής, μονάζων.
- μονέριον, type of warship 95.12.
- μονή 114.14; 117.17; 171.5.
- μονήρης, monastic 105.18.
- μονογαμία 32.286.
- ναός, church 12.103; 24.60; 75.9; 102.21, 148; 116.15, 21; 150.28; (St. Sophia) ὁ ν. τοῦ θεοῦ ὃν πᾶς δμολογεῖ Χριστιανὸς ὀφθαλμὸν εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης 3.25; cf. 3.37, 43, 48, 58; 4.39, 49, 62—64; ὁ ἅγιος ν. τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν 35.20, 23; ὁ περιώνυμος τοῦ θεοῦ ν. 59.8, 11; ὁ μέγας τοῦ θεοῦ ν. 59.11; 165.11.
- νόμισμα 183.33.
- νόμος (of canons): οἱ ἱεροὶ ν. 32.399; 75.22; τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ν. 54.41.
- ξένια (from Patriarch to Pope) 77.16.
- οἰκητήριον: ἰδιωτικὸν οἶ. 182.25.
- οἰκίσκος (in monastery) 105.4.
- οἰκονομεῖν (of God) 47.39; 104.4; 132.23; 175.10; (grant dispensation) 32.357, 358, 393, 402, 404; (ref. peace in Church) 34.20; 89.3; (use discretion) 76.21; 109.39.
- οἰκονομεῖον, office of oeconomus of St. Sophia 86.17.
- οἰκονομία (Divine) 47.38; 104.5; (dispensation) 32.215, 267, 356, 372, 375, 376, 379, 383, 393, 399, 404, 469, 504; (ref. peace in Church) 34.24; 113.27; (discretion) 92.24.
- οἰκονόμος (of St. Sophia) 36.3, 18; 60.1; 86.1, 11.
- οἶκος (θεοῦ) 12.112; 183.17, 20, 25; (St. Sophia) 3.68.
- ὀρίζειν (of patriarchal decree) 34.13; 89.6.
- ὄρκια 1.61; 8.111.
- ὄρκοι 1.59, 95; 5.30, 118, 186; 29.65; 32.54; 82.14, 32; 136.3, 4, 9.

- ὄσιος: τέκνον ἡμῶν ὁ. (abbot) 141.2; ὁ. τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπεύοντες (monks) 78.2; ὁ. χειρῶν (monks) 168.4; ἐν ταῖς ὁ. εὐχαῖς σου, etc.: (patriarch) 98.40; (mtps.) 41.29; 71.16; 104.31; 110.13; 112.14; 154.13; (oeconomus) 60.14; (monks) 33.25; 62.21; 63.17; 64.13; 78.13; 126.31; 168.13; 174.17; 175.14(?).
- ὀσιότης: (title) ἡ σὴ θεοφιλῆς ὁ. (abp.) 4.21; ἡ σὴ ὁ., etc. (abp.) 4.3; (mtps.) 57.2; 58.7; 76.10; 94.19; 104.2; 109.38; 114.13; 130.8; 137.4; 142.11; 155.8; 158.2, 5, 20; 190.2(?); (bp.) 65.2; (oeconomus) 60.3, 8; (exarch?) 172.5; (abbots) 141.14; 147.1, 12; 148.5; (monks) 33.2, 7; 45.2, 8, 14; 62.12; 64.2; 109.38(?); 111.1(?); 120.4; 126.4; 131.2; 153.4; 174.1, 6; 175.4(?); (monastic life) τοῖς ἐν ὁ. βιοῦσι 186.4.
- παλάτιον 32.27, 82, 151, 157; τὸ ἱερὸν π. 67.3, 13.
- πανευγενέστατος (caliph) 102.1.
- πανήγυρις: ἡ ἱερὰ π. τοῦ μεγάλου ἀποστόλου (St. John) 41.24, 25; 178.20.
- πάπας (ὁ) 28.6, 30, 40, 54, <57>; 32.1, <430>; 53.1; 54.15, 34, 56; 55.36; 56.1; <77>.
- παραγραφή, inventory 37.15.
- παρακοιμώμενος, parakimomenos 47.1.
- παραμυθία, sustenance 14.72; 72.2; 170.12; 183.22; cf. 51.14, 23; compensation 119.11, 29.
- παρθῆνοι, nuns 11.41; 12.114; 23.81; 24.59; 26.46; 28.11; 29.38.
- πάσχα 178.19.
- πατήρ (spiritual): ref. Patriarch 5.189; 6.42; 10.4, 12; 14.3; 15.28; 16.54; 17.7; 18.5; 20.19, 32, 35; 21.25; 24.17; 32.113; 39.13; 86.5; 87.2; 89.19; 90.2; 94.9; 102.53; 112.3; 117.53; 134.4; 145.13; 180.17; 183.3, 36; 186.1, 4; ref. mtp. or abp. 99.10; 177.11; Photius of N. 2.18; 139.49; emperor of czar 9.221; Romans of Bulgarians 14.80; 17.153; (as form of address) to Patriarch: ὁ πάτερ 31.125; π. καὶ δέσποτα 9.89, 120; ὁ π. καὶ ποιμὴν ἡμῶν 23.46; N. to fellow-patriarch: ὁ πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν τιμώτατε 98.39; N. to monk Tryphon: πάτερ 120.4.
- πατριαρχεῖον 88.9.
- πατριάρχης (of Constantinople) 75.52, <57—58>; 139.50; (another) <98>.
- πατριαρχικός 88.6; 116.14; 117.23; 172.10.
- πατρίκιος 40.1; 83.15; 150.1; 165.24; π. καὶ στρατηγός 82.4, 21; 121.1; 140.1; π. καὶ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλας 170.4.
- πατρικιότης 35.9.
- πένητες: τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ π. 164.31; τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν τῶν π. 176.18; 177.10.
- περίβλεπτος, in titles: (magister) 32.510; (lords of the palace) 67.14; (Prince of Amalfi) 145.1.
- περίδοξος, in titles: (Emir of Crete) 1.1; 2.1; (Prince of Abasgia) 46.2; 51.1; cf. 6.39 (czar); 66.38 (the Government); 140.7 (patrician).
- περιφανής 54.47; περιφανέστατος in title (proconsul) 82.1.
- πλήρωμα: τὸ ἱερατικὸν π. 14.47; 83.5; τὸ π. τῆς ἐκκλησίας

- 32.208; 106.5; 151.15; τοῦ λαοῦ 83.4; τῶν Χριστιανῶν 32.192; τῶν εὐσεβούντων 190.5; τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐξουσίας 139.42.  
 πλοῖα: (Arab fleet) 1.166; (boats owned by St. Sophia) 165.12.  
 πλώϊμος (πλόϊμος): π. στόλος 23.153, 158; πλώϊμον 75.65; δρογγάριος τοῦ π. 75.60.  
 πόλις (ἡ), Constantinople 41.26; 66.2.  
 πολιτεία, (1) State 20.186; 28.92; 31.121, 125; 66.29, 32; 75.44, 68; 156.26; (opp. Church) 27.91; 66.38; (2) way of life (Christian) 55.27; 98.31; cf. 75.7; (monastic) 43.9, 11; 45.16; 105.5; 140.15; 143.11; 174.4.  
 πολίτης: πολῖται (of mtp. or abp.) 99.2.  
 πολιτικοί: νόμοι 32.439.  
 πολυγαμία 55.29.  
 πρεσβυτερεῖον, rank of presbyter 140.20.  
 πρεσβύτερος 53.55; 68.13; 140.14; 150.9.  
 προάστειον 170.5, 10.  
 προβάλλεσθαι, appoint: (Patriarch) 20.19; (Catholicus) 139.58; (abps.) 68.15, 17; 135.25; (abbot) 172.15; (strategos) 82.24.  
 προβολή, appointment: (mtp.) 117.9; (strategos) 82.52.  
 προεδρεύων (bp.) 109.42.  
 προεδρία, rank of bp. 109.44.  
 πρόεδρος: (Pope) 32.495, 503; 56.9; (mtp.) 161.7; (bp.) 109.35.  
 προϊστάσθαι: οἱ προϊστάμενοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (mtps.) 94.21; ὁ τῶν κτημάτων αὐτῆς προεστώς (curator) 35.13.  
 προκαθήμενος ἀρχιερατικῆς τάξεως (Patriarch) 180.17.  
 πρόκριτοι: τῆς ἐκκλησίας 27.91; 139.57; τῆς πολιτείας 27.91; 28.92.  
 προνόμιον: (of Empire) 21.44; (of Roman see) 32.185; (of patriarchate) 116.14; 172.10; (of diocese of Nicaea) 150.36.  
 προσηγορία, "form of address" 25.127.  
 πρόσταγμα: (imperial) 32.310, 311, 313, 321; 59.12, 14; 150.41; (of caliph) 102.20, 24, 100; (of patriarch) 116.18.  
 πρόσταξις (imperial) 59.6; 102.132; 155.9; 164.4.  
 προστασία: (patriarchate) 157A.5; (of monastery) 105.16.  
 προχειρίζεσθαι, appoint: (Patriarch) 20.158; (abps.) 106.30; 133.9; (clergy) 89.8; (strategos) 85.20.  
 προχειρίσις, appointment (catholicus) 139.31.  
 πρωτοασηκρήτης 146.1.  
 πρωτοπρεσβύτερος 89.15.  
 πρωτοσπαθάριος 69.1; 70.1; 77.13; 93.13; 127.1; π. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου 53.54; βασιλικὸς π. 84.2; 103.1.  
 ῥῶγα, salary: (of clergy of St. Sophia) 72.5; (of scribes) 95A.9.  
 σεμνότης: ἡ σὴ ἀρχιερατικῆ σ. (Pope) 53.71.  
 σημείωσις, verdict 97.3, 5, 6, 8.  
 σιγίλλιον, sealed document 164.23.  
 σκευοφυλακεῖον (of a metropolis) 37.12.

- σκευοφύλαξ (of Blachernae Church) 27.88.  
 στρατεία, military service 150.10; 169.6.  
 στρατεύεσθαι, serve in army 164.31.  
 στρατηγεῖν, be military governor: (of Cherson) 9.100; (of Longibardia) 80.6(?); 82.24; (of Macedonia and Thrace) 9.135.  
 στρατηγία 52.93.  
 στρατηγικός 44.6; 82.52.  
 στρατηγός, military governor: (of Anatolikon) 121.1; (of Chaldia) 128.14; (of Cherson) 9.100; (of Hellas) 34.1; (of Longibardia) 44.1(?); 82.4, 21, 49, 66; 85.20; 144.1; (of Macedonia) 9.90, 149; (of Peloponnesus) 161.1; (of Strymon) 35.1; (of Thessalonica) 140.1; (of Thrace) 9.90, 149; (of Thrakesion) 149.1; 180.17; (unspecified) 31.122.  
 σύγκλητος (ἡ), senate 5.136, 138; 21.212; 22.47; 27.78; 28.73; 31.72, 83, 121.  
 συλλειτουργεῖν 34.15, 17.  
 συλλειτουργός: (Pope) 28.7; (a patriarch) 98.2; (abp. of Bulgaria) 4.1.  
 συλλογή, (gold) levy 92.37.  
 συμπρεσβύτερος ἡμῶν: a mtp. (?) 112.4.  
 συναρχιερέυς: τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου καὶ σ. 83.10; ὁ ἡγαπημένος ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς καὶ σ. ὁ τῆς Καισαρέων πρόεδρος 161.7.  
 συνεισφέρειν, contribute (to treasury) 32.314; 88.9, 11; 92.10, 32, 35.  
 συνεισφορά: tribute (to Bulgarians) 27.70; contribution (to patriarchate) 88.6; 152.10; (of churches to treasury) 58.2; 92.16, 30.  
 σύνεσις: (title) ἡ σὴ σ., etc. (mtps.) 43.4; 117.37; 151.19; (abps.) 52.77; 106.25; 135.19; (exarch) 74.4; (caliph) 102.168; (emir) 2.17; (czar) 5.154; 17.62; 23.3; 28.71; 30.29; (King of Armenia) 139.68; (strategoi) 34.13; 161.3; (various officials) 59.1; 68.11; 88.8; 181.5; (protospatharius) 69.7; ἡ σὴ τελειοτάτη σ. (Pope) 77.38; (mtp.) 137.2; (czar) 6.19; 29.82; (europalate of Iberia) 91.4; (protospatharius) 70.26; ἡ σὴ ἱερὰ σ. (mtp.) 128.34.  
 συνιερέυς: ἀδελφὸς καὶ σ. (abp. of Bulgaria) 12.43.  
 συνοδικός 32.125.  
 σύνοδος 32.122, 127; 94.21; 150.37.  
 συντέλεια, contribution: ἡ τῆς κράμβης σ. 152.5.  
 σύστημα: ἀρχιερατικὸν σ. 32.177.  
 σφραγίζειν, ordain 146.6.  
 σχῆμα (monastic habit) 22.40; 124.18.  
 σχολάζειν, retire temporarily (of bp.) 109.35.  
 ταμεῖον (τοῦ βασιλέως) 72.15.  
 ταπεινός (ref. Nicholas) 3.65; 5.40; 8.4; 9.249; 11.27; 15.13; 17.6, 128, 129; 20.26, 32, 104; 21.25; 22.41, 56, 58; 23.87; 24.6, 17, 22, 27; 27.15, 31, 43; 29.6; 35.9; 42.13, 22; 52.15; 87.2; 110.10; 112.9; 118.12; 132.3; 134.8; 135.21; 144.4, 10; 151.16.  
 ταπεινότης: ἡ ἡμῶν τ. 3.46; 5.6; 15.4, 33; 19.3; 28.61, 90; 31.123; 38.27; 42.29; 54.32; 59.10; 61.1; 62.21; 63.17; 71.16; 77.18, 25;

- 111.5; 132.27; 146.5; 160.14; 171.10; 174.7, 17.
- ταπεινοῦν: τεταπεινωμένος (ref. Nicholas) 9.219; 52.26; 53.36; 55.37; 86.17; 91.7, 14; 144.11.
- ταπεινώσις: ἡ ἡμετέρα τ. 18.4; 30.18, 48; 90.13; 123.4; 131.5.
- τέκνον (as a form of address): πνευματικὸν τέκνον: (czar) 3.1; 4.83; (curopalate) 91.1; (prince of Capua) 82.2; (prince of Amalfi) 145.1; (protospatharius) 84.1; (missionaries) 79.2; τ. ἐμόν, τ. ἡμῶν, τ. ἡγαπημένον, etc. *passim*; τ. ἐμόν καὶ βασιλεῦ 32.74; cf. 32.111; 183.20; δέσποτα καὶ τ. 86.2; 95.2; 156.2, 47; cf. 86.5; τέκνα καὶ ἀδελφοὶ 90.4, 16; cf. 90.1; 157A.1, 9. Cf. ἱερός, ὄσιος.
- τέλειος: ἡ σὴ τελειότητα σύνεσις, see σύνεσις.
- τελειότης (title) ἡ σὴ τ. (Pope) 53.40; (mtps.) 92.10, 27, 33; 94.14; 109.23; 158.12; (abps.) 101A.5, 10; 106.2. See ἀρχιερατικός.
- τέλεσμα, contribution to St. Sophia 74.3.
- τέλος, tribute paid to, or by, Empire 25.95; contribution to St. Sophia 74.2.
- τετραγαμία 32.3, 384, 445, 472; 56.22; 75.44.
- τιμᾶν: οὐδέ μου τετιμημένε (czar) 20.140.
- τιμή (eccl.) 182.23; (sec.) 101.12.
- τίμιος, in titles, etc.: διὰ τ. κελεύσεως (emp.) 82.55; ἡ σὴ τ. ψυχῆ (emp.) 86.12; (czar) 15.26; 18.120; ἡ σὴ τ. ἐμοὶ κεφαλή (czar) 14.10; τιμώτατος: ἡ σὴ τ. βασιλεία (emp.) 86.13; ἡ σὴ τ. ψυχῆ (czar) 15.53; ἀδελφοὶ τ. (Pope and Roman bps.) 32.4, 468; τῷ τ. συλλειτουργῷ (abp. of Bulgaria) 4.1.
- τιμιότης (title) ἡ σὴ τ. (czar) 20.144, 169; 23.2; 29.13; (king of Armenia) 139.57; (curopalate of Iberia) 91.5; (parakimomenos) 183.7; (protospatharius) 70.24; (officials) 55.1; 179.13.
- τόπος, estate 96.5; 164.12; 170.13; (owned by St. Sophia) 35.16, 19; 164.25; monastery 21.80; 43.18, 20; 147.18, 27, 29; 171.4; 172.9, 12; 182.28; episcopal see 109.36, 43; region, district 9.102, 181; 20.120; 31.87; 82.24; 95.6, 13; 117.46.
- τριγαμία 32.289, 475.
- τρίτον πρόσωπον: τὸ ζητούμενον τ. π. ὁμολόγησεν παρασχεῖν 71.6.
- υἱός (1) of Nicholas: (emperor) 54.57; (czar) 12.76, 83, 98; 13.13; 14.57; 16.2; etc.; (prince of Abasgia) 46.1; (monks) 57.4(?); 135.87; (2) of emperor: (czar) 23.118.
- ὑπερορία 32.171, 178, 229; 53.18; 132.2.
- ὑπερόριος 32.168.
- ὑπεροχή: ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ὑ. 32.186; (title) ἡ σὴ μεγαλόδοξος ὑ. (czar) 29.105; (strategos) 149.12.
- ὑπερφυστικός, in titles: (caliph) 102.1; (czar) 3.1; (prince of Abasgia) 46.1.
- ὑπηρεσία (to patriarch) 122.8; (to churches) 152.4; 164.5, 6; 165.14; (to state) 88.9.
- ὑπηρετεῖν (of labor service to church) 164.25.
- ὑπηρετής (minister of emperor) 164.4; (of czar) 13.2.

- ὑποτελεῖν, pay tribute 1.175; 25.96; 27.76.
- ὑποτελής, tributary 1.66.
- ὑποτίμησις, penance 32.505.
- ὑπουργεῖν (of labor service) 1.75; 96.6.
- ὑπούργημα (assistance) 181.10.
- ὑπουργία 12.25; 13.18; (labor service) 1.176; 96.7; 164.9, 24.
- ὑπόφορος, tributary 1.64, 69.
- φιλόθροπος (emperor) 31.80; (czar) 14.51, 57.
- φιλάρετος (czar) 4.59; 13.33.
- φιλοθεΐα (title) ἡ σὴ φ. (strategos) 149.4.
- φιλόθεος (emperor) 23.41; 32.75; (strategos) 140.4.
- φίλος (of Nicholas): Leo VI 32.66, 113; caliph 102.1; emir 1.2; 2.48, 71; czar 14.2; 17.91; 18.82; 19.33; 20.165; 27.41; 31.49; Malacinus 40.17; an abbot 168.2; (of emperor): czar 25.137; king of Armenia 139.29.
- φιλοφρόνησις, tribute 20.120.
- φιλόχριστος (emperor) 7.12; 23.28, 117; 28.92; 29.96; 30.12, 17, 49; 31.71, 74, 98, 110, 120; 32.508; 54.57; 66.29; 103.15; 139.44; 165.22; (czar) 11.17, 30.
- φόροι, tribute 1.71; 17.158.
- φρόνησις (title?) ἡ σὴ φ. 18.60; 20.43; 23.114.
- χαρτίον, document: (imperial) 37.12; (patriarchal?) 41.22.
- χαρτοφύλαξ (of St. Sophia) 63.13.
- χειροθεσία, ordination 89.9; 139.41.
- χειροθετεῖν, ordain 89.12.
- χειροτονεῖν 113.12; 124.6; 146.4.
- χειροτονία 68.13; 94.22; appointees 75.53, 58.
- χελάνδιον, kind of ship: δι' ἐντοπίων χ. 95.12.
- χιτών, soldier's tunic or cuirass 31.20.
- χιτωνίσκος, vest 32.168.
- χορηγία, contribution to St. Sophia 74.4, 6.
- χρυσίον (tribute) 18.48; 19.25; 27.70; 31.128, 134, 138; (levied from churches) 92.12, 23; 94.40; (for redemption of prisoners) 145.20.
- χρυσοτρίκλιος: πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χ. 53.54.
- χωρίον, estate (of St. Sophia) 59.7; 165.10.
- ψυχῆ: ἡ ἀγία σου ψ. 86.16; ἀμώμητος καὶ ἐμφρονεστάτη 53.51; ἐμφρονεστάτη 17.146; θεοφιλής 35.7; 125.1; ἱερά 98.20; τιμία 15.26; 86.12; τιμία καὶ φρονίμη 18.120; τιμωτάτη 15.53; φιλόθροπος καὶ γλυκυτάτη 14.51; φιλόθροπος καὶ ἡμερωτάτη 14.59; φιλόθεος 15.58; 140.4; φρονίμη 19.12.

## III: VOCABULARY

- ἀβαρής, exempt 152.7.
- ἀγαθοδότις 133.59.
- ἀγκάλη: αἱ ἀ. τῆς ἐκκλησίας 14.25.
- ἄγλωττος 32.171.
- ἀδελφοπρεπῶς 20.179.
- ἀδελφότης (abstr.) 9.23; 24.42; (collect.) 105.14.

- ἀδιάφυστος 31.31.  
 ἀδιεξόδευτος 126.24.  
 ἀδιόρθωτος 77.30; 182.22;  
 -ως 21.196.  
 ἀείμνηστος 2.47; 5.51; 22.28;  
 46.18; 117.6.  
 ἀθεεὶ: μὴ ἀ. 16.95.  
 ἀθεῖα 23.36; 52.52.  
 ἄθεος (of Persians) 5.161; (of  
 Muslims) 80.11; 145.22.  
 ἀθεότης 5.73; 66.10.  
 ἀθέτησις 1.57; 5.185; 71.8;  
 94.28; 102.158.  
 αἰχμαλωσία 2.38, 50, 59; 13.29;  
 28.10; 29.40; 102.49; (fig.) 9.234;  
 31.87; 58.4; 170.14.  
 ἀκανθοφόρος 23.116.  
 ἀκαταμάχητος 16.49.  
 ἀκατάσχετος 20.102.  
 ἀκηδία 36.19; 118.28; 135.83.  
 ἀκηδιᾶν 141.38; 153.13.  
 ἀκοινώνητος 5.199.  
 ἀκουτίζεσθαι 112.3.  
 ἀκριβολογεῖν 94.16.  
 ἄλαλος 5.75.  
 ἀλάστωρ 5.21; 9.18; 17.95; 123.17.  
 ἀλείπτῃς 147.13.  
 ἀλλεπάλληλος 142.4.  
 ἄλμη τοῦ βίου 104.30; 177.7.  
 ἀλύειν 21.165; 36.4.  
 ἀμείλικτος 20.101.  
 ἀμεταθέτως 6.26.  
 ἀμετάπτωτος 133.58.  
 ἀμνηστία 83.19.  
 ἀνάβασις (spir.) 105.20.  
 ἀναγέννησις, baptism 17.152.  
 ἀναδρομή (to Constantinople)  
 54.51.  
 ἀναθεώρησις 17.108; 25.16.  
 ἀνακαινίζειν 54.9.  
 ἀνακαινισις 53.35.  
 ἀνακήρυξις 52.70; 135.113;  
 (official commemoration) 53.78;  
 55.36.  
 ἀνακηρύττειν 45.3; 135.114;  
 (commemorate) 54.22.  
 ἀνάκλησις, deliverance 133.24.  
 ἀνακοπή 17.10; 24.19.  
 ἀνάπλασμα 6.52; 32.201.  
 ἀνάπτυξις 178.3.  
 ἀνατρέχειν 16.78; 102.105; (to  
 Constantinople) 54.50; 77.17, 29;  
 79.28; 123.23.  
 ἀναφέρειν, report 9.101; place  
 (hope in) 33.11; uphold 128.43;  
 offer up (thanks) 157.3; (intr.)  
 bear up 48.8, 11; look up (to)  
 122.10.  
 ἀναφορά 54.35.  
 ἀναχώρησις, withdrawal 148.10;  
 decease 146.4; 162.10.  
 ἀναψις 12.76.  
 ἀνειρήνευτος 6.5.  
 ἀνεκδιήγητος 25.51.  
 ἀνεκδίκητος 3.39.  
 ἀνέκπλυτος 139.12.  
 ἀνενόχλητος 93.24.  
 ἀνεξερεύνητος 54.25.  
 ἀνεπαίσθητος 5.134; 54.8.  
 ἀνεπανόρθωτος 182.26.  
 ἀνεπαχθῶς 24.31.  
 ἀνεπηρέαστος 1.173; 9.258;  
 137.6; 149.15; 179.14.  
 ἀνεπίληστος 26.43; 30.21.  
 ἀνεπίμωμος 21.29.  
 ἀνεπιστρόφως 1.87.  
 ἀνεπίσχετος 53.43.  
 ἀνέρχεσθαι (to Constantinople)  
 119.8.  
 ἀνεύθυνος 5.60; 6.76.  
 ἀνηκοῖα 74.16.  
 ἀνήκοος, unheard 15.28.  
 ἀνησις 166.19.  
 ἀνθρωπάριον 14.114.  
 ἀνθρωποφθόρος 23.116.  
 ἀνθρωποφονία 14.126.  
 ἀνθυποφέρειν 6.49.  
 ἀνιστόρητος 12.120; 122.17.

- ἀνταναπληροῦν 51.18.  
 ἀντεπεξέρχεσθαι 6.65.  
 ἀντεπιέναι 1.65, 134.  
 ἀντιληπτικός 35.14.  
 ἀντιποθεῖν 94.9.  
 ἀνωμαλία 2.74; 39.10; 113.21;  
 173.2.  
 ἀνώματος 152.11; -ως 41.17.  
 ἀνωμαλότης 62.14.  
 ἀνώτερος, sheltered (from)  
 9.259; 25.50; 34.28; 44.16; 57.7;  
 61.13; 69.14; 70.29; 112.5;  
 140.27; 157.4; 180.19; 182.6.  
 ἀπανουργεῦτως 22.45.  
 ἀπαραλόγιστος 81.14.  
 ἀπαραποίητος 89.14; 103.8.  
 ἀπειροπλάσιος 14.120.  
 ἀπεκδέχεσθαι 51.25.  
 ἀπερικαλύπτως 32.133.  
 ἀπερίσπαστος 38.18.  
 ἀπευκταῖος 17.34.  
 ἀποβίωσις 29.42.  
 ἀποθαρεῖν 95.8.  
 ἀποθεραπεύειν 141.26.  
 ἀποκείρεσθαι, be tonsured 119.18.  
 ἀποκήρυκτος 62.19.  
 ἀποκηρύττειν 54.30; 55.30;  
 56.23; 98.29.  
 ἀποκινεῖν mobilize 23.52, 88.  
 ἀποκίνησις mobilization 23.52;  
 deposition 119.10.  
 ἀποκληροῦν 9.269.  
 ἀποκλήρωσις 9.234; 27.71.  
 ἀποκομιστής (τοῦ γράμματος)  
 9.264; 169.3.  
 ἀπομερίζειν (ἑαυτὸν) 151.16.  
 ἀπόμοιρα 25.90.  
 ἀποξενοῦν 2.70; 62.13.  
 ἀποξένωσις 102.70.  
 ἀποπαύειν, depose 105.14.  
 ἀπόπαυσις 20.10.  
 ἀποπεράτωσις 97.11.  
 ἀποσαλεύειν 12.94; 52.7; 138.6;  
 154.7.  
 ἀποσπαράσσειν 35.23.  
 ἀποσπάς 10.34.  
 ἀποστατεῖν 151.21, 24.  
 ἀποστάτης 183.15.  
 ἀπόστροφος (adj.) 23.172.  
 ἀποχυροῦν 96.17.  
 ἀπρακτεῖν 32.400.  
 ἄρπαξ 5.146, 148, 151; 32.324.  
 ἄρσις, taking away 32.367.  
 ἀρχέκακος 9.9.  
 ἀρχικός 14.154; 102.119, 137;  
 162.8; -ῶς 25.124.  
 ἀσεβής 80.11; 145.26; 165.12.  
 ἄσκησις: τὸν τῆς ἀ. δρόμον  
 147.16.  
 ἀστάθμητος 100.6; 154.8.  
 ἀστενοχώρητος 102.65; 119.29.  
 ἀσυνείδητος 93.19.  
 ἀτακτεῖν 116.11; 159.12; 165.3,  
 21; 179.11, 14.  
 αὐθεντικός 32.215.  
 αὐθωρόν 16.49.  
 αὐτόνομος 32.204.  
 αὐτοπαράκλητος 161.17.  
 ἀφανής, obscure (socially)  
 102.136, 181.  
 ἀφιέρωμα 150.24.  
 ἀφιλόφωπος 14.122; 102.40;  
 165.5.  
 ἀφιλονεικῶς 53.78.  
 ἀφορίζειν, set aside 150.28;  
 152.5; 164.26; 165.13; 182.28;  
 183.21.  
 ἀφρονεύεσθαι 159.5.  
 ἄχανής 48.6.  
 ἄωρος 9.222.  
 βιαιότης 33.25; 102.95, 200;  
 149.7; 170.19; 177.12.  
 βιωτικός 2.74; 38.24; 168.6.  
 βλέμμα: τῆς ψυχῆς 33.6; τῆς  
 διανοίας 76.8.  
 βοήθημα (medic.) 33.13, 19.



- γαληναῖος 25.104.  
 γήϊνος 118.14.  
 γλωσσαλγεῖν 128.18.  
 γλωσσαλγία 128.16.  
 γνόφος (τῆς ἀθυμίας) 27.12.  
 γρηγόρησις 190.14.  
 γωνία: ἐν γ. καθημένων (obscure) 27.35; ἐν γ. καθεῦδοντες (ignorant) 135.11.  
 δεξιῶσις 103.26.  
 δεσποτικῶς 91.18.  
 δηλητήριον 188.2, 4, 6.  
 διάβολος (adj.) 102.23, 41.  
 διακούμεν 8.8.  
 διανήχασθαι (τὸν ἀέρα) 47Π.59.  
 διαξάνειν 12.4; 18.85; 20.4; 31.118; 42.13; 151.3; 165.7.  
 διαπιπράσκειν 183.19.  
 διαπίπτειν 122.11; 167.4.  
 διάπτωσις: τόπων διαπτώσεις 176.2.  
 διασπάραξις 185.4.  
 διαστασιάζειν 6.5.  
 διάστασις 63.15; 98.26; 135.93; 140.16.  
 διασφαλίζεσθαι 3.64; 124.12; 159.3.  
 διαυγάζειν 22.34.  
 διαφθονεῖν 5.56; (med.) 21.38; 102.188; 135.55, 57.  
 διδάσκαλος: οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δ. 32.364.  
 διεκδικεῖν 35.28.  
 διενθυμεῖσθαι 8.88; 47Π.13.  
 διανοχλεῖν 113.6.  
 διεξάγειν 38.18; 43.11; 47Π.72; 68.9; 156.21.  
 διεξαγωγή 38.26.  
 διεξανύειν 23.12; 128.46.  
 διευθετεῖν 47I.39, II.71; 53.91; 66.35.  
 διευθέτησις 100.4.  
 διευλαβεῖσθαι 14.38.  
 διοίκημα 40.14.  
 διόρθωσις, punishment 102.182.  
 δραματοποιεῖν 32.509.  
 δρόμος: (τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) 52.66; (τῆς ἀσκήσεως) 147.16; (ἀποστολικός) 135.69.  
 ἐγκλησις 1.120; 93.14, 20; 117.13; 163.4.  
 ἔδαφος: το ἔ. τῆς ὕβρεως 10.10.  
 εἰσέρχασθαι, visit 157A.7, 10.  
 εἴσοδος, visit 153.21.  
 εἰσπηδᾶν 146.9.  
 ἐκβαρβαροῦσθαι 14.80; 21.140.  
 ἐκδημεῖν τῆς ζωῆς 139.27.  
 ἐκδημία (τοῦ σώματος, etc.) 21.191; 78.10; 161.13.  
 ἐκεῖθεν = ἐκεῖ 21.178; 25.49; 85.6; 135.66.  
 ἔκπαλαι 182.27.  
 ἔλασις, expulsion 114.16.  
 ἐλάττωσις 183.8.  
 ἐλεινότης 15.52.  
 ἐλευθερωτής 145.25.  
 ἐμπαρέχειν 11.77.  
 ἐμπεριστρέφασθαι 18.40.  
 ἐμπνεῖν, inspire 27.95; 86.16; (pass.) 22.25; 102.187.  
 ἐναντίωμα (medic.) 33.15.  
 ἔνεκε 10.25; 53.39; 171.3, 16.  
 ἐνεργεῖσθαι, be possessed 23.50.  
 ἐνηχεῖν 31.13; 43.4; 52.23; 77.26; 83.16; 105.10.  
 ἐνορκίζειν 22.51.  
 ἐνσκευάζεσθαι 141.18.  
 ἐντεῦθεν = ἐνταῦθα 11.115; 110.13.  
 ἔντευξις, prayer 4.46, 47; 12.103.  
 ἐντόπιος 95.11.  
 ἐξαναρτᾶν 47Π.65.  
 ἐξαιπαιτεῖν 17.26; 108.17.  
 ἔξαρνος (τῆς ἰδίας πίστεως) 102.18.  
 ἐξευλαβεῖσθαι 151.25.

- ἐξιλεοῦν (act.?) 64.13.  
 ἐξορχεῖσθαι 9.55; 21.169; 23.98.  
 ἐξουσιάζειν 15.46; 20.15, 20; 31.79; 82.58.  
 ἐξουσιαστικώτερον (adv.) 52.85.  
 ἐξωθεῖν, dismiss 32.138; 155.9.  
 ἐξωρατίζειν 1.39; 91.30; (med.) 162.5.  
 ἐπαλείφασθαι 53.48.  
 ἐπανασφάζειν 53.33.  
 ἐπανατρέχειν 32.438.  
 ἐπανέλευσις 142.13.  
 ἐπανορθωτής 110.7.  
 ἐπιβαρεῖν 88.5.  
 ἐπιβαρῆς 15.30.  
 ἐπιβλαβής 23.121.  
 ἐπίβλεψις: ἡ δικαία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔ. 23.160.  
 ἐπιγαμία 16.69.  
 ἐπιδαφιλευεσθαι 16.102; 168.12.  
 ἐπίκηρος 8.75; 17.24; 98.17.  
 ἐπικράτεια 75.56; 82.35, 36; 102.3, 34; 123.14.  
 ἐπίκρισις 32.117; 105.15.  
 ἐπίληψις, disapproval 32.107.  
 ἐπιπηδᾶν 21.42, 49; 35.19, 39.  
 ἐπισειεῖν 9.163.  
 ἐπισκευάζειν 102.128.  
 ἐπισπείρειν 135.88.  
 ἐπισπορά 19.49.  
 ἐπιστάτης: πόλεων ἐπιστάται 12.19.  
 ἐπισυναθροίζειν 94.38.  
 ἐπίσχεσις 112.13.  
 ἐπιτίμησις 76.20.  
 ἐποπτεύειν 70.17.  
 ἔτασις 85.8; 110.10.  
 εὐγένεια 14.108; 102.116; 162.4.  
 εὐδιάκριτος 66.41.  
 εὐζῶτα 26.73; 31.148; 85.30; 91.8; 170.22.  
 εὐοδος: -ως 176.23.  
 εὐοδοῦν 78.16; 121.18; 145.29; 149.18; 179.18; 182.19.  
 εὐόδωσις 95A.2.  
 εὐπαρρησίαστος 15.5.  
 εὐσύνητος 16.52; 27.42.  
 εὐωδιάζειν 44.15.  
 ζάλη 53.80; 54.26; 66.26; 113.8.  
 ζόφος (τῶν θλίψεων) 138.8.  
 ζωοποιεῖν 132.10.  
 ζωοποιός 130.8.  
 θεάρεστος 152.2.  
 θεϊκός 3.51; 11.33; 12.38; 25.76; 32.341, 498; 46.13; 52.53; 64.12; 79.2; 85.25; 122.14; 124.29; 132.20; 133.46; 135.66, 110; 160.12; 177.16.  
 θεῖος: θ. εὐχαριστία 46.12; φόβος θ. 179.3.  
 θεόθεν 1.170; 28.83; 32.248; 157A.5.  
 θεομίσητος 66.40.  
 θυσιαστήριον: κύκλω τοῦ ἁγίου θ. 83.8; τὸ ἅγιον (ἱερὸν) κυκλοῦντες θ. 98.32; 139.32; 150.23.  
 ἰδιαζόντως 31.15.  
 ἰδιοποιεῖν 82.58.  
 ἰδιωτεία 146.2.  
 ἰλιγγιᾶν, shrink from 102.91.  
 ἰππότης, dat. ἰππότη, cavalry 10.41.  
 ἰσότημος 18.97; 135.70.  
 καθαιρέτης 28.23.  
 καθῆσθαι: ὑπεράνω κ., rule 102.5; οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καθήμενοι 173.19.  
 καθοδηγεῖν 121.11.  
 καθυποβάλλειν (δεσμῶ) 9.231.  
 καινοτομεῖν, cause harm to 1.53, 70; 5.196; 23.53; 47Π.63; 92.13; 96.8; 102.86.

- καινοτομία, harm, injustice  
2.61; 23.51; 47II.50, 62; 53.41;  
72.15; 183.16.
- κακόγλωσσος 128.22.
- κακοδοξία 139.22.
- κακομηχανία 17.118.
- κακόπλαστος 165.6.
- κάμινος: ἡ κ. τῶν θλίψεων 52.18.
- καταβόησις 47II.51; 93.6;  
117.50.
- καταγογγύζειν 47II.48; 52.33.
- κατάγγειν (τὴν γαστέρα)  
14.63.
- καταιγίς 14.20, 21; 33.24; 53.13;  
98.38.
- κατάνυξις 126.17.
- καταρρητορεύειν 166.1.
- κατάρτισις 157.7.
- κατασκηνώσις 38.4.
- κατάστασις: order, peaceful  
settlement 11.32; 14.139;  
21.104, 117; 29.107; 84.12; 85.30;  
123.27; 125.4; (of churches)  
16.84; 28.67, 69; 32.67, 138; 34.11;  
42.8; 52.76; 53.59, 74, 87; 54.19;  
55.20, 22; 56.20; 126.18; 139.41;  
173.16; condition, disposition  
20.85, 187; 25.21; 27.82; 33.22;  
38.8; 41.17; 54.42; 62.2; 66.3, 23;  
74.16; 75.73; 92.11; 104.16;  
107.6; 121.14; 133.49; 139.7;  
162.11; 164.16; 165.2; 182.3.  
See Index II.
- καταστώρεσις 53.14.
- κατασφαλίξασθαι 5.30; 9.260.
- κατάσχεσις 31.145.
- κατατυποῦν 53.58.
- καταυγάζειν 139.24.
- κατεγκαλεῖν 171.11.
- κατεντυγχάνειν 164.28.
- κατεπεμβαίνειν 165.10.
- κατευοδοῦν 67.20.
- κατευόδωσις 44.4; 145.9.
- κατευτελίζειν 29.105.
- κλησις, name 8.66; 32.257, 297;  
53.36; 54.23; 55.37.
- κλύδων 16.90; 103.10; 113.10;  
147.20.
- κοινοποιεῖν 150.28.
- κόλποι (of the Father) 9.22, 215;  
11.25; 17.84; (of the Church)  
53.24; 106.15.
- κολυμβήθρα: ἡ ἀγία κ. 17.152.
- κορυφαῖος: οἱ κ. τῶν μαθητῶν  
28.55; ὁ κ. Πέτρος 32.284.
- ληξις: τὴν οὐράνιον λ. 78.17.
- ματαιοπονεῖν 20.30; 164.29.
- μεγαλόδωρος 51.25.
- μέθοδος: ἡ θεία μ. τῆς οἰκονομίας  
32.382.
- μεθόριος 1.146.
- μεσιτεία 101.9.
- μεσιτεύειν 4.9; 5.28; 14.30;  
20.178; 25.11; 77.28; 148.7.
- μετακλαίεσθαι 5.14.
- μετάκλητος 100.16.
- μεταπηδᾶν 31.32.
- μεταφρονεῖν 12.69.
- μιαιφονία 1.156, 157; 5.137; 9.54;  
11.101, 119; 13.37; 23.85; 26.50.
- μοσχοποιεῖν 32.434, 436.
- μοσχοποιία 32.437.
- μυριάνθρωπος 16.18.
- μυριόλεκτος 17.61.
- μωμητός 5.63.
- νάμα: τοῖς ζωποιοῖς ν. τῆς  
διδασκαλίας 23.103.
- νεόκλητος (πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν)  
133.44.
- νεοπαγής 79.24.
- νέφος (fig.) 47I.41; 47II.11;  
64.11; 78.11; 155.1, 4.
- νηπιότης 5.134.
- νομίζειν: ὡς ἐνόμισας, "as you  
thought fit" 165.13; cf. 21.167.

- νοῦς: τῷ πρώτῳ νοῦ 25.65.
- νύμφη: ἡ ἐπ' ἀδελφῶ ν. 170.4.
- νυμφαγωγός 32.248; 156.17.
- ξενιτεία 135.8, 11, 14.
- ξενιτεύειν 135.10, 13.
- ξοδοχία 51.13.
- ὀβολός: μηδὲ ὀβολοῦ ἀξίων  
14.109.
- ὀδηγία 42.21; 102.55; 139.24.
- ὀδηγός 14.151; 133.19; 147.9.
- οἰκιοποιεῖν 66.14.
- οἰκείωσις 8.24; 106.19.
- οἰκέτης, slave 4.37.
- οἰκονόμος, administrator (gener.)  
12.19; 135.10; 174.12; 175.9. Cf.  
Index II.
- ὀκλάζειν 156.14.
- ὀλόφυρσις 150.17.
- ὀλοψύχως 5.172; 36.20.
- ὀμόδοξος, "of the same creed"  
2.20; 44.7; 117.35; "equal in  
glory" 11.25.
- ὀμοεθνής 2.66.
- ὀμόζυγος, husband 43.10.
- ὀμόπιστος 2.56; 12.51; 31.102;  
102.66, 127.
- ὀμοταγής 52.66; 113.14.
- ὀμότιμος 11.25.
- ὀμοψυχεῖν 21.90.
- ὀμοψυχία 21.103, 177.
- ὀμόψυχος 21.84, 85, 97, 101.
- ὀπτικός (superl.) 17.107.
- ὀρθόδοξος 139.66.
- ὀρύσσειν: γάμους ὁ. ἄλλοτρίους  
32.322.
- οὐμενοῦν 14.52; 18.37; 27.19;  
32.370, 433; 47II.41; 53.61;  
135.21.
- ὀφρουοῦσθαι 132.24.
- πάγκοινος 92.18.
- παγκόσμιος 11.97.
- παλαιός: κατὰ τὸν π. λόγον  
(Homer) 11.87; οἱ π. 6.9;  
20.93; 26.65.
- παλαιότης, Old Covenant  
32.459, 464.
- παλίντροπος 31.32.
- πανάχραντος 9.236; 11.147;  
12.105; 145.7.
- παραβάτης 8.115.
- παραβλάστημα 32.14.
- παραβλέπειν, overlook 82.46.
- παραγγέλλειν: εἰς τὸν τοῦ εὐαγ-  
γελίου δρόμον 52.65; εἰς τὴν  
οὐράνιον στρατιάν 141.37.
- παραιτητής 4.19.
- παράκρυψις 118.19.
- παραλογίζεσθαι, disregard  
4.61; 15.28; 16.10; 21.94; 28.2,  
54; 72.12.
- παραλογισμός, contempt  
16.12; 28.5; 29.94; 36.33; 72.12.
- παρاناβλαστάνειν 32.15.
- παράστασις (before Judgment  
Seat) 11.95; 21.180; 140.25;  
(before judge) 163.17; (at altar)  
27.39; (in personal service)  
155.12.
- παραστάτης (τοῦ ἀγίου  
θυσιαστηρίου) 5.41, 190.
- παρενοχλεῖν 9.105; 33.18; 87.15;  
155.12; 158.6.
- παρενόκλησις 33.16.
- παρενταῦθα 178.14.
- παρισοῦσθαι 14.107.
- παστάς: ἐν τῇ μυστικῇ π. 129.18;  
135.25.
- πειρατήριον, temptation 98.41.
- περιαγωγή, encumbrance 152.7.
- περίβολος: οἱ θεῖοι π. 32.360.
- περιδρομή, canvassing 146.12;  
running round 164.14.
- περιεσκεμμένως 10.26.
- περιθάλλειν 149.15.
- περίκλυσις (τῶν κακῶν) 12.96.

- περιστοιχίζειν 23.130; 32.174;  
40.18; 52.20; 54.5; 112.9; 119.2;  
126.11; 133.32; 135.17; 151.6.  
περιστρέφειν, consider 55.2.  
περιστροφή: τῆς ματαίας ταύτης  
π. 25.64.  
περιφορά, turmoil of life 78.9;  
cf. 189.7.  
περιχεῖσθαι 76.6.  
περνᾶν, cross 95.8.  
πιθανολόγος 8.84.  
πλαστολογεῖν 102.124.  
πληθυντικός (gramm.) 104.20.  
πληρωτής 50.9.  
ποινηλασία 24.24.  
πολυαμάρτητος 9.60.  
πολύανθρωπος (σφαγή) 16.58.  
πολυδάκρυτος 9.32.  
πολυέραστος 7.2.  
πολυπαθής 176.7.  
πολυπενθής 9.62; 47II.81.  
πολυπλανής 9.60.  
πολύπλουτος 45.27.  
πολυρρημοσύνη 21.149.  
πολύτροπος, various 12.116;  
48.10; 135.103.  
πολύφθονος 81.5.  
πολυώδυνος 9.132; 48.2; 94.5;  
117.26; 122.7; 131.3.  
πονήρευμα 43.12.  
πονηρολογία, slander 102.186.  
ποσότης, a (definite) quantity  
18.39, 48; 19.26; 31.134; 92.12,  
23.  
πρέσβυς (sing.) = πρεσβευτής  
11.24; 20.13; (plur.) 4.19.  
προαμαρτάνειν 32.453.  
προαναβιβάζειν 95A.12.  
προαναγγέλλειν 145.5.  
προασπίζειν 49.8.  
προασφάλεια 36.13.  
προασφαλίζεσθαι 8.123; 16.63.  
προαφαιρέεισθαι 133.6.  
προδιαπράττεσθαι 32.449.  
προθεσμία 29.25; 60.10; 153.25.  
προθεωρεῖν 144.5.  
προθορυβεῖν 32.148.  
προκαταβολή, payment in  
advance 3.53.  
πρόληψις, preconceived opinion  
139.9, 19; intention 151.24.  
προλυπεῖν (act.) 11.51.  
προμαρτύρεσθαι 4.64.  
πρόδοτος, appearance in public  
93.3.  
προσάγγελμα, report 102.113.  
προσαναγγέλλειν 102.46.  
προσανατιθέναι, dedicate  
183.11.  
προσδιασύρειν 31.40.  
προσεδρεύειν, be settled (in  
monastery) 137.12; 172.11;  
182.24.  
προσεμβιβάζειν 32.307.  
προσένεξις, (votive) offering  
75.9; 88.14; bringing to Christ  
106.22.  
προσενθυμεῖσθαι 133.50.  
προσεννοῦν 32.163.  
προσεντυγχάνειν, pray 22.61;  
meet 84.12.  
προσεπιμιγνύειν 21.38.  
προσεπιτιθέναι, add 13.41.  
προσεπιχορηγεῖν 84.20.  
πρόσληψις: τῇ τῶν μειζόνων π.  
94.12.  
προσυπαντᾶν 124.8.  
προσυπομένειν, have more  
patience 157.11.  
προσφθείρεσθαι, defile 32.37.  
πρότασις, proposal 27.56.  
πρότιμος (comp.) 119.18.  
προτυραννεῖν (pass.) 32.197.  
προφημίζειν 32.131.  
προφήτης (David) 25.87;  
156.23; (Elijah) 60.2;  
(Mohammed) 102.143, 156.  
πτερωτά, birds 167.1.

- πυρπόλησις 28.85.  
πυρσολάτρης 5.162.  
ῥῆψις 9.97; 136.17.  
ῥυπώδης 32.305.  
ῥύστης 177.12.  
ῥῶσις 110.2.  
σαρκίον 33.22; 42.17; 148.15.  
σέβας, religion 1.74; 102.19.  
σέβασμα, religion 1.20; 2.22.  
σεβασμιότης 3.29.  
σκηνή: τῆς ἐντεῦθεν σ. 110.13.  
σκοτίζειν 5.91.  
σκυθρωπότης 24.66; 25.35;  
27.19; 32.11; 51.19; 136.20;  
156.45.  
σπλάγγνον, child 2.35; 9.51;  
87.5; 167.5.  
σπορεύς (τῶν σκανδάλων) 11.150.  
στέφος, imperial crown 32.58, 61,  
303; 150.37.  
συγκακουργεῖν 141.22.  
συγκαταβατικώτερον 27.60.  
συγκηδεστής 16.76.  
συγκολάζειν 102.173.  
συγκόπτειν, crush 23.36; bore  
21.148.  
συγκρότησις 164.15.  
σύμβιος (ῆ) 140.15.  
συμβιοτεύειν, be alive with  
47II.68; 110.13.  
συμβίωσις, life together 47II.79.  
συμπάραστασις, standing in the  
presence (of God) 78.5.  
συμπατριώτης 161.11.  
συμπλουτεῖν 45.30.  
σύμπτωσις, circumstance 92.2.  
συναγωγή (of Church) 89.6.  
συναναστρέφεσθαι 17.25;  
47I.21.  
συναναστροφή 21.154; 41.11;  
157A.6; 174.3.  
συναντίληψις 56.10; 83.24;  
135.110; 180.10.  
συναπαίρειν, die with 11.124.  
συναρίθμησις, list 51.21.  
συνασπισμός, conspiracy 81.9,  
13.  
σύναψις, union 90.10; (illicit)  
133.66.  
συνδιαγωγή 145.28; 178.21.  
συνδιασκέπτεσθαι 31.136;  
85.22; 157A.14; (pres.) 99.8;  
107.9.  
συνδιάσκεψις 12.17.  
συνεκταράσσειν 160.11.  
συνέλευσις συνοδική 32.125.  
συνελόντως εἰπεῖν 135.68.  
συνενοῦν 99.10; (pass.) 140.16.  
συνεπικουρεῖν 46.26; 145.22.  
συνεπικροτεῖν, support 43.15.  
συνεπίνευσις 79.27.  
συνεπισκέπτεσθαι 45.17.  
συνεπιψηφίζεσθαι 32.196.  
συνευφραίνειν (act.) 14.6.  
συνθεράπων 32.450, 453.  
συνοδυνᾶσθαι 120.8.  
συνομιλεῖν 27.86; 31.17; 134.10.  
συνομιλία 1.22; 2.12; 4.4; 12.17;  
53.26, 34; 63.2; 112.11; 157A.12.  
συντρυφᾶν 127.9.  
συντυραννεῖν 32.195.  
συσκευή 20.23; 32.510; 81.11;  
154.3; 173.13.  
σύστασις, maintenance (of  
building) 43.20; recommenda-  
tion 5.95; 32.316, 445; proof  
32.206; 96.11; 129.13;  
hostilities 102.59; accumulation  
32.12, 19.  
σχέσις, affection 2.19; 11.108;  
17.89, 135; 22.10; 54.10; 62.14;  
63.8; 118.4; 139.63; 148.8.  
ταλανίζειν 150.15.  
ταχύς: εἰς ταχεῖαν(?) 180.8.

- τελεῖν, perform (rite) 29.33;  
66.13; pay (tribute) 6.29; τ.  
εις, rank with 32.26; τ. ὑπό, be  
subject to 16.73; 17.38; 28.26, 76;  
32.316; 91.15; 92.15; 102.145;  
109.47; 114.19; 116.13; 117.22;  
119.9; 174.10.  
τρῆσις 11.66.  
τρίβος: ἐρρίφθω τοῦτο εἰς τ. ἀβά-  
τους 136.10.  
τρικυμία 43.13; 113.8; 147.20.  
τριπόδητος 21.166.  
τροχός: ὁ κοσμικός τ. 189.1.  
υἱοθετεῖν 11.63; 29.31.  
υἱοπρεπής 18.4.  
υἱότης 17.88.  
ὑμνολογεῖν 14.71.  
ὑπεξάγειν τῆς ζωῆς 102.98.  
ὑπεξούσιος 102.61.  
ὑπεράγαθος 68.7.  
ὑπερανέχειν 1.17; 178.9.  
ὑπεράνω, safe from 19.51; 59.16;  
182.8; superior to 52.56;  
135.79; 173.10.  
ὑπερεκτείνειν (ἑαυτοῦς) 21.131.  
ὑπερθαύμαστος 29.63.  
ὑπερκαθῆσθαι, rank above  
32.304.  
ὑπερκεῖσθαι, rank above  
102.57; be safe from 73.14;  
139.73; 169.16.
- ὑπερκήδεσθαι 183.10.  
ὑπερμάχεσθαι 49.8.  
ὑπέρμαχος (adj.) 170.16.  
ὑπέροφρος 23.162.  
ὑπόβλημα, suggestion (of devil)  
32.319.  
ὑποζωγραφεῖν 94.15.  
ὑποκατάκλισις 67.20.  
ὑψηλότερος, safe from 2.74;  
15.60; 121.5; superior to 132.18.  
φαντασιοσκοπεῖν 23.157.  
φιλάγαθος 12.85, 92; 13.14.  
φιλόκοσμος 128.44.  
φωστήρ: οἱ δύο μεγάλοι φ. 1.18;  
(fig.) 29.64; 32.292; 135.75; φ.  
λόγον ἐπέχων ζωῆς 42.24; 129.18;  
135.24.  
φωτισμός, baptism 51.9; cf. 8.21.  
χάρις, New Covenant 32.459.  
χρεώστημα, duty 12.63, 97.  
χρηστεύεσθαι 24.68.  
ψῆφος, count 20.184; verdict  
93.11; 107.6; 163.11, 12; decree  
32.244; 184.3; (of God) 23.146;  
32.409, 410; 46.16; 102.2; 184.2;  
cf. 139.71.  
ψυχαγωγός (adj.) 104.7.  
ψυχοφθόρος 12.75; 129.6.  
ψυχώλεθρος 20.136.

## IV: CITATIONS

## BIBLE

## Genesis

- 1.26: 4.74; 30.45  
4.10: 11.35—37  
29.15—30.13: 32.461—62  
39.21: 52.81—82  
47.9: 23.23—24; 25.13; 40.16—17

## Exodus

- 19.5: 17.68; 18.68; 26.5  
19.6: 32.251—52  
20.12: 186.8  
32: 32.434—36

## Deuteronomium

- 1.30, 33: 170.20

- 7.13: 471.19—20  
9.3: 170.20  
14.2: 17.68; 18.68; 26.5  
20.4: 170.20  
28.4, 11, 18, 53: 471.19—20  
30.9: 471.19—20  
31.3, 6: 170.20  
32.8: 8.65  
35.8: 31.149—50; 152.11  
35.11: 121.7  
36.35—36: 10.15—18  
41.4: 5.45—46; 8.36; 12.12  
43.21: 141.11  
46.3: 21.44  
48.7: 80.11—12  
50.19: 76.17—18  
60.5: 31.149—50; 152.11  
61.13: 102.107; 146.18—19  
62.8: 31.149—50; 152.11  
67.5: 5.22  
68.21: 64.5—6  
72.1: 121.7  
78.6: 24.52  
81.1: 9.277  
83.6: 105.20—21  
89.4: 52.58  
93.17: 133.29—30  
102.12: 3.11—13  
118.163: 14.62  
126.1: 164.18—20  
130.1: 8.110  
142.5: 21.150—51  
144.19: 174.7—8  
Iosue  
1.9: 69.12  
Iudicum  
9.57: 18.63—64  
1 Regum  
15.32—33: 32.462—63  
25.42—44: 32.459  
2 Regum  
5.13—16: 32.459  
11.27: 32.459  
12.15—23: 156.23  
2 Paralipomenon  
28.9: 17.114—15, 123  
Psalmi  
1.3: 23.107—8  
7.11: 121.7  
7.13: 23.163—64; 24.69  
11.2: 153.8—10  
13.3: 153.10—11  
16.8: 31.149—50; 152.11  
20.4: 24.84  
20.5: 30.50  
25.6: 83.8; 98.32; 139.32; 150.23  
30.19: 5.75—77  
32.15: 141.11  
32.18: 121.7  
33.15: 25.87; 31.104—6  
33.16: 121.7  
33.22: 24.14—15  
34.10: 117.15  
Proverbia  
1.17: 167.1  
3.17: 23.115  
9.9: 10.61; 20.87  
14.34: 95A.5—6  
22.1: 11.120—21  
22.28: 8.111; 21.123—24  
23.26: 16.52—53; 27.42, 46  
24.12: 102.107; 146.18—19  
Iob  
20.5: 16.47—48  
37.16: 16.47—48  
42.5: 146.3  
Sapientia Salomonis  
6.6: 32.347

- Sirach  
2.10: 38.19
- Osee  
6.6: 159.11—12
- Amos  
9.12: 9.200—1; 28.21
- Ioel  
1.9, 13: 22.57—58; 27.38;  
140.20—21  
3.4: 102.107
- Abdias  
1: 146.3
- Isaias  
9.5: 15.40—41  
19.25: 27.51  
40.6: 27.94—95; 166.16  
43.14: 8.130—31  
49.15: 471.19—20  
53.7: 12.102
- Ieremias  
10.25: 24.52  
15.19: 106.23—24  
23.24: 4.62—63
- Ezechiel  
18.23: 9.45—46  
33.1—9: 16.6—9; 17.20—24;  
25.11; 26.9—12
- Matthaeus  
5.14—16: 129.19—20  
6.7—13: 104.12—14  
6.12: 3.52  
7.13: 139.11  
9.13: 159.11—12  
10.23: 147.24—25  
12.7: 159.11—12  
12.35: 5.77—80
- 12.36: 6.76—77  
13.25: 26.71; 135.87—88  
16.19: 3.65—66; 5.191—92;  
9.229—30  
16.24: 147.8  
16.26: 8.56—57; 24.39—40  
16.27: 102.107; 140.25  
18.6: 8.41—44  
18.9: 136.17  
18.23—25: 3.52, 71—74  
25.31—46: 140.25  
25.34: 15.7—8  
25.40: 67.8—9; 72.17  
25.45: 72.18  
26.41: 135.31—32  
27.5: 151.27
- Marcus  
8.34: 147.8  
8.36: 8.56—57; 24.39—40  
9.42: 8.41—44  
14.38: 135.31—32
- Lucas  
9.23: 147.8  
9.25: 8.56—57  
9.61—62: 38.13—15  
10.16: 9.228—29; 17.12—13;  
186.7—8  
11.1—4: 104.12—14  
12.8—9: 140.25  
15.20—32: 109.25—27  
19.10: 52.38
- Ioannes  
1.18: 9.22—23, 215—16;  
11.24—25; 17.84  
1.29: 12.36; 32.362—63  
1.36: 12.36  
3.16: 8.17—19; 12.34—35  
3.27: 5.107, 114—15  
5.14: 32.367—68  
6.51: 9.244—45; 21.52

- 8.44: 5.55—56; 9.7; 15.41—42;  
17.115; 21.66—67; 22.18—19;  
23.116—17; 27.54—55  
10.16: 54.31—32  
14.27: 9.261; 11.62, 71;  
19.16—17; 28.21—22;  
53.31—32; 62.6—7  
20.22—23: 3.65—66;  
5.191—92; 9.229—30
- Actus Apostolorum  
5.1—11: 28.48—50  
7.10: 52.81—82  
8.32: 12.102  
9.15: 32.237  
13.6—12: 28.50—52  
15.17: 9.200—1; 28.21  
15.29: 32.234—36  
20.28: 16.23—24  
26.14: 165.16—17  
26.26: 135.11
- Ad Romanos  
2.6: 146.18—19  
3.19: 146.17—18  
8.6, 7: 124.25  
8.18: 52.23—24; 79.21—22  
8.27: 61.5—6; 70.17; 102.114  
9.5: 36.28  
9.22: 9.30—31  
9.23: 123.16—17  
10.8: 9.266—67  
10.15: 79.11—12  
11.33: 42.14—15; 53.14  
12.5: 9.193; 11.71—72  
12.9: 61.7—8  
12.21: 23.105  
13.1: 1.3—4; 17.147—48  
14.10: 5.199—200; 8.51—52;  
140.23—24; 146.15  
15.19: 9.267—68  
15.33: 17.162—63  
16.20: 17.162—63; 24.78—79  
16.22: 132.26
- 1 ad Corinthios  
1.24: 135.30  
6.7—8: 177.4—6  
6.18: 32.237—38  
7.7: 32.274—75  
7.8—9: 32.276—77  
7.9: 32.269—70, 279—80  
7.29: 32.273—74  
7.31: 32.273—74  
9.19—22: 135.91  
10.32: 117.35—36  
12.26: 9.195—96  
15.31: 135.46
- 2 ad Corinthios  
3.4: 16.103  
4.9: 132.9  
5.11: 49.2—3; 136.15  
5.20: 27.50  
6.6: 61.7—8  
8.9: 24.62; 171.17—18
- Ad Galatas  
5.11: 77.10—11
- Ad Ephesios  
1.21: 91.22  
2.14: 8.16, 20; 11.26; 15.43;  
17.163; 24.76—77;  
31.143—44; 98.35  
2.15, 16: 11.145—46  
4.1: 32.297  
4.3: 23.118; 24.81; 132.6  
4.16: 14.32—34; 20.161—63  
4.26: 23.105—6  
4.27: 9.252  
5.3: 32.237—38  
6.11: 8.99—100; 62.5;  
160.9—10
- Ad Philippenses  
1.27: 98.31  
1.29: 135.50—51  
2.7: 9.22—23, 215—16; 17.84;  
90.6

- 2.8: 11.68—69  
 2.16: 9.248—49  
 3.4: 35.37—38  
 3.10: 135.76  
 3.18: 24.51—52  
 4.7: 14.129; 15.11; 28.22;  
 53.11—12  
 4.9: 17.162—63
- Ad Colossenses  
 1.5: 98.15—16  
 1.20: 11.146—47; 24.77—78  
 3.5: 32.237—38  
 3.14: 9.20; 12.71; 28.23  
 3.15: 9.21—22; 11.26;  
 19.15—16; 24.78; 28.20—21;  
 29.85—86; 56.16; 83.11
- 1 ad Thessalonicenses  
 4.3: 32.237—38  
 5.23: 17.162—63  
 5.27: 22.50—51
- 1 ad Timotheum  
 1.15: 5.192  
 2.4: 51.7  
 2.8: 104.17—19; 168.4—5  
 4.6: 9.266—67  
 6.11: 124.26; 153.13  
 6.12: 133.54—56  
 6.15: 15.45—46
- 2 ad Timotheum  
 2.25: 51.7  
 3.7: 51.7  
 4.8: 55.9
- Ad Titum  
 1.1: 51.7  
 2.14: 17.68; 18.68; 26.5
- Ad Hebraeos  
 4.13: 21.181; 102.114—15  
 4.16: 91.10—11
- 10.26: 51.7  
 10.31: 21.195  
 12.14: 9.197—98; 32.298  
 13.4: 32.254—55  
 13.5: 21.130  
 13.20: 17.162—63
- Epistola Iacobi  
 5.16: 91.11
- 1 Petri  
 1.12: 118.18—19  
 1.17: 21.198; 70.12  
 1.19: 26.4—5; 27.51—52  
 2.9: 32.251—52  
 5.7: 156.19  
 5.8: 24.60—61
- 2 Petri  
 3.8: 52.58
- 1 Ioannis  
 1.3: 102.45—46  
 3.17: 126.22; 159.15  
 4.7: 8.34—35  
 4.9: 11.23—24
- 2 Ioannis  
 12: 15.21
- 3 Ioannis  
 14: 15.21
- Iudae  
 23: 32.300
- OTHER
- Anaxagoras  
 A1.13, A33 D.-K.: 156.34—39
- Basiliius  
 Ep. 188, can. 4, PG, 32, 673A1—B5:  
 32.256—57

- Ep. 188, can. 4, PG, 32, 673A7:  
 32.390—91
- Ep. 199, can. 26, PG, 32, 724B14:  
 32.259—60
- Ep. 199, can. 50, PG, 32, 732C4—5:  
 32.84—86
- Ep. 199, can. 50, PG, 32, 732C6—7:  
 32.390—91
- Ep. 217, can. 80, PG, 32,  
 805A14—B1: 32.258—59
- Ep. 217, can. 80, PG, 32,  
 805A15—B1: 32.293—94;  
 98.29—30
- Ep. 217, can. 80, PG, 32, 805A15:  
 32.392; 55.29
- Ep. 217, can. 80, PG, 32, 805B1—2:  
 32.282, 385
- Clemens  
 Const. Apost. III 2: 32.282—90,  
 390—91
- Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr. I 252 adn.,  
 II 407: 22.38—39
- Demosthenes, Or. 45.73: 14.96—97
- Gregorius Nazianzenus  
 Or. 14,7, PG, 35, 865B12—13:  
 9.60—61
- Or. 37,8, PG, 36, 292B9—10:  
 32.294, 392
- Or. 42,1, PG, 36, 457A4—5:  
 79.11—12
- Homerus  
 Iliad 2.489: 11.87—88  
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- Liturgia S. Chrysostomi, PG, 63,  
 915.29—30: 91.26—27
- Plato  
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 Protag. 322a3: 9.60—61  
 Theaet. 176b1—3: 21.108
- Plutarchus, Aemil. 35: 156.26—34
- Themistius, Or. 16, p. 304.3 Downey:  
 32.89
- Unidentified:  
 οὐδὲ χεῖρα τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον  
 κινῆσαι τολμῶσιν: 102.150  
 αἰεὶ τὰ κακὰ τοῖς κακοῖς  
 ἐπισυναπτόμενα τὸν ἐμὸν  
 περιστοιχίζει βίον· καὶ  
 παρῆλθεν οὐπω τὸ χεῖρον, καὶ  
 παρέστηκεν ἕτερον χεῖρον:  
 151.5—7
- V: INCIPITS
- |   |     |                                       |     |
|---|-----|---------------------------------------|-----|
| "Α γράφομεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν<br>ἱερόν             | 93  | Αἱ κοινὰ περιστάσεις κοινήν           | 92  |
| "Α γράφομεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, μή<br>οἶδαμεν       | 5   | 'Ακηκόαμεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν,<br>λυπεῖσθαι | 61  |
| "Α γράφομεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν,<br>τῆ τιμιότητί σου | 149 | 'Αλγεῖν ἡμᾶς ποιεῖ καὶ αὐτή           | 175 |
| 'Αδελφοί μου, — προσθήσω<br>δὲ καὶ            | 55  | 'Αλγοῦντες οὐ μικρῶς                  | 142 |
| "Α ἔγραψας, τέκνον ἡμῶν<br>ἠγαπημένον         | 90  | "Αλλας ἐτρέφομεν ἐλπίδας              | 153 |
|   | 69  | "Αλλοις ἐκτείνεται περωτοῖς           | 167 |
|   |     | "Α μὲν ἔδει πρὸς θεὸν                 | 70  |
|   |     | ἀνευεγκεῖν                            | 70  |
|   |     | "Α μὲν περὶ τῆς θείας                 | 83  |

Ἄ μὲν πρότερον ἐγράφη τῇ ἀρετῇ	129	Εἰ καὶ πλειστάκις ἔγραψα, τέκνον	26
Ἄ μὲν, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν, τῆς ἄνωθεν	94	Εἰ καὶ πλήρης ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων	54
Ἄνηχθη τῷ ἀγίῳ θεῷ	138	Εἰ καὶ πολλάκις ἐγράψαμεν τάς	17
Ἄνθρωπος φρόνησιν κεκτημένος	179	Εἰ καὶ προλαβοῦσα ἡ πονηρά	141
Ἄνθρώπους πείθομεν, φησὶν ὁ θεῖος	49	Εἰ μὲν δυνατὸν ἦν αὐτόν	11
Ἄνθρώπῳ σύνεσιν τιμῶντι	136	Ἐλπίδες εἶχον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ	60
Ἀπάντων ὅσα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁ βίος	2	Ἐλυπήθημεν μὴ δεξάμενοι γράμμα	22
Ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῦ γράμματος	117	Ἐλυπήσαμεν τὴν ὑμῶν ὀσιότητα	158
Ἄ περὶ τοῦ κυροῦ Θεοστηρίκτου	97	Ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας	89
Ἄπλᾶ γράφω πρὸς ἄνθρωπον	146	Ἐπιστάμεθα τὴν ὑμετέραν	137
Ἄ πολλάκις, τέκνον ἡμῶν, μετὰ	8	Ἐπιστάμεθα τὴν ὑμῶν ἀρχιερατικὴν	12
Αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῆς καλῆς	10	Ἐπὶ τοῖς κεκριμένοις ὑμῖν	159
Γένους ὑπάρχων ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ δικαίου	73	Ἐπὶ τοῖς περιστάμενοις σε	135
Δέσποτα καὶ τέκνον δεδοξασμένη	86	Ἐπὶ τοῖς προκατειργασμένοις	48
Δέσποτα καὶ τέκνον δεδοξασμένον	156	Ἐπὶ τοῖς συνέχουσι κοινῶς ἡμᾶς	122
Δέσποτα καὶ τέκνον μου εὐλογημένον	95	Ἐπὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ, τέκνον ἡμῶν	46
Δι' ὑποδείξεως γράμματος	36	Ἐπλήγημεν τὴν καρδίαν πληγῆν	7
Ἐγνωμεν ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος τῆς	116	Ἐσιωπήσαμεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν	29
Ἐγραψα πολλάκις, ὡς μὲν ἐγώ	31	Ἐσπούδασε μὲν ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς	62
Ἐγὼ καὶ πρότερον ἔγραφον	23	Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ τὸ νέφος	155
Ἐγὼ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τοῦτο εἰ καὶ	38	Εὐφράνθημεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τελείαν	50
Ἐδεξάμεθά σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τό	121	Εὐφράνθημεν καὶ ἄλλως γράμμασιν	172
Ἐδεξάμεθά σου τὴν ἐπιστολήν	52	Εὐχαριστήσαντες τῷ θεῷ	144
Ἐδεξάμεν τὸ γράμμα τῆς σῆς	104	Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ, καθὼς	190
Ἐδηλώθη καὶ δι' ἑτέρων γραμμάτων	77	Ἐχει τι πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἡ σωματικὴ	63
Εἰ καὶ ὄψῃ καὶ μόλις, ὅμως	130	Ἐδὴ τῆς ἀρρωστίας προσομιλεῖν	109

Ἡ μὲν ὑπόθεσις τοῦ γράμματος	114	Κληρικοὶ τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ μητροπόλεως	150
Ἡν μὲν οὖν ἀρμόδιον, μᾶλλον δέ	106	Λέγεται πολλὰ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις	81
Ἡν ποτε καιρὸς ὅτε τὸ πάσχειν	186	Μεγάλην παράκλησιν ἐπὶ τῷ	131
Ἡ συνεισφορά, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερόν	58	Μὴ δεξάμενοι γράμμα παρὰ σοῦ	30
Ἡ σωματικὴ διάστασις τῶν	134	Ἄδουνηρὰν ἀγγελίαν ἀκούσαντες	115
Ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀγάπη	148	Ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἄγιος αὐτός, ὥσπερ	95A
Θεοφιλῆς ὢν, τέκνον ἡμῶν	180	Οἶδαμεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, καὶ πρὸ τῶν	91
Ἰσως δόξομεν περιττόν τι ποιεῖν	161	Οἶδαμεν τὴν ἀγαθὴν σου προαίρεσιν	88
Ἰσως καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων	79	Οἶδαμεν τὴν ὑμῶν ἐνθεον ἀρετὴν	143
Ἰσως περιττόν ὁ ποιούμεν	39	Οἶδα παρόντος σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν	105
Ἰσως περιττόν τι ποιεῖν δοκοῦμεν	3	Οἶδα, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἡγαπημένον	35
Καὶ ἄλλως ἡμῖν ἐπιθυμητῆς	4	Οἶδα, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὡς τὰ φυσικά	47II
Καὶ ἄλλως ἡμῖν λυπηρῶς	41	Ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν ἀγῶν ἡνυσταί σοι	187
Καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς γράμμασι	57	Ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς συντυχίαις ὁρῶ	25
Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ	78	Ὅσα ἡμῖν ἀπήντησε, μακαριώτατε	53
Καὶ ἡμῖν, ἀδελφὲ καὶ τέκνων	157A	Ὅσάκις ἀν ὁρμήσω πρὸς σέ, υἱέ	27
Καὶ κυβερνήτης ἄριστος	113	Ὅσάκις δεξάμεθα γράμμα τῆς	174
Καὶ νῦν καὶ πρότερον μεγάλην	126	Ὅσα τῆς συμπαθοῦς ἐστὶ	177
Καὶ νῦν, ὥσπερ ἀεὶ, χάριν	44	Ὅσης ἐστὶν εἰκὸς ἐγγίνεσθαι	112
Καὶ οικεῖα γλώσση ἐνετειλάμεθα	74	Ὅση στενοχωρία περιστοιχιζόμεθα	119
Καὶ πρότερον ἂ ἐγράφη, τέκνον	6	Ὅσοι νοῦν φρονήσει κοσμούμενον	164
Καὶ πρότερον περὶ τῆς μελετηθείσης	154	Ὅσῳ πάντων τῶν σῶν ὁμοφύλων	102
Καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συμπαθείας	128	Ὅταν, τέκνον μου τίμιον, τὴν	47I
Καὶ τὸ δῶρον γλυκὺ καὶ οἱ λόγοι	120		
Καὶ χωρὶς τῆς προσπεσούσης	147		
Καλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλως τὰ δῶρα	168		
Κάμνομεν τὰς ἡμέρας ἀπαριθμούμενοι	185		
Κατερρητόρευσας ἡμῶν ὡς	166		



Ὅτε τὰ γραμματὰ σου ταῖς χερσίν	165	Προστάξεις καὶ διδασκαλίαι	37
Ὅτε τὸ γράμμα τῆς ὑμῶν	42		
Ὅτε τὸ γράμμα ὑμῶν, τέκνον	178	Σαλεύουσι τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν ἕξιν	188
Ὁ τῶν Σάρδεων θεοφιλέστατος	181		
Οὐδὲν ἄλλο πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν	152	Τὰ γραφέντα παρ' ὑμῶν, τέκνα μου ποθητὰ	85
Οὐδὲν ἔλαττον καὶ ἡμῖν εἰς	33	Τὰ γράμματά σου, θεοτίμητε	15
Οὐδὲν ἕτερον γράφομεν περὶ τοῦ	163	Τὰ γράμματά σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἀναγινώσκοντες	68
Οὐδὲν εὐσεβείας περισπουδαστότερον	139	Τὰ γράμματά σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐδεξάμεθα	80
Οὐδὲν οὕτω δῶρον ἡδὺ τοῖς ἠνωμένοις	127	Τὰ κοινῶς ἐπιτιθέμενα, τέκνον ἡμῶν	123
Οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν ὅσα τὴν ὑμῶν	125	Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάθη ὅσα, τέκνον	160
Οὐκ ἠγνοοῦμεν, τέκνον, καὶ πρό	173	Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ γράμματος, δι'	133
Οὐκ ἠλγήσαμεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνειδισμοῖς	40	Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ γράμματος ὅσα	176
Οὐκ οἶδα ἐπήρεια δαίμονος τοῦ	107	Τέκνον ἡμῶν ἠγαπημένον, οἶδαμεν	34
Οὐκ οἶδα τί ἐρῶ ἐπὶ τοῖς	151	Τέκνον ἡμῶν ἠγαπημένον, τὴν σὴν	170
Οὐκ οἶδεν τοὺς πνευματικῶς	118	Τέκνον ἡμῶν ἰερόν, οὐ λογίζομαι	87
Οὐπω τὸν κοσμικὸν ὄρωμεν τροχόν	189	Τέκνον ἡμῶν, πάντως ἐπὶ μνήμης	171
Οὔτε ὑμᾶς, τέκνα ἐμά, τὸ πικρόν	132	Τέκνον ἡμῶν ποθεινότατον καὶ φίλων	14
Οὔτε φιλονείκως ἔχοντες οὔτε	124	Τέκνον μου ἠγαπημένον, ἀ γράφομεν	75
Πάλιν γράφομεν πρὸς υἰόν	28	Τέκνον μου ἠγαπημένον, ἀντὶ τῆς	67
Πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν, υἱέ μου	16	Τέκνον μου ἠγαπημένον, μετὰ πάντων	72
Πᾶσα ἐπίγειος ἐξουσία καὶ ἀρχή	1	Τέκνον μου ἠγαπημένον, πρᾶγμα	66
Περὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἧτις γράφειν	140	Τὴν παροῦσαν ἐπιστολὴν γράφομέν σοι	43
Περιττὸν ἠγούμενοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τοῦ	71	Τὴν περὶ τῶν μοναστηρίων	96
Πολλάκις ἐγράψαμεν, τέκνον ἡμῶν	21	Τὴν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ	108
Πολλάκις ἔγραψα πρὸς υἰόν	24	Τί γράφομεν, ἀδελφοὶ τιμιώτατοι	32
Πολλάκις, εἰ καὶ μὴ διὰ γραμμάτων	56		
Πολλάκις, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὠρμήθην	183		
Πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς εἰκόσ	103		

Τίνας ποταμούς εὐρήσω δακρύων	9	ὑπηρεταί	13
Τὸ γεγονός εἰς τὸν πατρίκιον	82	Ἰμῶν μὲν τὴν βῶσιν ἐκ τε τοῦ	110
Τὸ γνήσιον τῆς στοργῆς ὁ πρὸς τὴν	76	Ἰπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα κατὰ	100
Τὸ γράμμα τῆς ὑμῶν δοσιότητος	65	Ἰπὲρ μὲν ὧν τοῖς καθ' ἐκάστην	98
Τὸ ἐν πᾶσι σπουδαῖον τῆς ὑμῶν	59	Φίλοι εὐγνώμονες καὶ θεράποντες	101
Τοῖς αἰτήμασιν ὑμῶν ὁ μέγας	101A		
Τοῖς εὐγενέσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ	162	Χαίρομεν ἐφ' οἷς ἡ δοσιότης ὑμῶν	64
Τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔνθεον ἔρωτα	145	Χαίρομεν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ σὺ	99
Τοῦ ἀποκρισιαρίου ἡμῶν, λέγομεν	19	Ψυχὴ πρὸς θεὸν ἀνανεύουσα	184
Τὸ φιλόθεόν σου καὶ τὸ χρηστόν	51	Ὡς ἔοικε, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τῆς σῆς	169
Τῷ γράμματί σου, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἐντυχόντες	84	Ὡσπερ ἦν προσῆκον τέκνου ἡμῶν	157
Τῶν μεγάλων ἐξουσιῶν οἱ			